

USES OF ENGLISH IN A MULTILINGUAL BRITISH PEERGROUP

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## Abstract

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This research is innovative in its intensive focus on a multilingual peer-group in Britain. It studies a group of twenty-three boys of Indian, Pakistani, Afro-Caribbean and Anglo parentage by means of interviews, questionnaires, participant-observation and radio-microphone recording. It addresses two main issues.

The first issue situates the study within quantitative sociolinguistics. Following Le Page, the research asks: how is it possible to examine the social distribution of speech variants given the flexibility and mutability of group affiliation? Two empirical approaches are recommended: network analysis gives leverage on interactional association, and Identity Structure Analysis assesses psycho-social identifications. The conceptual compatibility of these approaches is carefully stated, and a critique made of closely related sociolinguistics (Milroy and Giles). A demonstration analysis is conducted on two phonological variables, incorporating a critical evaluation of this methodology and suggestions for future use.

The second theme concerns a form of secondary Foreigner Talk: what is happening when members of the multilingual peer-group deliberately speak Indian-accented English? Interactional sociolinguistics forms the initial reference-point, and a clarified elaboration of Gumperz's distinction between metaphorical and situational code-switching is developed, capable of addressing issues of social power, growth and marginalisation. Data on this rhetorical Indian English are examined in the light of this model, and then analysis shifts towards more macro perspectives, aligning itself more with the ethnography of speaking. It investigates perceptions of genuine Asian English speakers locally, and proposes that for bilinguals these vary systematically according to domain (local domains having been previously identified). An outline is given of the impact of migration on the status of English, together with the colonial legacy of racist attitudes towards non-Anglo English in the dominant society. Finally an attempt is made to explicate the peer-group's use of secondary Foreigner Talk within this local and national matrix.

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At the schools and Youth Centre where most of the fieldwork was carried out, there are a number of teachers and youth workers who made a considerable contribution in terms of generosity, friendliness and patience. I have great admiration for their

professional competence and hope that they don't feel short-changed by anonymity.

Anonymity also seems poor repayment for my most incalculable debt, which is to the boys who acted as informants. Their friendliness, openness, humour and lucid intelligence made field-work the highlight of the research process.

TRANSCRIPTIONAL CONVENTIONS (see esp. Appendix 20)

1. Segmental notation as in IPA Chart (revised to 1979), p.35

2. Prosodic notation

Nuclear tones:

- ˋ low fall tone
- ˊ low rise tone
- ˋ high fall tone
- ˊ high rise tone
- ˋˊ fall rise
- ˊˊ rise fall
- ˋˊˊ mid-level tone

Secondary stress:

- ˈ high secondary stress
- ˌ low secondary stress
- ːˈ very high secondary stress
- ːˌ very low secondary stress
- ˋˊ falling head
- ˊˊ rising head
- stress as indicated by prosodic marker immediately preceding


Other:

- ˉ high pre-head
- ˉ low pre-head
- | tone group boundary
- very short speech pause
- ... longer speech pause

- l. lenis enunciation
- f. fortis enunciation
- dec. decelerated tempo
- acc. accelerated tempo

### 3. Further transcriptional conventions

- [            ] phonetic transcription, when encompassing phonetic symbols
- [ laughs ] 'stage direction' (i.e. non-verbal actions) when encompassing normal orthography
- (            ) speech inaudible
- ( word ) speech hard to discern, analyst's guess
- ((            )) comments from analyst (e.g. translation)

 sections of transcription within which rhetorical (NP)(VA)E is used. Sections within this arrowed bracket are transcribed in more detail. Outside this bracket, more normal orthographic conventions will prevail (e.g. , instead of . to indicate very short pause).

- \_\_\_\_\_ utterance in rhetorical (NP)(VA)E
- utterance in rhetorical creole
- ===== utterance in Punjabi, or Punjabi-English mixed code

In Part II,

- ( ʈ ) means the variable TH
- [ ʈ ] means the TH variant of that variable

# THE INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ALPHABET

(Revised to 1979)

		Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental, Alveolar, or Post-alveolar	Retroflex	Palato- alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Labial- Palatal	Labial- Velar	Pharyngeal	Glottal
S T N A N O S N O C (pulmonic air-stream mechanism)	Nasal	m	ɱ	n	ɳ		ɲ	ŋ	ɴ				
	Plosive	p	b	t	d	ʈ	ɖ	k	g	q	ɢ		ʔ
	(Median) Fricative	ɸ	β	f	v	θ	ð	s	z	ʃ	ʒ	ħ	ʕ
	(Median) Approximant							x	ɣ	χ	ʁ		
	Lateral Fricative												
	Lateral (Approximant)												
	Trill												
	Tap or Flap												
	Ejective	p'		t'				k'					
	Implosive	ɓ		ɗ				ɠ					
C (non-pulmonic air-stream)	(Median) Click	ɔ		ɘ	ɛ								
	Lateral Click												

## DIACRITICS

- Voiceless ɱ ɖ
- Voiced ɱ ɖ
- Aspirated tʰ
- Breathily-voiced ɸ ɢ
- Dental ʈ
- Labialized ɸ
- Palatalized ɸ
- Velarized or Pharyngealized ɸ
- Syllabic ɱ
- Simultaneous sf (but see also under the heading Affricates)

- or • Raised e, ɘ, ɤ w
- or • Lowered e, ɘ, ɤ ɰ
- Advanced u, ɤ
- or • Retracted j, i, ɛ
- Centralized ɘ
- Nasalized ɔ
- r-coloured ɔ
- Long ɔ
- Half-long ɔ
- Non-syllabic ɰ
- More rounded ɔ
- Less rounded y
- Creaky voice

## OTHER SYMBOLS

- ɤ, ʒ Alveolo-palatal fricatives
- ɸ, ʒ Palatalized ɸ, ʒ
- ɸ Alveolar fricative trill
- ɸ Alveolar lateral flap
- ɸ Simultaneous ɸ and x
- ɸ Variety of ɸ resembling s, etc.
- ɸ = ɸ
- ɸ = ɸ
- ɸ = Variety of ɸ
- ɸ = r-coloured ɸ

Front	Back
i	ɰ
ɛ	ɰ
æ	ɰ
ɑ	ɑ
Unrounded	

- Close
- Half-close
- Half-open
- Open

Front	Back
y	ɰ
ɛ	ɰ
æ	ɰ
ɑ	ɑ
Rounded	

## STRESS, TONE (PITCH)

- ˈ stress, placed at beginning of stressed syllable
- ˌ secondary stress
- ː high level pitch, high tone
- ˑ low level
- ˒ high rising
- ˓ low rising
- ˔ high falling
- ˕ low falling
- ˖ rise-fall
- ˗ fall-rise

AFFRICATES can be written as digraphs, as ligatures, or with slur marks; thus ts, tʃ, dʒ; ɸ tʃ dʒ; ɸ tʃ dʒ. c, j may occasionally be used for tʃ, dʒ.

NAMING LANGUAGES, ETHNIC GROUPS, INDIVIDUALS AND INSTITUTIONS

A variety of terms were used by informants to describe their languages: e.g. English, Punjabi, West Indian, Pakistani, Indian (see also section 17.3). In the text I mainly refer to English, Creole, Punjabi and Pakistani. In particular, the use of these last two requires elaboration. In general, Punjabi is used to refer to the home language of informants of both Indian and Pakistani parentage (on issues of language naming in this context see Shackle 1979; Alladina 1985:461; LMP 1985:19,20). Sometimes in conversation with ethnically Pakistani kids, I referred to 'Pakistani' as a language (see Chapter 3). I did not consistently refer to Urdu since many of them saw Urdu as a High variety separate from what they spoke with their parents. On many occasions the purpose was not to discuss that distinction but to leave it open to informants to report on whichever was appropriate to the topic; to permit this, Pakistani was a convenient cover term.

A large number of terms were used to refer to social groupings. In referring to particular informants (and other youngsters), their ethnicity is often indicated in the text with 'i' (Indian), 'p' (Pakistani), 'e' (white English) and 'w' (West Indian). All these terms have local currency. 'm' is used to indicate mixed parentage.

Each of the main informants are identified with a capital letter. Thus informants are identified as e.g. Ai (or just A), and Rw (or R). Other individuals are specified by numbers: e.g. 03e, 12i, 12e etc. Adults are prefixed with Mr, Mrs or Miss.

In general, where local institutions are referred to, these are given fictitious names. This does not apply to state sponsored town and country-wide institutions.



PART I

INTRODUCTORY

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

In the first instance, this research is innovative in commitment to the intensive investigation of the multilingual British peer-group. To date in Britain, language generally in the adolescent peer-group, and peer-group multilingualism in particular, have been under-researched, despite sociolinguists often recognising the peer-group's importance as a key socialising agency (Bernstein 1960,1971; Halliday 1978:97,126,159; Hudson 1980; Romaine 1984a). In England two studies have closely examined bi-dialectal peer-groups via case study methods over a substantial period of time (Cheshire 1982; Hewitt 1982) but nowhere in the UK literature on ethnic minority bilingualism have peer-groups been given comparably sustained empirical attention. Certainly there has been a good deal of research on young ethnic minority bilinguals and some has focused on their attitudes, relations and language use with age-mates (most notably perhaps Durojaiye 1971; Dickinson et al. 1975; Agnihotri 1979; Smith 1979), but, like much of the rest of the British literature on ethnic minority bilingualism among young people (Ganguly 1980; Garton 1980; Mercer, Mercer and Mears 1979; Miller 1983; Linguistic Minorities Project 1983,1985; for reviews see Rampton 1981; Taylor and Hegarty 1985), these have not entailed the prolonged first-hand involvement of the researcher with his/her informants in the field. Where interviews have been used in addition to questionnaires as a means of data collection, there have not been more than two and none of the studies mentioned above have involved participant or naturalistic observation (though Agnihotri does make two parenthetical references to the use of radio-microphones 1979:114,159). Thus the interactional detail and complexity of multilingualism among young people has received inadequate attention and there is a dearth of ethnographic material to complement and illuminate macro-socio-linguistic and survey perspectives (Fishman 1968:516, 1972:186; LMP 1985:108). Some recent studies of adult migrants have used or are using more ethnographic research methods (Tosi 1984 on

Italians; Gumperz, Jupp and Roberts 1979; Simonot 1982 on Asians; Perdue (ed.) 1982) and one comparable study focuses on children and young people (Chana and Romaine 1984; Romaine 1984b). In the Chana and Romaine study however, the research site is the home, and in this it is in line with the more general trend of research to concentrate on home and school domains. This tendency is also evidenced in more educationally oriented studies (for a critique of these, see Rampton 1983; Taylor and Hegarty 1985). Some of these have used observational methods to describe peer-group interaction in the classroom (Hester and Wight 1977; Brown 1979; Wiles 1981; Coates 1985) and a few have also observed behaviour in the playground (Lucas 1972; Payne 1985; Clarke et al. 1985:Ch.13). However, their perspective is primarily pedagogic and their treatment of socio-linguistic themes incidental: they are not systematic attempts to study language in terms of the preoccupations and social positions of its users. Indeed quite generally one may say that in view of the extent to which it can serve as an alternative point of orientation, often opposed to school and home (Hargreaves 1967; Labov 1972b:Chs 6 and 7), this lack of research into the peer-group represents a critical omission in our understanding of multilingualism in British society.

So the research here is unusual in the sustained involvement it entails with a multilingual adolescent peer-group. Its methodology employs a variety of approaches to data collection, and participant observation forms an important strand.

Analysis, however, requires definitions, and the second contribution of this research is to address the issue of definition in a way that is relevant to quantitative sociolinguistics generally. More specifically, it develops a methodology which makes the flexibility and dynamism of group membership its central tenet. Although criticising and reshaping influential formulations about its relationship to language, the research here takes network analysis and combines it with a social psychological procedure called Identity Structure Analysis. In this

way, group affiliation defined as interactional association can be measured alongside group membership viewed as psycho-social identification. The theoretical compatibility of these two analytic techniques borrowed from social anthropology and social psychology respectively is carefully stated, and they are then combined in a small demonstration study focusing on the social distribution of two phonological variables across the peer-group from which my informants were drawn.

This investigation forms Part II of the thesis. The main question it asks - how can one analyse demographic variation in speech given to mutability and flexibility of group affiliation - was formulated prior to engagement in the field, and coming to rest on patterns of association between various quantified indices as well, its analysis and frame of reference are ultimately nomothetic and etic. However, its extralinguistic indices are constructed out of an account of local socio-cultural domains and an attempt to identify people, groups and values significant to each informant. So a concern with local emic organisation recurs through Part II, and quantification is grounded on qualitative enquiry. Substantive features of the environment in which peer-group life is located do not get lost in the course of the dialogue here with 'secular linguistics'.

Part III addresses language in the peer-group in a largely different disciplinary idiom. Instead of focusing on the individual as the main language bearing unit and trying to account for the spread of linguistic similarities and differences inter-individually as in Part II, the concern shifts towards language use collectively produced and shaped by social, ideological and historical processes. Certain descriptions and constructs developed earlier play an important role in this section, but much of the discursive tone is more consistently ethnographic and inductive than before, all of the central research problems emerging during and after field-work, not before. It is not discrete phonological items but a speech variety which comprises the language data here: more specifically, the concern is with

Indian-accented, second language speaker English. What is occurring when peer-group members fluent in English pretend to be speakers of this non-proficient variety? What views of people genuinely non-fluent in English does it accompany? How does rhetorical ('secondary') foreigner talk of this kind within the multilingual peer-group connect with racist dominant ideologies? A variety of sources from within the broad data base are consulted in order to investigate this rhetorical code from a number of angles, and to build up a preliminary picture of its place in the local sociolinguistic economy.

To a degree then, Part III is orientated towards the ethnography of speaking. At the same time, important parts of it can be called 'interactional sociolinguistics' since a meta-language focusing on socio-cognitive speech processing is laid out in order to account for interactional data coherently. More specifically, the distinction between metaphorical and situational codeswitching is elaborated, worked through empirically and extended in a way that clarifies its conceptual relevance to processes such as self-assertion, learning and marginalisation. So, if Le Page is the pivotal reference in Part II, Gumperz figures most prominently in Part III.

To commence however, the remaining two chapters in Part I present the location in which the field-work is set, and after that an overview of the methodology that the field-work entailed.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE LOCATION OF THIS STUDY

#### 2. The Location of This Study

In this chapter, I propose to give a brief sketch of the town and neighbourhood in which my study is located. I shall also describe the peer-group and individuals on which it focuses. This will be brief for two reasons. Firstly, because this research does not aim to survey an area in such a way that its conclusions can be confidently generalised to other parts of the UK carefully identified as comparable: no rigorous efforts will be made to establish how far Bedford is representative of other towns in Britain, how far the neighbourhood of the research is representative of Bedford, and how far the informants finally selected are representative of the neighbourhood. Secondly, certain features of the social landscape are defined in detail later on, when they form an integral part of the analysis of language. There the description of language behaviour is intimately linked with, for example, a model of socio-cultural domains and an account of patterns of social association. So the wider social setting certainly doesn't form an inert backdrop to the linguistic investigation in what follows. This chapter however sets out some elements in the location which it is useful to bear in mind but which will not be invoked as pivotal to the socio-linguistics.

#### 2.1 The Town

In giving this account of Bedford, my primary source will be Jeffcoate and Mayor (1982). However, Tosi (1984:43) sets the tone quite well:

'At first sight, Bedford is a typical English town of the South Midlands (50 miles north of London): a population of 80,000, several hundred commuters to London, and a quiet river flowing placidly under arched bridges, close to the picturesque market square and the busy High Street. But behind the market square and the river banks,

captured in the postcards for visitors to the town that gave John Bunyan a birthplace and a jailhouse ... urban development incorporates the most ethnically mixed community in Britain.' 1

Bedford's connection with India in particular is a long one:

'Not only did some of those who had made their fortunes in the East India Company invest their money in Bedfordshire Estates, but also later many Anglo-Indians (in this case, meaning British residents in India) who had served the Raj, and could not afford to settle in Cheltenham, chose Bedford for retirement because its Harpur Trust schools offered a cheap public-school [= private] education for their children. To accommodate them, over 5000 houses were built in Bedford between 1871 and 1914, most of them big enough to take large families and their complement of servants' (Jeffcoate and Mayor 1982:9).

Migration into Bedford was also motivated by industrial expansion: for example, when Allen's engineering works moved to Bedford in the 1890s, a large number of Londoners moved there with it (Greenaway 1980:12), as well as a lot of people subsequently from Wales, Ireland and the North East of England (Brown 1970:Ch.1). During the Second World War, it received many evacuees from the Blitz, and immediately after, a further influx occurred from other parts of England into the professions and skilled jobs (Brown 1970:26). A major consequence of the War was a change in the expectations and aspirations of workers in and around Bedford, particularly with regard to employment in the local Brick industry. After the War the London Brick Company was no longer able to recruit sufficient British labour,

'even from areas of unemployment such as Merseyside and Tyneside, to do the unpleasant jobs (often involving shift work) they were advertising. To meet the demands of the post-war reconstruction programme, they were obliged to turn to "replacement labour" from abroad. Two categories of workers were to fulfil this function - political exiles from Europe, and economic migrants from Europe and the New Commonwealth' (Jeffcoate and Mayer 1982:9).

Roughly in sequence, this resulted in the arrival of people

from Poland, the Baltic States, the Ukraine and Yugoslavia; then Italy; then the West Indies (approximately half from Jamaica; others mainly from Barbados, Grenada, Nevis and St Kitts); then India; Pakistan and finally Bangladesh. According to Jeffcoate and Mayor, people from Italy and Asia came via chain migration (1982:11-13; also Tosi 1984), which means that many migrants had local connections with one another in their countries of origin.

Very roughly speaking, after indigenous Bedfordians (itself a rather mixed category - see above), the largest ethnic groups now are Italians (Tosi reports 7000 first generation Italians in 1981 (1984:50), Indians (3000 according to Purewal 1976, 90% of those Punjabis) and Afro-Caribbeans (in 1970, 2000 according to Brown (1970)). However, Jeffcoate and Mayor point out that simple facts and figures on the ethnic composition of Bedford's population do not exist, relevant statistical data being either unavailable, unreliable or obsolescent. Their estimate is that between a quarter and a third of the town's population are of overseas origin, and they report Local Education Authority statistics for 1979 (reproduced overleaf) which include data on British-born minority pupils.

It is widely reported that over fifty nationalities are represented in Bedford.

As far as residential settlement is concerned, Jeffcoate and Mayor report:

*'The tendency for the different communities to reside in separate enclaves remains marked, but less so than in other towns. Research into minority-group housing in Bedford currently being undertaken by the Open University Urban Research Group suggests that nearly half of all Indian, West Indian and Italian residents now live in census enumeration districts with a low density of ethnic minorities' (1982:23).*



NUMBERS OF ETHNIC-MINORITY PUPILS IN BEDFORD 1979

Africa (African origin)	46
Africa (Asian origin)	54
Bangladesh	70
Caribbean (including Guyana)	849
China, Hong Kong, Vietnam	40
Greece	21
Turkey	4
Eastern Europe	161
India	1288
Italy	1032
Pakistan	286
Other European countries	90
Other non-English speaking countries	41
Total	3982
<hr/>	
As a percentage of whole school population	31%

Source: Bedfordshire Schools and Special Services  
Sub-Committee 1980

(Reproduced from Jeffcoate and Mayor 1982:7.)

This means that the distribution of minority children in the town's schools is uneven:

'Lower schools serving areas of primary settlement have percentages in the seventies, eighties and nineties, while those in the so-called "white highlands" of Manton, Putnoe and Brickhill ... often have proportions of below five per cent' (1982:24).

What about race-relations in Bedford? Again Jeffcoate and Mayor produce what seems to be a fair summary:

'So far as we could establish, Bedford has never been the scene of serious inter-ethnic violence or disturbance. In addition, we have been able to charter the course of marked improvements to the minorities' situation since the War, and to record instances of inter-ethnic friendship, good neighbourliness and cultural inter-change. On the other

hand, we have also had to report the persistence of inequity and injustice in employment and housing, and signs of prejudice, animosity, and resentment among both "natives" and "migrants".

Our abiding impressions, perhaps, were of the continuing absence of immigrants and their descendants from positions of power and influence, and of the divisions and barriers inhibiting significant social contact between the different groups. A town one third of whose population is generally held to be of immigrant origin can claim only two JPs from the ethnic minorities and only one Councillor, one police officer, a handful of social workers and health visitors and 30 teachers. Similarly, although social mixing certainly occurs at school, college and work and more superficially in shops, parks and cafés, deeper relationships are to some extent circumscribed by ethnic and kinship barriers' (1982:45).

In Part II of this thesis, I shall look at interethnic mixing amongst my informants in some detail, and since the time when Jeffcoate and Mayor carried out their research, the details of minority representation within dominant institutions may have changed a little. However, it is worth briefly describing some of the institutional discrimination that Jeffcoate and Mayor report, which though I myself did not investigate four years later, is unlikely to have altered much between the periods of their field-work and mine, and with deepening recession may indeed have worsened.

On housing, Jeffcoate and Mayor write:

'1971 Census data showed that all of the principal minority groups were under-represented in the town's council house stock and on the waiting list, and that those who had been housed had been accommodated in older purpose-built housing or in specially purchased miscellaneous dwellings within the primary areas of settlement ... The Open University Urban Research Group's evaluation ... at the end of the decade concluded that, although "more minority households" had been introduced "to better accommodation, disadvantages persisted for Asians and West Indians, but not for Italians and East Europeans." "Coloured minorities" were particularly disadvantaged in terms of the proportion of post-1964 and newly constructed stock

allocated to them and were twice as likely as whites to be allocated pre-1945 stock even though they were in significantly greater housing need.' (1982:24)

With regard to employment,

'At the time of the 1971 census, New Commonwealth heads of household in Bedford were almost three times as likely as other workers in the town (including European immigrants) to be in unskilled jobs, twice as likely to be in semi-skilled jobs, three times less likely to be in professional and managerial jobs. Only in skilled manual jobs was there approximate parity. More recent figures, obtained by the Open University's Urban Research Group in 1980, show no change in the situation ... The distribution of white and New Commonwealth workers across the categories is very similar to that which obtained in 1971. Moreover, the national figures given for comparison reveal that Indian workers and, to a lesser extent West Indians in Bedford are significantly more likely than their compatriots elsewhere in England to be in unskilled jobs and significantly less likely to be in non-manual jobs' (1982:14).

It should be added that much of the manual labour in and around Bedford entails difficult work in unpleasant conditions (1982:14, 15); and that 'the Job Centre staff acknowledge that a black applicant needs to have higher qualifications than a white applicant to get a similar job' (1982:17). There are no grounds for assuming that the disproportionate unemployment amongst black minorities nationally is not also found in Bedford.

Bedfordshire Local Education Authority has a stated commitment to multicultural and antiracist education, and often there is a high level of commitment to racial equality amongst teaching staff. Bedford was also the site of an EEC Mother-Tongue teaching project from 1976 to 1981 (teaching Italian and Punjabi) and some local schools have initiated classes in minority languages. Doubtless as is also the case in housing and employment, the situation in the education system is complex, but while parts of the service try to improve conditions, some political decisions and organisational practices clearly appear to be

racially discriminatory in their effects. The rather obtuse organisation of upper school catchment areas looks as though it has been motivated by considerations of race (Jeffcoate 1984: 101); the complaint can be made 'that voluntary-aided (Roman Catholic) schools have all too often effectively excluded Asian and West Indian pupils and been complicit in manoeuvres by white parents to avoid their children attending multi-ethnic schools' (Jeffcoate 1984:105); and 'the number of minority-group children attending the four Harpur Trust schools, and the other private establishments in the town, is negligible' (Jeffcoate and Mayor 1982:25).

At an institutional level then, as elsewhere in Britain, Afro-Caribbean and Asian ethnic minorities encounter inequalities of opportunity. If these are some of the structural features of inter-ethnic contact, what of the general 'emotional climate' of race relations in the town? White English-speaking incomers to Bedford from before the War recall a cold reception from locals, and the reports are that successive groups of post-war migrants have been generally made to feel unwelcome by people other than their employers (Jeffcoate and Mayor 1982:10). However,

'Being a county town rather than the inner-city area of a large conurbation, Bedford has not (so far) experienced the multiple deprivation or the grosser manifestations of racism which many would regard as central facets of the lives of ethnic minorities in Britain' (Jeffcoate and Mayor, p.6).

Though the influence of the National Front is apparently growing (*ibid.*, p.46), people's perceptions of active racism seem largely confined to a focus upon local skinheads and there is a general feeling that the situation in Bedford is a lot better and a lot quieter than, for example, in Luton and London, two of the nearest large towns. And as Jeffcoate and Mayor point out, there are plenty of instances of interethnic amicability.

## 2.2 The Neighbourhood

It is worth now shifting the focus from the town as a whole down to the particular neighbourhood in which this study is situated. The neighbourhood in question developed in the late nineteenth century when a lot of two and three bedroomed terraced houses were built to accommodate workers for growing local industry, and these form a major part of its housing today, together with more recent further additions in terms of council housing. It has always been a mainly working-class area, with a great diversity of skills among its residents, and while Bedford was still a predominantly agricultural and professional town, this area earned its livelihood largely in engineering and manufacture. For many years it has had a pronounced sense of its own identity, rather separate from the rest of the town, and nowadays residents are very aware of outside derogation and hostility to it as an area with a very racially mixed population. It has been one of the neighbourhoods to which migrant groups have first moved in purchasing property of their own and it comprises a large number of people of Italian, Afro-Caribbean, Pakistani and Indian origin in addition to Anglos. Its shops are run by and provide for Anglo, Italian and Asian communities, and in 1984-85, in the middle school<sup>2</sup> attended by all my informants, the ethnic composition was roughly as follows:

COUNTRY OF PARENTS' ORIGIN	NUMBER	%
Bangladesh	34	12.4
England	55	20.1
India	77	28.2
Italy	2	0.7
Singapore	5	1.8
Pakistan	76	27.8
West Indies	24	8.8

The tiny number of children of Italian descent at this school reflects the way in which these children mainly go to the

voluntary-aided Roman Catholic middle school nearby.

My impression is that people in the area feel that they all get on pretty well and that many are proud of this. There may be some interethnic suspicions amongst adults (and children) and a degree of fairly covert complaint. However, in general there is an atmosphere of live and let live, which was evidently mobilised into robust corporate polyethnic activity in the successful defence of a local school against the threat of closure. Certainly amongst my informants, the general feeling was that there was virtually no racism in their neighbourhood or in their school, which they nearly all thought was a good school and at which most seemed very happy and were/would be sad to leave. Racism was generally perceived elsewhere in the town, in adjacent neighbourhoods, in schools outside that catchment area and amongst skinheads encountered in trips to the town centre (there being no serious skinhead presence reported in the neighbourhood here).

So, if Bedford is in some respects untypical of other areas in Britain with a high minority population, the neighbourhood in which my study is located is/is felt to be untypical of the town as a whole, at least as far as the climate of race-relations is concerned. But of course, it too is affected by processes of institutional discrimination.

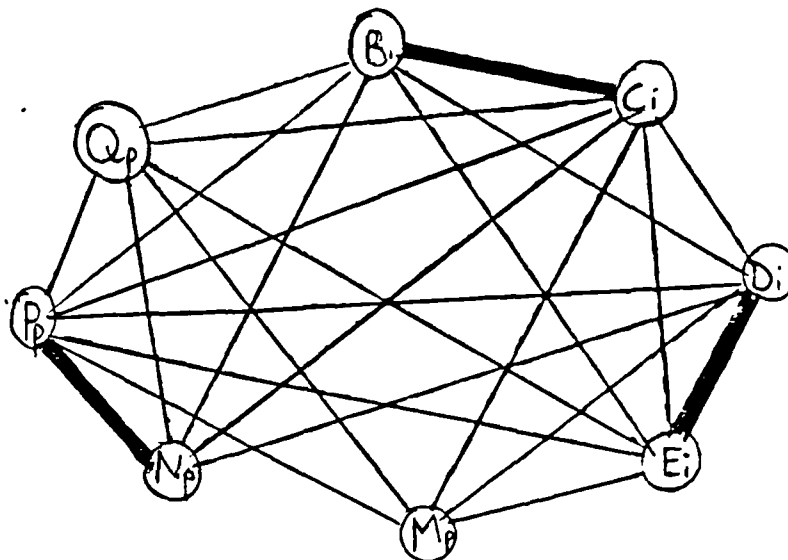
### 2.3 The Peer Group

Let us turn to the particular social group with whom my research was carried out. This was a group of twenty-three 11 to 14 year old boys, all living within about half a mile of each other, many living in the same or adjacent streets. Ten were Muslims of Pakistani extraction, seven were Jat Sikhs of Indian extraction (in fact one of these was born and had ties in Singapore), and six were Christian, two of Afro-Caribbean descent, three of Anglo descent (in fact one of these half North-American) and one of mixed Afro-Caribbean and Anglo parentage. They all attended the

same middle school in one corner of the neighbourhood, although they were in three different year groups. In fact during the period of field-work, the oldest age-group (whose role in the data collection process had by then been by and large completed) moved on to an Upper School nearby, to which most of the others would also go in due course. These twenty-three informants did not form a single unified clique with, for example, a clear core and periphery and none would consider all of the others as friends or associates. However, there were extensive direct links both within and across year groups and local themes, values and ideas had ample opportunity to reach most of them. In this sense it is reasonable to describe them as a peer-group in the singular.

Diagrams 2.1 to 2.4 show the reciprocally acknowledged links of kinship and friendship<sup>3</sup> existing between my informants. Taking school year groups first, the following connections can be shown:

DIAGRAM 2.1 RECIPROCALLY RECOGNISED KINSHIP AND FRIENDSHIP  
LINKS IN THE OLDEST AGE GROUP



Key:                      **—** = kinship link  
                            — = friendship link  
                            ○ = informants

DIAGRAM 2.2 RECIPROCALLY RECOGNISED KINSHIP AND FRIENDSHIP  
LINKS IN THE MIDDLE AGE GROUP

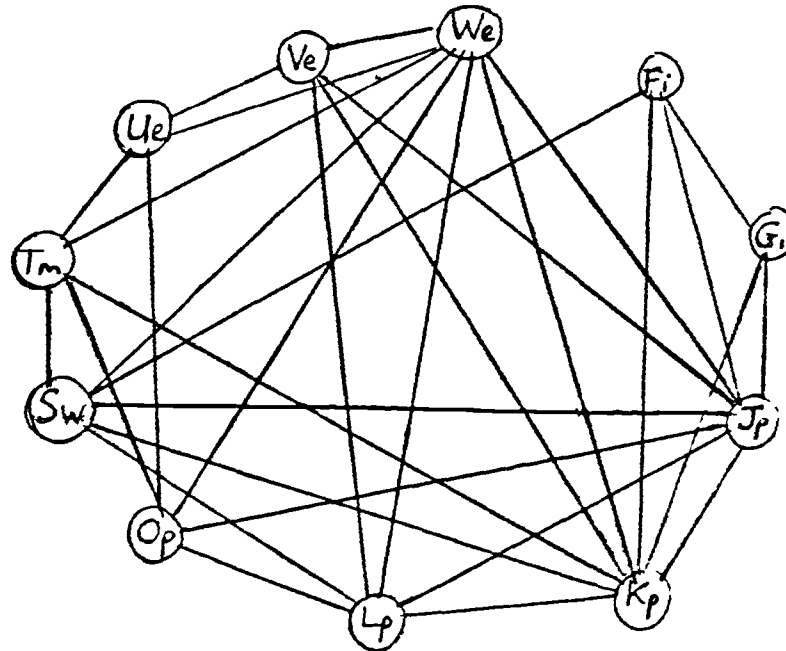
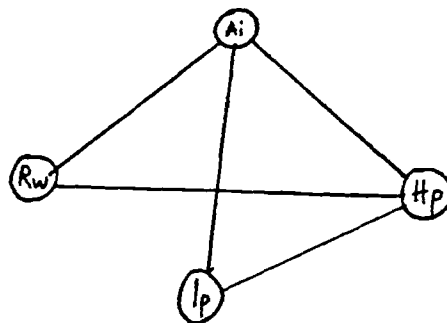


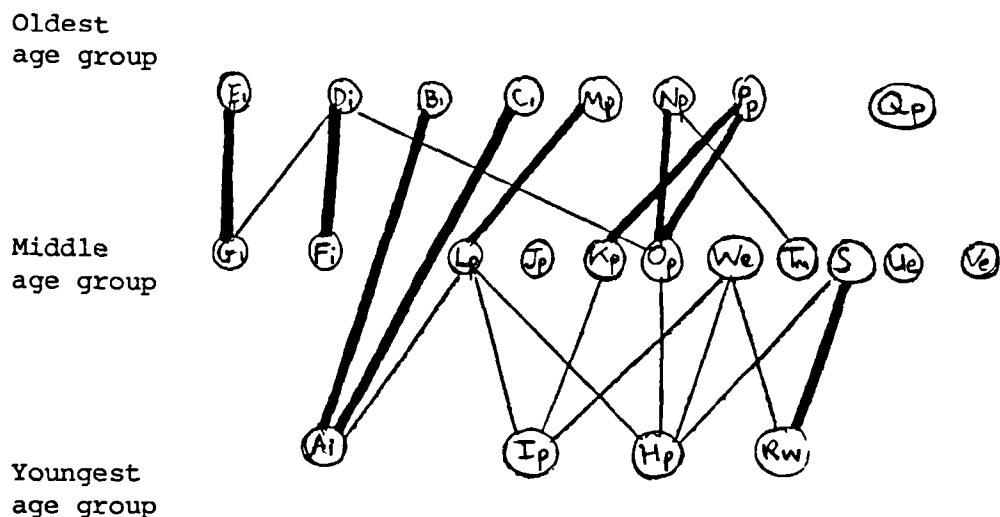
DIAGRAM 2.3 RECIPROCALLY RECOGNISED KINSHIP AND FRIENDSHIP  
LINKS IN THE YOUNGEST AGE GROUP



Within each age/year group then, some people have more connection with others, but generally there are recognised links between a great number of the informants, and each group can be described as a dense network. There are also a good many links between age groups:



DIAGRAM 2.4 RECIPROCALLY RECOGNISED LINKS OF KINSHIP AND  
FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN AGE GROUPS



#### 2.4 The Individuals

Finally, an account needs to be given of something of the individual backgrounds of my informants. All are British (though some may have dual nationality), nearly all were born in Bedford and the vast majority have had all their education in Bedford - everyone had at least all their middle school education in the same school (from the age of 9 till 13). Most have had some experience of other countries (all overseas trips had entailed visiting kin), and nearly all can be classified as working class. Parental occupations are not germinal to the sociolinguistic analysis below, and were not systematically investigated (in such a way that, for example, the Registrar General's classifications could be used). Also there are obviously general problems in assigning people to socio-economic classes on the basis of occupation (see e.g. Coupland 1981) and this is especially true outside mono-cultural settings where e.g. discrimination can mean that people with education and training to a high level are forced to take jobs which hugely under-utilise their skills,

and where different status systems (and forms of employment) may operate intra-ethnically. Even so, a rough and impromptu account of parents' work indicates that although a number were unemployed, the majority were involved in various types of manual labour.

Table 2.1 presents some background information on each informant. It may strike the reader that this selection of informants constitutes a very unbalanced sampling of people from (fixed) ethnic categories: the methodology developed in Part II however, permits an exploration of language in a multi-ethnic context despite this.

## 2.5 Summary

This chapter has briefly sketched some of the background of the setting in which this study is located, focusing on four levels - the town, the neighbourhood, the peer-group and the individuals. (More detailed and rigorous analyses of local social life will accompany the sociolinguistic investigations later on.)

Bedford is a pleasant county town with quite a long history of in-migration from different parts of Britain and the world, and currently about two thirds of its population are of UK extraction and one third of overseas origin. Incoming minorities have usually had a fairly cold reception and there is evidence that institutional inequalities are persistent as far as Afro-Caribbean and Asian ethnic minorities are concerned. However, compared with other parts of Britain, the level of racial tension in the town seems to be low.

The neighbourhood in which the study is sited is predominantly working class, very ethnically mixed and has always had a strong sense of its own distinct identity. My informants are twenty-three 11 to 14 year old Bedfordian boys from several ethnic backgrounds: they do not constitute a single clique (a gang) but can be considered (part of) a single peer-group in so

TABLE 2.1 BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON EACH INFORMANT

Informant and ethnic classifi- cation	Age in 1984- 85	Other in- formants to whom closely related*	Birthplace	Education	Living and travel outside Britain	Country of parents' origin	Parental occupations (F = father M = mother)
Ai	11-12	Bi Ci	Bedford	All in Bedford	India, aged 2	India	F:light industry worker M:light industry worker
Bi	13-14	Ai Ci	Bedford	All in Bedford	India, aged 6	India	F:light industry worker M:light industry worker
Ci	13-14	Ai Bi	Bedford	All in Bedford	India, aged 2	India	F:heavy industry worker M:light industry worker
Di	13-14	Ei Fi	Singapore	All in Bedford	Singapore, India be- fore 5 yrs old	Singapore	F:heavy industry worker M:light industry worker
Ei	13-14	Di Gi	Bedford	All in Bedford	India, aged 10	India	F:heavy industry worker M:light industry worker
Fi	12-13	Fi	Bedford	All in Bedford	India as a baby, and also aged 4	India	F:unemployed M:ancillary worker
Gi	12-13	Ei	Bedford	All in Bedford	India, aged 2 and 8	India	F:heavy industry worker M:light industry worker
Hp	11-12		Bedford	All in Bedford	Pakistan five times: last trip aged 7	Pakistan	F:professional M:housewife

(contd)

TABLE 2.1 (contd)

Informant and ethnic classifi- cation	Age in 1984- 85	Other in- formants to whom closely related*	Birthplace	Education	Living and travel outside Britain	Country of parents' origin	Parental occupations (F = father M = mother)
Ip	11-12		Bedford	All in Bedford	Pakistan aged 2 and 7	Pakistan	F:unemployed M:home worker
Jp	12-13		Bedford- shire	In Bed- ford since the age of 8	Pakistan, from the age of 3 until the age of 8	Pakistan	F:unemployed M:housewife
Kp	12-13	Pp	Bedford	All in Bedford	Pakistan when very little, and aged 12	Pakistan	F:unemployed M:housewife
Lp	12-13	Mp	Pakistan	All in Bedford	Pakistan aged 0 to 4	Pakistan	F:unemployed M:housewife
Mp	13-14	Lp	Bedford	All in Bedford		Pakistan	F:transport worker M:housewife
Np	13-14	Op Pp	Bedford	All in Bedford	Pakistan, when very small and aged 11	Pakistan	F:heavy industry worker M:housewife
Op	12-13	Np Pp	Bedford	All in Bedford	Pakistan when very small and aged 9	Pakistan	F:heavy industry worker M:housewife

TABLE 2.1 (contd)

Informant and ethnic classifi- cation	Age in 1984- 85	Other in- formants to whom closely related*	Birthplace	Education	Living and travel outside Britain	Country of parents' origin	Parental occupations (F = father M = mother)
Pp	13-14	Op Kp Np	Bedford	All in Bedford	Pakistan aged 8	Pakistan	F:heavy industry worker M:housewife
Qp	13-14		Pakistan	All in Bedford	Pakistan aged 0 to 4; also aged 11	Pakistan	F:heavy industry worker M:housewife
Rw	11-12	Sw	Bedford	All in Bedford		Grenada	F: ? M: ?
Sw	12-13	Rw	Bedford	All in Bedford	Grenada aged 4	Grenada	F:light industry worker M:ancillary worker
Tm	12-13		Bedford	All in Bedford		Grenada and England	F:unemployed M:housewife
Ue	12-13		Bedford	All in Bedford	North America aged 9	England	F:self employed craftsman M:ancillary worker
Ve	12-13		Bedford	All in Bedford		England	F:light industry worker M:housewife
We	12-13		Bedford	In Bedford since age of 8	North America and West Germany aged 1 to 6; then 6 to 8	England and North America	F:unemployed M:ancillary worker

(contd)

TABLE 2.1 (contd)

Informant and ethnic classifi- cation	Age in 1984- 85	Other in- formants to whom closely related*	Birthplace	Education	Living and travel outside Britain	Country of parents' origin	Parental occupations (F = father M = mother)
02w**	11-12					West Indies	

\* 'Closely related' here means a brother, or 'first cousin' (i.e. son of a parent's sister or brother). Wider kinship connections are indicated in the preceding section, and the focus here on this definition may show an ethno-centric orientation to English kinship systems. However, these relationships do not form any significant strand in the analysis to follow.

\*\* 02w is a boy of Afro-Caribbean parentage who was not fully involved as an informant in this research. But he participated in one interview with Hp, and he is mentioned here because he contributed some of the speech data analysed phonetically later on.

far as there are many direct links between them and plenty of interpersonal channels by means of which ideas, values and themes can pass between them.

NOTES

1. Whether and how far this is strictly true I am not sure. Other regions also make this claim.
2. In Bedford, there are Lower schools for 5 to 9 year olds; Middle schools for 9 to 13 year olds and Upper schools for 13 to 16 year olds (with sixth forms as well). All the schools in this neighbourhood are co-educational.
3. Kinship here refers to relationships between people recognised as brothers, uncles, cousins and 'kind of cousins'; friendship encompasses 'best friend', 'good friend' and 'quite a good friend'. In fact beyond what emerges from this reciprocal naming procedure, within wider kinship networks I,J,K,N,O and P have connections with one another, as do D,E,F and G.



## CHAPTER 3

### GENERAL METHODOLOGY

#### 3. General Methodology

Having given a general account of the siting of this research, it is now necessary to give some account of the methods which it entailed. A variety of approaches to data collection were employed during field-work and this produced a large data base which it has been impossible to analyse in its entirety. However, it has provided an opportunity to investigate particular issues from several angles, and in what follows selective parts of the data base are drawn on in order to illuminate the major thematic concerns. This means that detailed and critical expositions of particular aspects of the total methodology will be given later, in the course of addressing substantive questions. Here however, a briefer overview will be given, building up to a sketch map of the empirical issues that the methodology potentially allows us to examine. After that a description of my own role as field-worker will be given, and the chapter will conclude with a note on the link between data collection and the different disciplinary orientations of the two main parts in this thesis (the first being towards quantitative sociolinguistics, the second towards interactional sociolinguistics/ the ethnography of speaking).

#### 3.1 An Overview of Methods of Data-collection

As has been indicated in the preceding chapter, the research focused on twenty-three boys aged 11 to 14. The research design was intended to collect data on patterns of language in use, attitudes to language, patterns of bilingual code selection, social network structure, psycho-social identification with groups, demographic background and school performance. Data on these issues was drawn from six sources: interviews, questionnaires, diaries, participant observation, radio-microphone recording and school records.

Field-work was sited around a youth centre (in which several clubs had their meetings), two schools (one used by me much more extensively than the other) and a holiday summer school (sited in the main school, which was also close to the youth centre). The period of intensive data collection with the central informants lasted about seven months (from July 1984 to February 1985) although this had been preceded by four months participant observation once or twice a week at the youth centre and an on and off association with the neighbourhood since 1978. A number of these points require expansion, starting with the recruitment of informants.

My plan was to commence field-work during a holiday summer school, several of which are run in Bedford for four weeks during the school vacation and which are voluntarily attended by 8 to 13 year olds. These summer schools involve a lot of games, outings and some project work: their atmosphere is a good deal more informal than ordinary school (for a fuller account see section 6.3.4). Kids are recruited through their middle and lower schools: the Community Relations Association organising them sends out lists and kids are asked by their teachers if they want to go. There is a large uptake, although boys of Indian and Pakistani parentage were heavily over-represented in 1984 in the summer school I attended (there were very few girls, or youngsters of Anglo and Afro-Caribbean parentage). Youngsters say that they decide whether or not to go depending on what their friends are going to do, and the oldest friendship cluster described in the preceding chapter (comprising B,C,D,E,M,N,Q,P) did in fact all attend the summer school, several together with younger kin who later provided the basis for recruitment of their friends (these younger kin were L,O and A).

My initial approach entailed contacting the middle school (in which much of the work was subsequently sited) in June, and talking to the Head of the fourth year (i.e. the Senior Teacher in charge of the oldest age group at the school) about who was going to attend the summer school. From the list she provided

I selected three whom I already knew a little and altogether, I eventually spoke to four boys about my project, asked them if they would help me and gave them letters of explanation for their parents (see Appendix 1).

Once these four had been recruited, twenty more informants were voluntarily recruited through friendship and kinship ties over the following months (one dropped out early because he moved to another school). My preliminary interviews with each covered the following points:

- ° what had they already been told about my project?
- ° this preliminary discussion didn't commit them to it
- ° the topic of my project - languages
  - the different languages around
  - different types of language
  - how languages fitted in with life in Bedford
  - the language they used - which, where, whom with, what it felt like
- ° I showed an example from the language diary (if they were bilingual)
- ° the number of sessions it would involve (five or six)
- ° anonymity and confidentiality
- ° no tests, no right or wrong answers, not hard
- ° the letter for their parents (see overleaf)
- ° when our first proper meeting would be, and with whom.

The intention was to recruit a majority of informants of Asian extraction, together with a smaller number of youngsters of Anglo and Afro-Caribbean descent.

A helpful way of outlining the method in which different components of the field-work procedure were designed to fit together, is to introduce them under headings designating the types of data that they were intended to yield.

Institute of Education  
University of London  
20 Bedford Way  
London WC1H 0AL

-----  
(and my own address)

Dear Mr \_\_\_\_\_

I have been a teacher for Bedfordshire Education Authority for the last 5 years, and this year I am working at the Institute of Education in London. I am working on a project on languages and over the next few months, I plan to talk to some school students about the languages around them. I have talked to Mrs \_\_\_\_\_ and I am now writing to ask you if it might be possible for \_\_\_\_\_ to help me in this project. I hope to carry out my work around the school campus, and I plan to start at Summer School.

Could you please return the slip below to say if this is alright. If you have any queries, please get in touch with me at my home phone number above.

Many thanks,

M B H Rampton

-----

It is alright for \_\_\_\_\_ to take part in this project.

\_\_\_\_\_  
YES  
\_\_\_\_\_  
NO

Signed \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

1. Data on Language Attitudes

- a. Attitudes to Punjabi and its varieties were elicited conversationally in an interview on the topic (the 'attitudes to Punjabi' interview).
- b. Attitudes to English and its varieties were elicited in another interview (the 'attitudes to English' interview).
- c. Language preferences, and self ratings in proficiency in English and Punjabi were also elicited orally (during two different sessions).
- [d: data on attitudes to language and perceptions of varying proficiencies were also sometimes elicited during the ISA procedure (see below).]
- [e: the language diaries also sometimes revealed data on language attitudes.]

2. Self-report Data on Patterns of Bilingual Code Use

- a. Informants were asked about the selection of language in conversation to and from all named members of their social network (called the 'LUI' (language use by interlocutor) procedure).
- b. They were also asked about language selection according to different settings (= 'LUS': language use by setting).
- c. They were asked about their language selections over the last 24 hours (= 'oral diary').
- d. They were given diaries in which they could also report on their language selection (= 'written diary').

3. Social Network Data

- a. The main people in each informant's network were elicited by means of a questionnaire followed up with conversation. In addition to naming, these network contacts were classified in terms of their frequency of interaction with the informant, the nature of the relationship (kin, friends etc.), age, gender, residence and degree of liking. This elicitation was called 'LTT' (= List of whom you Talk To).

- b. The people in each informant's network were also classified in terms of their ethnic group membership and rated with regard to the extent that each seemed typical of his ethnic category (called the 'JUNE' procedure - Judgments of Network Ethnicness).
- [c. They were also classified in terms of reciprocal code use, elicited in the paper-focused conversation constituting the 'LUI' procedure outlined in 2a above.]
- d. The settings which each informant frequented were elicited, partly through a discussion focused on a list of commonly frequented locations.
- e. Informants were asked to fill in a large matrix, which revealed which of their network associates were seen in which setting (= 'ISM', the Interlocutor x Setting Matrix).

4. Data on Psycho-social Identifications with People and Groups

- a. The main empirical lever on patterns of psycho-social identification was 'Identity Structure Analysis' (ISA), a procedure developed by the social psychologist Peter Weinreich. My adaptation of this entailed
  - (i) one interview focusing on how informants viewed themselves (called the 'ISA Personal' interview);
  - (ii) another interview focusing on how they viewed their social environments (this interview is called 'ISA Groups');
  - (iii) a session in which informants filled in rating booklets, largely constructed on the basis of what emerged in the ISA Personal and ISA Group interviews.
- b. In addition, informants were asked to indicate the variety of ways in which they would categorise themselves in terms of ethnic and other group membership, and also to rank these group memberships in terms of their personal importance to them (= 'GSC', Group Self Categorisation).

5. Data on Linguistic and Social Interaction

Naturalistic data on informants' social and linguistic interaction in peer-group settings were elicited

- a. by means of radio-microphones, worn by informants at Summer School, at school dinner breaks and at the Youth Clubs;
- b. by means of participant observation, at the Youth Club Centre and Summer School;
- [c. since all interviews were taped, these also provided linguistic and interactional data.]

6. Demographic Data

- a. Information on date of birth, address and free dinners were obtained from school records.
- b. Data on religion, parental occupations and parents' countries of origin emerged in the course of interviews.

7. Educational Performance Data

- a. Previous schools, performance in recent NFER (standardised) tests (in Maths, English, Verbal Reasoning and non-Verbal Reasoning) and placement in sets for Maths and English were ascertained from school records.
- b. Each informant's performance in sports and teachers' views of their behaviour at school were ascertained by interviewing the Deputy Head, the Head of Year and Class and Sports teachers.

This account illustrates how the methodology constituted a broad, often recursive trawling operation around a few general themes, usually producing several angles on each. Rather than engage here with the details, a fuller account of each is given in Appendix 1.

A small pilot conducted in a school in Luton at which I had taught, had been previously carried out during May 1984. This involved two boys and two girls of Pakistani extraction, and had

only included - and was only intended as a rehearsal of - the methods outlined under 1 to 4 above (the methods devised for eliciting data on language attitudes, bilingual code selection, social network and identification with people and groups). This had led to some minor revisions of wording (for example, the prototype versions of LTT (see 3a above) were slightly altered, as were a few of the settings described under 3d) but the main benefits were in terms of streamlining the procedure (e.g. cutting out some very tedious questioning about language use to each network associate in every setting where they were encountered) and achieving the best sequence amongst components. As far as sequencing was concerned, there were two considerations: the main one was to keep the level of interest high amongst informants. This meant that paper-focused elicitations should be properly interspersed with purely oral discussions and that elicitations aimed at issues of 'factual' detail didn't outweigh opportunities for more expansive reflection. The second sequencing concern was to get practice and confidence in managing the rather snowballing methodology, in which one source of data would feed into the next. In addition to becoming proficient in this, I was also more practised and relaxed in interviewing at the end of the pilot, as well as being very familiar with the key questions I had prepared for the main interviews.

The sequence of components that was eventually devised for the main field study was as follows:

1st session (in pairs)	[ Preparatory talk The Attitudes-to-Punjabi interview and Language preference question Oral diary
2nd session (singly)	[ LTT
3rd session (in pairs)	[ The Attitudes-to-English interview (Oral diary)



4th session or 4th and 5th sessions (singly)	[ The ISA Personal interview Discussion of frequented settings LTT tidying and checking
.th session (singly)	[ Group Self Categorisation (GSC) Judgments of ethicness of network associates (JUNE) Interlocutor x Setting Matrix (Written diary given out)
.th session (In pairs)	[ ISA Groups interview
.th session (singly)	[ ISM check Bilingual code selection by interlocutor (LUI) and setting (LUS) L proficiency question
.th session (singly)	[ ISA rating booklet

plus 3 sessions of radio-microphone recording at  
any point.

This sequence was by no means invariant, though some elements obviously had to come before others (e.g. LTT before ISM). In addition to preparing a new instrument or feedback on the basis of another that had been completed, every interview was annotated within about a week of its occurrence using a protocol based on an ESF Field Manual<sup>1</sup> (Perdue (ed.) 1980) (see Appendix 1). The radio-microphone data was normally roughly indexed within a few days in terms of speakers, location, noteworthy language and incident, and data quality.

Most of the interviews took place in the middle school which all my informants had attended and in which the holiday Summer School was sited. They took place in a self-contained office at the end of the administrative corridor, a music practice room or in an empty classroom that was used for resources. Informants came during their hour long lunch breaks, during morning assembly times (from 8.55 to 9.30), and occasionally during their once weekly religious education lessons. It was not always possible

to fit a session neatly into these time periods, and so some were temporarily interrupted with, for example, informants returning in their morning break time to complete an elicitation procedure. However, none of the major interviews were interrupted in this way, only the paper-focused sessions.

Despite the heavy programme, informants generally appeared to enjoy it a good deal (though see section 7.2 below) and the vast majority completed it all, with a few even giving additional interviews where there seemed to be particularly topics worth pursuing. A number seemed sad when they had done it all. Table 3.1 sets out the data obtained for each informant.

As a result of this methodology, the data base offers access to a wide variety of issues relevant to language and it allows one to examine the individual's location in the multi-dimensional sociolinguistic space around them. Diagram 3.1 maps out the issues that in general were addressed with each informant. Diagram 3.2 shows how different parts of the methodology directly address informant perceptions of various relationships between the components of the sociolinguistic landscape (it does not refer to information which is not mediated by informant perceptions - e.g. observational data). In total, it affords a fairly broad and flexible view of the ways in which informants see language (and ethnicity) in their locality.

### 3.2 Reliability, Validity and the Field Worker's Role

Questions of reliability and validity (once again) will be considered in detail in relation to the specific research problems addressed in the analyses in Parts II and III. There, reliability and validity in the use of particular segments of the data base will be discussed. Here however a few general comments are in order.

Firstly, the breadth of the data base allows discussion of

TABLE 3.1 DATA OBTAINED FOR EACH INFORMANT

Key: *a* - Attitudes to Punjabi interview  
*b* - Attitudes to English interview  
*c* - Language preferences and Language proficiency  
*d* - LUI and LUS  
*e* - Oral diary  
*f* - Written diary  
*g* - LTT and Settings  
*h* - ISM  
*i* - JUNE

*j* - ISA Personal interview  
*k* - ISA Groups interview  
*l* - ISA rating  
*m* - GSC  
*n* - Radio-microphones  
*o* - Participant observation  
*p* - Demographic data  
*q* - Educational performance

✓ = obtained  
 (✓) = obtained in part  
 X = needed but not obtained  
 = not thought necessary

	LANGUAGE ATTITUDES			SELF-REPORTED BILINGUAL USE			SOCIAL NETWORK			PSYCHO-SOCIAL IDENTIFICATION				NATURALISTIC INTERACTION		DEMOGRAPHIC AND EDUCATIONAL PERFORMANCE	
	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>q</i>
	(1a)	(1b)	(1c)	(2a+b)	(2c)	(2d)	(3a+d)	(3e)	(3b)	(4a(i))	(4a(ii))	(4a(iii))	(4b)	(5a)	(5b)	(6)	(7)
Al	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Bl	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Cl	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Di	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	X	✓	(✓)	✓	✓	✓
Ei	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	(✓)	✓	✓	✓
Fi	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Gi	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Hp	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

(contd)

TABLE 3.1 (contd)<sup>2</sup>

	LANGUAGE ATTITUDES			SELF-REPORTED BILINGUAL USE			SOCIAL NETWORK			PSYCHO-SOCIAL IDENTIFICATION				NATURALISTIC INTERACTION		DEMOGRAPHIC AND EDUCATIONAL PERFORMANCE	
	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>q</i>
	(1a)	(1b)	(1c)	(2a+b)	(2c)	(2d)	(3a+d)	(3e)	(3b)	(4a(i))	(4a(ii))	(4a(iii))	(4b)	(5a)	(5b)	6	7
Ip	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Jp	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	x	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Kp	✓	✓	✓	✓	x	x	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Lp	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Mp	✓	✓	✓	x	x	x	✓	✓	x	✓	✓	✓	x	(✓)	x	✓	✓
Np	✓	✓	✓	x	✓	✓	✓	✓	x	✓	✓	x	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Op	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pp	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	(✓)	✓	✓	✓
Qp	✓	✓	✓	✓	x	✓	✓	✓	x	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Rw	(✓)	✓			✓		✓	✓	x	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sw	(✓)	✓			✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Tm	(✓)	✓			x	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
Ue	(✓)	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ve	(✓)	✓			✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
We	(✓)	✓			x		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
01e	(✓)	✓													✓		
01w	(✓)	✓												(✓)			(✓)
02w											✓			(✓)			(✓)

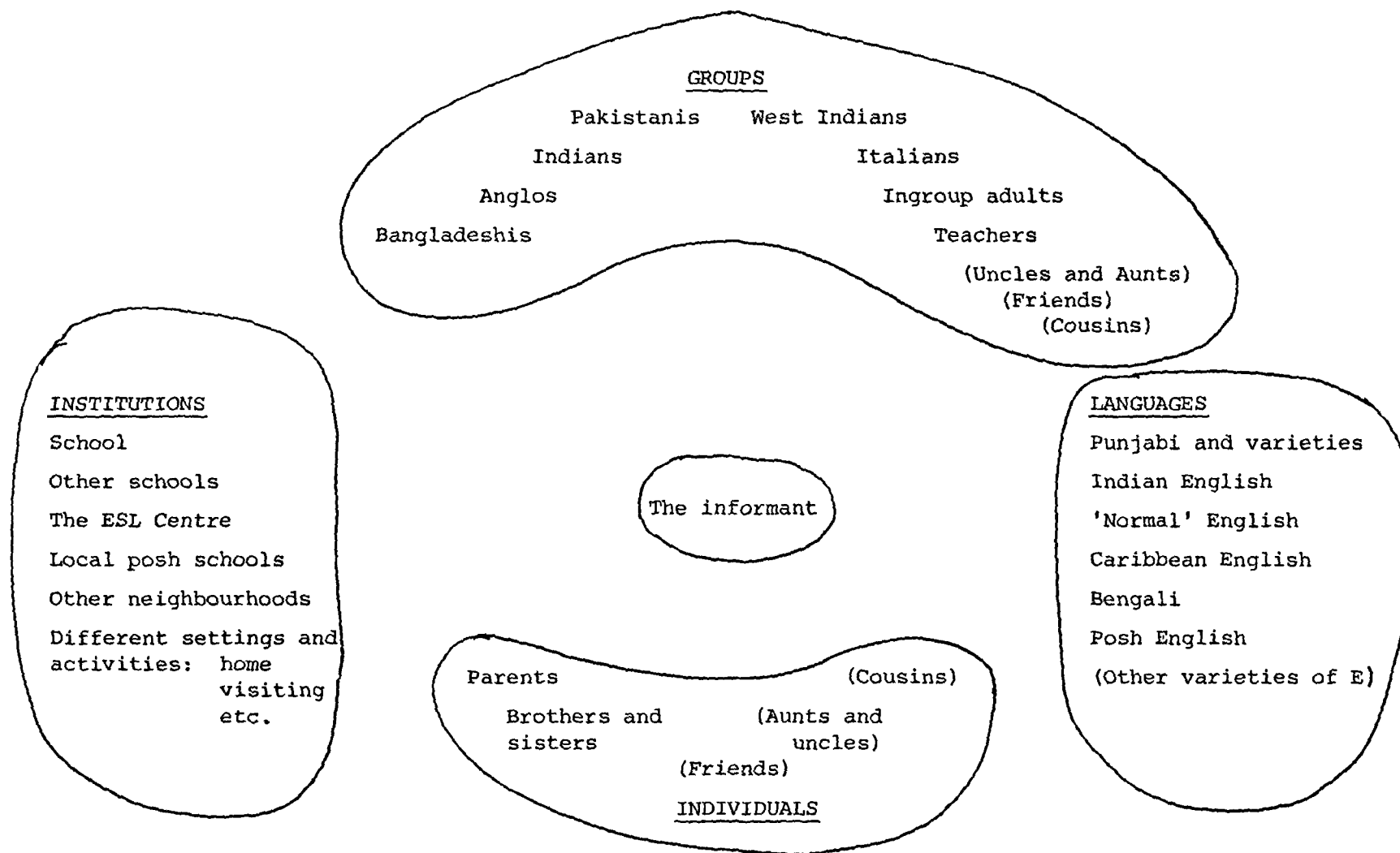


DIAGRAM 3.1 THE DIMENSIONS OF SOCIOLINGUISTIC SPACE AROUND EACH INFORMANT TO WHICH THE DATA-BASE PERMITS ACCESS

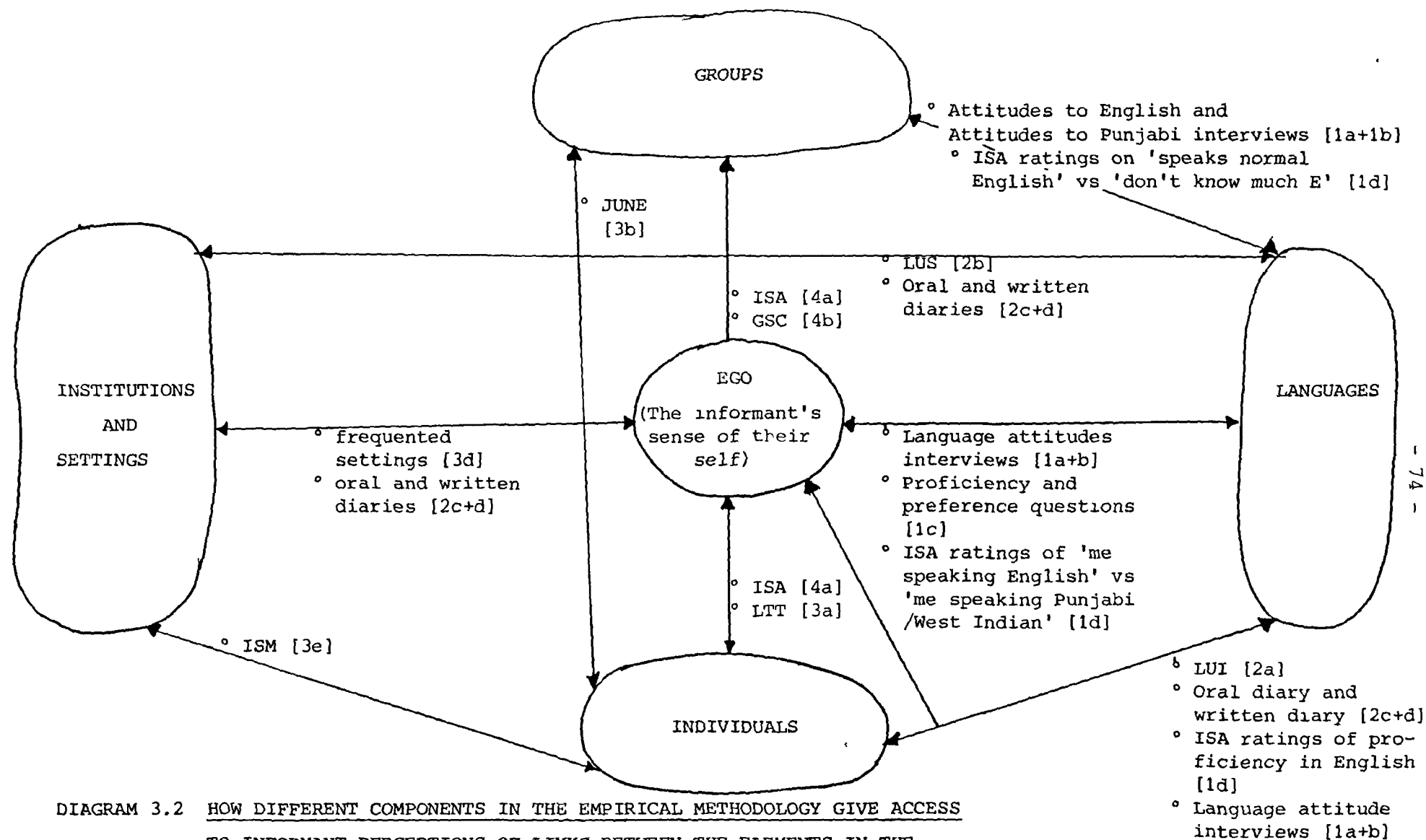


DIAGRAM 3.2 HOW DIFFERENT COMPONENTS IN THE EMPIRICAL METHODOLOGY GIVE ACCESS TO INFORMANT PERCEPTIONS OF LINKS BETWEEN THE ELEMENTS IN THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC SPACE AROUND THEM

specific themes or elements to be properly contextualised. The broad vista it offers provides a chance to avoid overstatements about the importance and scope of any single phenomenon selected for analytic attention. It agitates against exaggerated claims.

Secondly, its breadth permits several perspectives on any single phenomenon (it is flexible in this sense) which in turn means that analysis can develop or achieve a degree of reliability through methodological triangulation. In addition to inter-informant comparison, field-work in fact affords two further types of check. First there is a kind of triangulation across time, by virtue of the recursive features of the data collection. After that, data collected through several different methods can be analysed in terms of their relevance to a single theme.

But perhaps the most important influence on the validity and reliability of the data is the nature of the relationship between informants and researcher, and it is now worth considering my role as field worker within the local socio-cultural environment.

This can be usefully addressed first by describing my rather hybrid combination of roles (the activities they entailed, how informants appeared to perceive them) and then by giving an account of the ways I tried to manage them, and the role congruence or conflict I felt.

In addition to being white, male, middle class and about 30, the three more specific (institutional) roles which I occupied during field-work were those of ex-teacher, voluntary youth worker and student of languages.

The role of (ex-)teacher was probably weakest. I was known to have been a teacher in the past, I had a lot of freedom of movement around the middle school and a certain amount of interactional contact with staff (which purely for the purposes of the research, I kept to a fairly instrumental minimum). But in addition to the siting of many interviews on school premises, per-

haps the involvement of paper and pencil activities made my work seem teacherly (though I often stressed to informants that it was they that had the knowledge, not me). As far as I know I was hardly ever referred to as Mr Rampton in the third person amongst peers (one person was corrected by an informant for doing so within my earshot) and to teachers, informants and their friends generally referred to me as 'Ben Rampton' or Ben. However, at an extremely approximate guess, I was addressed as 'Sir' about 5 per cent to 10 per cent of the time. Generally I did my utmost to avoid organisational activities in which any coercion might be required. Certainly, apart from getting them there and back at the appointed times, a trip to Alton Towers at the end of field work with a group of the naughtiest boys was truly shambolic and (I like to think) very different from how things used to turn out when I was a full-time teacher. Even so, though I didn't have a teacher's discipline, I was clearly someone who knew the ropes in school organisation, as, for example, in the laying-on of minibuses, insurance and letters home with regard to day-trips to international cricket matches (which, in contrast, have run very smoothly for three years with a different group of informants).

This non-coercive organisational role to some extent overlaps with the role of youth worker, and informants quite often inadvertently addressed me by the first name of a white youth leader working at the Youth Centre. In general I was addressed by my first name, as is the custom with adults at the Youth Centre. In that setting, my two main occupations were serving behind the snack bar, which provided excellent opportunities for observation, or playing five-a-side soccer in the gym, which in addition gave me a chance to show that I could perform well in an activity rated highly in the male peer group. In general, when not playing soccer, I kept a fairly low profile at the Youth Centre, particularly with older club members (15<sup>+</sup>).

The third role, which I always explained as my *raison d'être* to e.g. Youth Club leaders and to anyone who asked, was as a stu-



dent of languages doing a project. Informants themselves were clearly aware of this, as when, for example, my activities were described as 'professor-work', or when one kid told another to be more serious in an interview 'because we want Ben to pass'. I was quite often asked when my exam was. It was in this role, after some contact with them at earlier Summer Schools and at the Youth Club, that I had most intensive interaction with informants. They were helping me and as far as knowledge of local affairs was concerned, were clearly in the superordinate position. This relationship was sometimes overtly construed as between 'mates' and 'friends' and while I benefited from what they knew, they got some enjoyable and interesting conversations as well as perks, such as outings and occasional times out from assembly and lessons. Towards the end of field-work, one boy (01p) came up to me and asked if he could join my 'club'.

This last remark indicates the way in which momentum and motivation was sustained, though clearly my research role was not completely unobtrusive. I was not doing participant observation in its purest form. In fact, the hybrid fusion of these three roles developed particularly easily during the 1984 Summer School. There were teachers there called Sir and Miss but not taken as seriously as main school teachers and only semi-committed to school type work; there were also older local kids (15<sup>+</sup>) addressed by first names taking roles as teaching assistants. Timetabling was extremely impromptu. In this relaxed climate of loose definitions, my own hybrid role could emerge with ease, combining a teaching background, the facilitation of organised recreation (fixing up and umpiring sports) with a lot of discussion about languages and the locality away from main classes.

To summarise the ways in which my hybrid role in the field contributed to the quality of the data collected, I would say that as ex-teacher and part-time voluntary worker in the neighbourhood, I had a recognisable biography, useful organisational capabilities and some independent and recognisable involvement

and familiarity with the locality in general and parts of peer-group recreation in particular. As a student of language in Bedford, there was a rich vein of material for engagement with youngsters in conversation. On these grounds, it is unlikely that I was seen either as a distant authority figure, an alien intruder, a complete naif, or a person with whom it was boring (and disadvantageous) to talk. This is likely to increase the validity of what I was told, in terms of its openness, conviction and honesty.

However, one problem about my role, and a vital caveat about all the data still need to be mentioned.

The problem was as follows. During 1978 to 1980, my main job had been in the ESL Centre, which is quite heavily stigmatised as being something like a school for mad children. While some ex-pupils appeared to feel no shame (probably due to success since leaving), others certainly did and on occasions I collaborated with them in denying that that had been where I had taught them. In general I felt it important to de-tag myself of this association, being unsure of how it would influence the way people saw my research (maybe seeing it as deficiency oriented). In order to do so, I adopted three strategies. Firstly, I played up my experience working at the mainstream Middle and Upper schools. Secondly, working at the Summer Schools was in part designed to loosen and overlay this connection with more recent associations. Thirdly, I worked with informants who had a lot of linguistic self-confidence (and competence) and who had generally arrived at the Middle school after I had left the ESL Centre close to it. My view is that this was successful but the reader should perhaps bear this problem in mind during Part III of this thesis in which reactions and views about non-proficiency in English become the central topic.

The vital caveat concerning all the data derives directly from the scope of the hybrid role I played during field-work. My own experience, and the range of my personal movement during

field-work lay across the more informal settings at school and the more organised parts of peer-group recreation. As a field-worker I operated in interethnic contexts and hence, to the extent that my own slot within the local socio-cultural environment affects the quality of the data, there are grounds for having less confidence in those aspects of the data base which relate to sociolinguistic life at home and in the adult ethnic community.

This is certainly not to reject that data altogether, and reports about intra-ethnic activity inform sections of the analysis below. However, these reports may very well reflect the subtle influence of the interethnic domains in which the elicitation is set, and a truer and fuller account of intra-ethnic experience might well derive from research set within those spheres.

It is necessary to recognise that the research here is potentially stronger with regard to racially mixed settings, and partly for this reason the largest part of what follows concentrates on the sociolinguistics of life in the interethnic peer-group.

### 3.3 A Note on Disciplinary Siting and Data Collection

What you call your research affects how you gather data for it. As was made clear in the introduction, my research addresses both quantitative sociolinguistics and the ethnography of speaking. This means that overall my methodology is something of a hybrid. Certain elements are oriented towards the collection of quantifiable detail identified beforehand, in a roughly hypothetico-deductive idiom (e.g. much of the social network data elicitation); others are much more open-ended, encouraging informant and researcher reflection and giving scope for lines of enquiry to develop inductively (e.g. the language attitude interviews and participant observation).

This produces strengths and weaknesses. An ethnographic perspective increases the local socio-cultural validity of the extralinguistic (and linguistic) variables manipulated in quantitative sociolinguistics, as well as encouraging greater delicacy and differentiation with regard to statistical operations themselves. At the same time, the formulation of hypotheses prior to entry to the field ensures a thoroughness and systematicity in data collection which would not be possible if research instruments had not been devised or selected prior to contact with informants.

There are however drawbacks. The local familiarisation that ethnography requires cuts back the number of informants that one can sample. Equally, the demands of completing a preset data-collection programme can agitate against the researcher's taking breaks during field-work in order to reflect, draw the data together and work out the kind of theoretically motivated sampling that will guide the next stage.

All of this influences what follows, though the 'negative' effects of this hybridisation need to be outlined here because they partly affect the structure of the analyses below.

Ultimately, the relatively small number of informants in my sample fits happily with the attention in Part II to quantitative methodology and its theoretical underpinnings. However, it might have raised problems if I had been interested in e.g. 'dialects in Bedford'. On the other hand, had the field work entailed periods of analytic recess, local interpretations and reactions to the ethnographic corpus in Part III could have been more extensively elicited and the ethnography itself might have been more complete. In its present (preliminary) state, it instead prompts quite an elaborate and more academically focused consideration of the socio-cognitive processing of language. In this way, field-work procedures are one contributory reason for the ambiguous siting of Part III between the ethnography of

speaking and interactional sociolinguistics (the assumption being that the latter can be distinguished from the former largely in its concern with modelling situated speech processes).

Having said all this, we can now proceed to Part II.

NOTES

1. Most interviews were recorded, using a UHER CR 240 cassette recorder with a separate microphone. These were very kindly loaned from the Phonetics Department of University College London.
2. Table 3.1 also refers to three boys who did not form part of the core of informants but who attended interviews with friends who were.

PART II

TOWARDS A DYNAMIC ACCOUNT OF GROUP AFFILIATION  
AND DEMOGRAPHIC VARIATION IN SPEECH

CHAPTER 4

4. INTRODUCTION

This part of my thesis can be viewed as a pilot study orientated towards a quantitative exploration of how ethnic group affiliation affects demographic/social variation in speech. Recently, this has become an increasingly complicated subject to examine as more sophisticated notions of group-membership penetrate more extensively into the realms of quantitative sociolinguistics. So what follows does not offer conclusions about their relations to language: instead, the ensuing chapters may be regarded as a case study in methodology, an attempt to develop a combination of quantitative measures geared to conceptions of group affiliation which reckon with its mutability and which in particular construe ethnicity as more than merely fixed at birth. Admittedly these chapters conclude with an empirical analysis but the substantive results of this are tentative - the main claim of this empirical component is as a working-through of certain investigative procedures, and as a pointer to directions for future research, which in a number of respects might need to be rather differently designed from the outset.

So, the plan of the following chapters will be as follows. The first chapter (Chapter 5) undertakes at some length to clear the ground theoretically: it outlines several different conceptualisations of 'group' and places the current study in the context of quantitative sociolinguistics more generally. It introduces Identity Structure Analysis, the main empirical lever on group affiliation as psycho-social identification, and describes the ways in which it may be mapped in with social network analysis: their conceptual relation to one another and to language is covered in some detail.

After these (quite lengthy) theoretical preliminaries, attention shifts to construction of quantitative measures and to the procedures of data elicitation. Operationalising social network involvement is the issue to be addressed first, and this entails a fairly extensive discussion of local sociocultural 'domains' since the 'multiplexity' or 'strandedness' of network



ties is to be analysed in terms of domain coparticipations. What domains can be identified and which (more immediately tangible) 'settings' can be allocated to each? Segmenting social life into major institutions/activity fields is a dicey and approximative business, and in the context of the current study this requires fairly extensive reference to secondary ethnographic sources. Once this has been completed, attention then shifts to the reliability of the data on who sees whom where and only after this has been examined, are indices of social network involvement constructed and informants scored.

Once network involvement has been quantified, the means of eliciting patterns of psycho-social identification are described: in so far as Identity Structure Analysis (ISA) entails a relatively fixed procedure, the business of making my use of it accountable needn't be conducted at quite the same lengths that my appropriation of network analysis requires. Even so, its success in indicating psychological orientation depends heavily on the quality of the personal constructs elicited, which in turn is influenced by elicitation methodology. This therefore requires careful exposition and an account is also given of the people and groupings selected for particular attention. Questions about how ISA output data are best interpreted will also be addressed.

Network analysis and ISA represent two of the approaches to group affiliation being used in this research: the third variable to be quantified will be language itself. Two phonological variables are outlined, together with the reasons for their selection: the choice of speech data for transcription is explained, together with the steps taken to control for lexical incidence and for the overrepresentation of particular phonetic environments in the composite scoring of variants. Once that is completed, a pilot analysis is conducted on some of the relationships (between these variables) that appear in the empirical data, and Part II ends with some observations on methodology and proposals for future research.

This then is the plan of Part II. We can now turn to the first section, Chapter 5, which lays out the theoretical assumptions upon which the methodology will be based.

## CHAPTER 5

### 5. THEORETICAL BASES AND EMPIRICAL POSSIBILITIES FOR THE INVESTIGATION OF GROUP AFFILIATION AND SOCIAL VARIATION IN SPEECH

The key issue to be discussed and analysed here will be the notion of 'group' and group-affiliation: since descriptions of demographic variation in speech require methods of social classification by means of which informants can be grouped and/or differentiated, there has been quite a good deal of discussion of these notions within 'secular linguistics'.<sup>1</sup> It is worth now turning to consider some of this discussion, to recap on a number of important points made in this connection and also to place the current enterprise in a more precisely defined context.

#### 5.1 Sociolinguistic Discussion of Grouping in the Study of Social Variation in Speech

The ways in which speakers can be assigned to various groups and categories have received quite a lot of consideration and some of the problems associated with a variety of different approaches have been well recognised (cf. e.g. Romaine 1980; Hudson 1980:Ch.5).

(a) A first basic problem concerns the very use of groups as the basic unit of sociolinguistic analysis: assigning speakers to subgroups in order then to describe language in terms of group means (as outlined in e.g. Trudgill and Chambers 1980:62, 63) is quite commonly criticised for the extent to which it conceals variation within subgroups (e.g. Milroy 1980:132,133; Hudson 1980:164). For example, Coupland remarks of his own data that on average there is as much variation between individuals within (socio-economic) groups as there is between the most representative members of adjacent groups, and he proceeds to observe that (1) researchers generally fail to report intragroup vari-

ation, and that (ii) broad classificatory strata mislead if they are taken to indicate a homogeneous phonological style for a group (Coupland 1981:131,132). It may also be observed of the practice of using group means that while it may help to detect demographic patterning in speech variation at quite a macro-sociolinguistic level (Milroy 1980:133), there remains a substantial quantity of within-group variation which this procedure is too cumbersome to relate to demographic patterns: in other words, it is obviously rather indelicate in addition to being potentially misleading.

(b) Another problem quite commonly raised focuses on grouping procedures from an extralinguistic perspective. Some studies have constructed composite indices of, for example, social class membership on the basis of occupation, income, education etc. (e.g. Trudgill 1974; Labov 1966) and these have been recognised as conflating social dimensions that often have independent effects on language (Hudson 1980:174). Even if composite indices are avoided, the question arises: how far is any group discrete? The likelihood that group membership is generally graded, a matter of more or less rather than either/or, means that the assignment of speakers to categories may introduce a good deal of arbitrary distortion (Hudson 1980:174; Milroy 1980:133).

(c) A third problem in the study of social variation in speech concerns the epistemological status of the group classifications chosen as independent variables - are they merely observer categories (etic), or do they reflect categorisation operative within the communities being studied (Milroy 1980:14; Trudgill 1974:33). Studies using etic social categories may obviously produce results of interest to researchers, but without extensive revamping, they cannot generate further and more delicate exploration of the socio-cultural organisation of speech within a given community, since the basic vocabulary in which they are framed centrally records the relationship between analyst and community: in contrast, an analysis using emic independent variables obviously permits a view of the intra-community operation of socio-cultural systems less extensively contaminated by the observer and without mixing analytic and member idioms with<sup>in</sup> the first order data itself (cf. Hymes 1980:96).

(d) A fourth problem is not unrelated to the third, and could be construed in terms of the influence of social survey research rather than anthropology in secular linguistics (Wallman 1980:6). Speech makes/is/derives from daily social relationships, yet the characterisation of speakers in terms of SES, gender, race gives an indication of the speakers' social relatedness at only a very abstract level, in terms of a comparatively general theory of society. While as representative units speakers may be assumed to function in some wider social system, the empirical local connections within which the speaker is embedded form no part of the label that the analyst attaches to them. In other words, speakers only have a social life as coins (of different though predetermined values) in some currency system selected/perceived/invented by the analyst, and their identity is only ever relational within an a priori framework. (Cp. Leach's remark: 'the typically anthropological assumption [is] that a social field does not consist of units of population but of persons in relation to one another' (cited in Wallman 1980:6,8)).

This is clearly true of the use of extralinguistic variables such as social class, education etc.: it is however also true of more ethnographically delicate descriptions of the social attributes of speakers such as Gal's index of peasantness (1979:137-138) and Cheshire's index of vernacular culture involvement (Cheshire 1982), which are still not framed in terms that speakers themselves would use to describe their relationships (e.g. in terms of who sees whom) but again in terms of an intangible analytic theory regarded to be relevant to the social system that they are taken to belong in (this line of criticism is explored in Gal 1979:Ch.5). In consequence research only produces pictures of how a set of linguistic indicators tie up with a set of economic, social or cultural indicators, an account of how the researchers' phonological or grammatical schemata match up with their (or the Registrar-General's) socio-economic or cultural schemata (cf. Le Page 1978). The intention is to comprehend language and social organisation but insufficient empirical attention is paid to who tangibly does what with whom, and the particular social relationships in which speakers are really

involved is left out of the way they are categorised (cf. Hudson 1980:30).

Awareness of these problems has produced a variety of responses, several of which are worth highlighting as particularly relevant to the current enterprise.

The inclusion of Standard deviations along with group means is obviously one (minor) response to (a) (Hudson 1980:164; Milroy 1980:121); a more significant one is to shift the locus of linguistic description from the subgroup to the individual (Le Page 1978; Hudson 1980; Milroy 1980:133, Ch.6). There are statistical options which can be used in order to avoid constructing composite indices of at least some category memberships (e.g. SES), and in response to the problem of assigning speakers to categories which may in reality be non-discrete, one research tack has been to study relatively homogeneous groups and to identify demographic variation in speech in terms of the degree to which speakers can be conceptualised as either central or peripheral. This is represented in Labov's sociometric account of adolescent peergroups (Labov 1972b), Gal's index of peasant status in Oberwart (1979), Cheshire's (admittedly rather diffuse) composite vernacular culture index as applied to teenage boys in Reading (1982), and Milroy's use of network analysis within sex, area and age subgroup (Milroy 1980:132-135;153ff). With regard to the emic-etic issue, in all three studies cited above (as well as in others), working within small fairly close knit groups also helps researchers try to identify extralinguistic variables with some local currency, since the opportunities for getting to know informants well are likely to be greater where the sample size is smaller.

The fourth problem requires more particular solutions, and as indicated above, cannot be dealt with by attempts to define degrees of group belonging in terms of the extent to which speakers manifest characteristics which, in the eyes of the researchers, seem highly 'typical' of the groups in question. However, one of the approaches which encodes empirical social re-

relationships in the basic definition of a speaker is obviously network analysis, which although by no means unproblematical, clearly characterises people in terms of their local associations, not in terms of their identity as units/coins in a social system conceived of at a high level of abstraction (at least, it does not do so in the first instance, cf. Mitchell 1969:44ff).<sup>2</sup> Network analysis is one important step towards describing the connections between speech and social relatedness in greater empirical detail, and indeed it also introduces a more complex model of how a speaker's social position (defined in terms of their social ties) influences their acquisition and use of language (see below 5.3; also Gal 1979:140ff).

Another approach to the fourth problem is Le Page's, who again conceives of speaker relationships as being crucial to language, but this time concentrates on their cognitive representation.<sup>3</sup> Indeed in this respect, within quantitative sociolinguistics Le Page's theoretical writings are probably the most important and sustained contribution to the question of what extralinguistic categories to correlate with speech. Le Page has repeatedly argued for a social psychological notion of group membership, and for a view of class, ethnicity etc. as socially constructed, dynamic and emergent, not pregiven and permanent elements within an external, pre-existing reality. Thus researchers are not only presented with the initial problem of coordinating their extralinguistic categories with their informants': in their descriptions they must also avoid reifying whatever categories do emerge, and give full recognition to the negotiability and fluidity of group membership as features of the social life under examination.<sup>4</sup>

The empirical implications of Le Page's formulation are not easily handled however: Le Page's own endeavour which entailed trying to define social groupings inductively on the basis of linguistic clusterings emerging from statistical analysis of selected variants in the speech of large numbers of informants, did not fulfil its theoretical aspirations (McEntaggart and Le Page 1982:123; Le Page and Tabouret Keller 1985:180).

And Milroy, while giving recognition to the significance of Le Page's theoretical contribution, is forced to conclude:

'correlating language scores in a systematic way to the various aspects of a speaker's social identity is complex, and is not often attempted ... no method of analysis in the present state of knowledge is likely to capture completely the complexity of the way speakers use variability' (1980:115).

While not completely dispensing with pre-given categories (see Chapter 10), the methodology and empirical exploration in the current enterprise adopt several of the strategies developed in response to the problem of group membership which have been outlined above: it takes the individual speaker as the basic sociolinguistic unit; it focuses on a relatively small group of speakers who can be designated as a single peer-group; it employs network analysis; partly through fairly sustained involvement with informants in the field, and partly through a reading of relevant ethnographic literature, it strives to use emic classifications (without claiming completely emic status). In these respects, it falls in line with a number of (relatively recent) developments from the Labovian baseline of urban dialectology. However, its central objective is to outline and explore a quantitative method capable of handling Le Page's theory empirically, and in this respect, it aspires to being usefully innovative.

Before describing and then giving some empirical illustration to this method, it is however important to elaborate differing conceptualisations of the notion of 'group' and in the process, opportunities for blending 'secular linguistics'/urban dialectology (as represented by Milroy) with e.g. the social psychology of language as represented by Giles all under the umbrella of Le Page's hypothesis and riders (see below), will emerge. Indeed, one of the advantages of Le Page's approach is to bring some unity to an otherwise highly heterogeneous 'sociolinguistics' (Trudgill 1978:Ch.1).



## 5.2 Two Notions of Group

A number of writers (though generally not quantitative dialectologists) distinguish group in two senses (e.g. Fishman 1972:22-28; Brown and Levinson 1979:298-300; Turner and Giles 1981:2-7). In the first, 'group' is conceived in concrete terms of who interacts with whom, probably within a shared locality (Fishman's interaction networks and experiential group membership; Hymes' 'community' (1974:51)). In this sense group is a zone or mesh of face to face contacts. In the second conceptualisation, 'group' is viewed as a psychological construct and any given group acquires its definition from the relations of contrast and complementarity that it forms with others around it (indeed, 'group' as a kind of semiotic unit). Fishman describes this as 'referential group membership' and in contrast to the first notion, group-membership in this sense must be an insider/participant perception. In the interactive sense of group, the 'groupness' or unity of a set of people can be something merely attributed to them by the researcher, since people may interact frequently with little sense of 'felt collectivity'.

These two conceptualisations of group lend themselves to rather different types of study: the interactive conception of group seems to accompany within group studies focusing on processes of cultural transmission, while the cognitive notion of group takes an intergroup perspective and attends to the use of cultural forms in the maintenance of symbolic boundaries. Within anthropology, Barth's distinction between the morphological study of culture and the functional study of ethnic boundaries reflects this distinction (and empirical slant) (1969; see also e.g. Mitchell 1974), and it has clear general implications for language. Both Gumperz and Fishman have found the distinction useful in accounting for changing conceptualisations of ethnicity and group membership as their socio-linguistic focus shifts from small scale rural societies to large scale urban ones: for example, Gumperz's 'old interactive ethnicity ... supported both regionally and interpersonally through reinforced social networks which joined people through clusters of occupational, neighbourhood, familial

and political ties' is contrasted with the 'new reactive ethnicity ... depending less upon geographic proximity and shared occupations and more upon the highlighting of key differences separating one group from another' (Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz 1982:5; cf. Fishman 1972:22-28; and ultimately Durkheim's mechanical vs organic solidarity (Gumperz and Hymes 1972:456)). But beyond this historical characterisation of macro sociolinguistic processes, the distinction is theoretically useful in considering macro sociolinguistic situations synchronically.

For example, if in a bilingual immigrant context, an ethnically accented variety of the majority language largely reflected exclusively co-ethnic interaction, and not identification with the ingroup, one might suppose it to be relatively transitional, perhaps reflecting processes of assimilation. In this context, it might be a source of 'linguistic insecurity' (in fact, a problematic notion - see below Ch.22), or at best the object of tacit unarticulated prestige. The identity marking function might be preserved in the minority language, with the two languages being fairly distinct in their roles. On the other hand, if the accented variety of the dominant language did appear to function as an ethnic marker, one could then ask 'what kind of ethnic identification does it represent?' What are its goals and what perceptions of intergroup status relations does it derive from (this question might be fruitfully posed in terms of Tajfel's perceived stability and legitimacy - cf. e.g. Tajfel (1978))? Does it represent rejection of the dominant group, conflict, competition, aspirations for structural incorporation but cultural autonomy or what? How are each of these related to language: does the 'Mother Tongue' still retain its identity marking function? What are the prospects for the accented variety? What kind of prestige does it carry - overt prestige articulated in terms close to the dominant value system, or an overt prestige defined in oppositional terms? Can we see a process by which previously negatively defined characteristics are being revalued? - etc. etc. (cf. e.g. Richards 1972; Paulston and Paulston 1980; and indeed, the macro sociolinguistic work of Giles et al. (e.g. Giles (ed.) 1977)).

The question arises, how far has this duality in the term 'group' been recognised and systematically examined in micro sociolinguistics involving more delicate analyses of demographic variation in speech? The distinction has in fact been clearly formulated, but empirical studies have not to my knowledge succeeded in systematically maintaining it.

Le Page's hypothesis and riders makes the differentiation conceptually:

'The individual creates his systems of linguistic behaviour so as to define himself both idiosyncratically and in relation to other people; so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, to the extent (a) that he is able to identify those groups, (b) that he has sufficient access to them and the ability to analyse their systems, (c) that his motivation is adequate, (d) that he is still young enough to change his behaviour and (e) that society provides him with feedback indicating what chance he has of success in his proposed identity' (1980:123-124).

'Group' in the sense of cognitive category is the concern of the main hypothesis and rider (a) in particular, whereas the first part of (b) - access - addresses 'group' in the sense of interactional involvement (though of course it could also apply to TV, radio, and written media etc.).

And indeed there are classic empirical studies of long standing by Labov himself which incline towards one conception or the other. The sociometric study of the Jets, Cobras and Thunderbirds leans towards interactive group membership, while his account of Martha's Vineyard is framed more in terms of group identification. Yet in these studies while the drift is more towards one or the other, the two notions of group are not held either theoretically or empirically distinct and the difference between them gets blurred.

For example, in the Martha's Vineyard study amidst discussion of reference groups (1972a:38), projective personae (p.37), psycho-social orientation (pp.25,39) and intergroup

differentiation in general, we also learn that the main phonological innovators are 'close knit' (p.37), so we cannot ultimately say whether ingroup interactional or intergroup reactive processes are most strongly implicated. The same is true of the sociometric study, where the results are conceptualised in terms of both cognitive category identification and shared interactional experience. On the one hand, Labov talks of linguistic forms as 'symbolic representations of the value systems' which distinguish groups (1972b:282), and membership of the Jets and Cobras is clearly a highly self-conscious affair: their groups have names, adults consider them hoodlums, the establishment takes exception to them and 'the neighbouring groups of their own age are even more hostile' (1972b:281). Obviously the Jets and Cobras occupy highly defined positions in local people's cognitive representation of the area's social space and gang membership is responsively self-conscious. On the other hand, 'the remarkably consistent grammar of the Jets is the result of ten years of their continuous interaction with each other and with other groups in the BEV system' (1972b:283): here the factor under consideration appears to be quantity of contact, and elsewhere, membership is described in terms of shared activity (or 'multiplexity'):

'Groups of Jets can take over empty apartments, commandeer rooftops to fly pigeons, steal clothes and other loose goods, and get high together.' (1972b:282)

Jets and Cobras appear to be high contact groups in which linguistic conformity to group norms may emerge through a process of unconscious osmosis as much as through intentional 'acts of identity' (= the psychological identification effects).<sup>5</sup>

Of course, in both the Martha's Vineyard and South Central Harlem research sites, both group processes may overlap and interact, and of course a single cultural or linguistic item can be both picked up/inherited as a result of intensive interactive contact and reflect active symbolic identification with the ingroup. But equally, they need not, and as the discussion above

in relation to accented minority English was intended to indicate, the theoretical implications of language as the product of 'closed networks' are different from those of language as strong symbolic boundary-projection. Perhaps this point requires a little further emphasis and clarification, so that its significance beyond processes at 'macro' community level are clear.

One important implication of distinguishing the two senses of group is epistemological. As has been suggested above, groupness in the first sense is most often an observer's category while in the second it is essentially a participant's. This means that one can construe their relationship in terms of the etic-emic distinction (e.g. Hymes 1980:93; Erikson 1981). If a consistent scientifically consensual (= 'objective') framework of analysis could be established, this might presumably enable one to explore the systematic relationships between different/similar types of scientifically defined social ties/contacts, and the ways in which members construe and use them in terms of 'we-ness'. More importantly for the sociolinguist however, the lessons of phonology should provide a strong reminder that accounts of groupness derived only from observer perception of who-sees-whom, provide very inadequate grounds for discussion of 'identity', 'solidarity' and 'group-membership' as part of local socio-cultural systems.

The second benefit to derive from differentiating the two notions of group, lies in the orientation of the first (= interaction) towards behaviour, and the second towards attitudes.<sup>6</sup> One of the reasons why the interactional conception of group is most likely to be etic is that it stresses activity, which, being exterior, is readily observed. However, if the analyst manages to co-ordinate his/her accounts of social contacts with the informant's (thus providing an emically valid description of a person's interactional ties), analysis can start to investigate in a limited but nevertheless significant way, the dilemma of the individual-in-society. At any one moment, group or network as a behavioural entity would comprise the situation in which an individual found himself - his group/interactional location - while

attitudinal accounts could investigate questions of individual social aspiration/commitment. Behavioural actions get intersubjective recognition and hence groups perceived as patterns of habitual interaction/social activity have a degree of relative stability as a result of the publicness and exteriority that is a central feature of behaviour (cf. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985:181). In contrast, though very probably behavioural in origin and also in formulation (Mead 1934), attitudes are stored privately within the mind, are less accountable and have therefore more scope for autonomous movement.

So both in terms of being clear about what your empirical data allows you to say, and also in terms of its potentiality for illuminating a little bit of the human drama (as this relates to language), the distinction between interactive involvement and social category alignment is a productive one. How has it fared in more recent empirical quantitative sociolinguistics?

### 5.3 Milroy and Giles

Since Labov's early work, two separate strands have developed within sociolinguistics (broadly defined), with each empirically addressing themselves to one or other of the two senses of 'group' outlined above. One of these strands is represented by Milroy, the other by Giles (who, although not strictly within secular linguistics, is quite frequently cited by 'secular' linguists (e.g. Russell 1982; Bell 1984; Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985) and who forms a very useful counterpoint to Milroy). In order to follow the empirical course of this distinction and also because they are clearly both pivotal figures, it is convenient to compare them, and then indicate some of the deficiencies in each that emerge from their juxtaposition.

Milroy's network analysis in essence deals with groups as interactional units. Her focus is upon the social contacts experienced by the individual, and group membership is described from an observer's perspective as a graded phenomenon, in terms of how closely involved people are with others in their local

environment. The endeavour is to link up language with an account of social integratedness/inclusion, and at least in Milroy (1980), there is no systematic investigation of network members' relationships with and attitudes towards people identified as being outside the community (i.e. outgroups). Milroy's empirical assessment of network is behavioural (1980:141).

In contrast Giles ties language up with a social psychological account of group identification. For Giles, a group is a much more distinct and bounded entity, which a person may see himself as either included in or excluded from (for a fuller account see Giles and Johnson 1981). The term 'group' is substitutable with 'category', and the aim is to investigate the linguistic consequences of the cognitions 'them' and 'us'. While within-group cognitions are by no means neglected (e.g. the work on the subjective Vitality Questionnaire, Bourhis, Giles and Rosenthal 1981), the major focus is on relations between groups. Finally Giles and his associates are predominantly concerned with perception - with perceived ethnolinguistic vitality, perceived group boundaries etc. (e.g. Giles and Johnson 1981; Thakerar et al. 1982).

Now each in fact has deficiencies, which in principle anyway, the other could remedy. I shall start by fairly briefly considering Giles', and then go on to Milroy's at greater length (partly because her conceptualisations are more flawed in relation to these two notions of group, and also because she figures much more prominently within 'secular linguistics', towards which my own study is oriented).

In Giles' work, there is little sense of people having shared histories of social interaction (i.e. group membership defined in terms of interactional involvement) and as a result, very little attention is given to the legacy of communicative practices which group membership in this sense bestows, and which speakers and hearers bring to their communicative situations (cp. e.g. Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz 1982:Ch.I). Milroy's network indices do represent an attempt to differentiate people in terms of

such interactional histories, and to relate these to different cultural practices (if only at the phonological level). For Giles 'groups' are not really significant for their cultural inheritance, but rather as key cognitive units in the 'on-line' processing of speech: generally, speakers and collectivities are given only broad class/age/sex/ethnic/occupational designations, with the result that they can be said to have recognised social histories only to the extent that such general classifications adequately describe the social experience of people inside them. It would be unfair in the extreme to describe Giles' preoccupations as a-social, but nevertheless the particularities of any socio-cultural context are generally dealt with programmatically as the analysis rapidly pushes through to the ways in which these illuminate a variety of theoretical systems (e.g. social identity theory, accommodation theory) (cf. the comments of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985:3). Similarly, the experimental laboratory is by no means Giles' only empirical arena, but the pace of extrapolation from data to theory does look as if its inspiration is experimental. In contrast to Milroy, whose enterprise entails observation resulting (in reality if not in aspiration) in particular description, Giles' approach comprises empirical elicitation and eclectic synthesis with a view to generalised prediction (Giles 1979:252; Giles and Johnson 1981:214). It will be argued below that Giles' notion of the 'sociolinguistic automaton' can be used to characterise Milroy's speakers: however, in reply, it is worth pointing out that Giles' own speakers tend to be sociolinguistic and socio-cultural non-entities and amnesiacs.

So Giles could do with some of the contextualised detail of Milroy. In contrast, Milroy's theoretical extrapolations are unwarranted by her data-base, because it contains no indication of local cognitive category memberships. This is a point that needs to be made in some detail.

It has already been pointed out that Milroy's network indicators are behavioural: further to that however, we must assume that they are only etic since no evidence is offered that the way



in which Milroy segments community life for the purposes of measurement, correspond to local definitions of settings and roles.<sup>7</sup> For example, in the second indicator - 'Having substantial ties of kinship in the neighbourhood' (1980:141-2) - assessments are presumably made on the basis of 'objective' physical proximity and this must be taken as an etic measure at odds with the 'cognitive geography' of at least one of the communities, since we are told earlier on how the displaced residents from the Hammer orientate themselves both psychologically and interactively to a neighbourhood in which they no longer live (1980:81). In other words, neighbourhood membership as measured here does not match neighbourhood membership as these 'community' members see it.

Another example of the etic, non-ethnographic nature of Milroy's network index is the unproblematised inclusion of work as a significantly different sphere from the neighbourhood (such that a person who works with people from his area is held to be more significantly involved than someone who doesn't). Earlier in the text we were told that community members are socio-economic marginals (Ch.4) which presumably means that they will not be very susceptible to the institutional ethos of work. If that is the case, how far can going to work with someone be assumed to be qualitatively different from standing on a street corner with them - how far can sharing a place of work be taken to thicken multiplexity by adding a new role-relationship? Similarly, we learn that local socio-cultural definitions merge home and street (1980:93); in which case, how far would local people say that those employed as street-market fruit vendors (or barmen or street sweepers) (1980:74,75) were engaged in a different 'activity field' (Boissevain 1974) from the home, and thus in what sense can these occupations be defined as adding multiplexity, as this would be perceived by local people themselves?

Using etic indicators is not on its own a flaw (see Mitchell 1969:44ff;34-35; also Hymes 1974:22ff; and e.g. below 5.6.3). However, in the light of the interpretations that Milroy draws from her empirical data, it turns out to be so. This will emerge

in due course, as Milroy's failures to recognise the limitations of her data are outlined.

Firstly, attention needs to be drawn to her equivocation over the extent to which Network Analysis as she uses it empirically represents members' 'affect' and psycho-social orientation to the community. Towards the end of Milroy (1980), it is admitted that these network measures 'cannot claim unfortunately to reflect consistently an individual's attitude to status or solidarity ideologies', and that it cannot be said to reflect a person's personal affinities to the vernacular culture 'in any consistent or reliable way' (1980:200). On another occasion however, it is said that devising a reliable measure of attitudes was not only difficult but also unnecessary because network score 'might be described as an objective correlative to ... subjective attitudes' (1980:140), and an unproblematical relationship between a person's objective position and their subjective perceptions/representations is further assumed when it is said that network analysis brings 'in the dimension of individual choice' (albeit it 'in a necessarily limited way') (1980:115) (also Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985:184). In view of the network index being almost exclusively behavioural (and anyhow what is the evidence for the voluntariness of 'voluntary' in the (little used) fifth indicator p.142), Milroy (1980) clearly gives no empirical evidence of affect and attitude; in view of its eticness, it cannot even claim to give a picture of the ways and extent to which people might feel they have social ties in the locality. In fact, the index can only be viewed as giving leverage on local socio-cultural perceptions, whether conformist or non-conformist, if one accepts the validity of some kind of network law such as 'where association, there affect', a point on which a number of anthropologists express scepticism (Boissevain 1974:32,46; Saifullah Khan 1974:185,352; Wallman 1980:33; Epstein 1969:95; Mitchell 1969:28) and with which e.g. proverbial wisdom is often at odds ('familiarity breeds contempt').

The problem becomes more serious than this however when Milroy discusses her results in terms of variables symbolising

e.g. levels of integration into the community (1980:157,163; also Hudson 1980:179; indeed Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985: 185). In the first place there is no empirical evidence that such linguistic items are salient to community members (cf. Romaine's review 1980b:267 and e.g. Labov 1972a:Ch.6 on subjective reaction tests) or that these variables are more than informative, unintended signs (Brown and Levinson 1979:325; maybe they would need to be 'communicative signs proper, that are not only intended but are intended to be seen as intended', before one could call them 'symbolizing' (cf. e.g. Mead 1934: 47)).

Second and more importantly, the network index itself gives no leverage on what these variables might symbolise since it is framed in terms which, as far as we can see, are extrinsic to local socio-cultural cognitions and categories of identity. By the same token, discussion of solidarity must be seen as essentially unrelated to the empirical research, since cognitive group-memberships central within the community are completely unspecified - an empirical examination of solidarity necessarily entails the identification of category-memberships with emic currency.

Finally, the book's central consideration of norm-enforcement<sup>8</sup> must likewise be viewed as only aprioristic, drawing on other network studies but giving it no systematic examination in the light of the Belfast data. For example, one instance of norm-enforcement is reported (pp.60-61) in which a Ballymacarrett youngster adopts a less vernacular phonological style and is rebuked by his friends with 'Come on, you're not on television now you know'. Clearly the group has a sense of collective identity but there are no grounds for assuming that the identity being threatened (and then reaffirmed) is co-terminous with the residential proximity, kinship, gender and occupational co-participation that are represented in Milroy's network indices. The network measure surely subsumes a host of different identities - a point on which Milroy appears to agree (p.115) and which follows naturally from Le Page's (and Giles') conception of multiple cate-

gory membership - and it is thus perfectly possible that the incident in question hinges on a sense of group-belonging largely alien to most of the neighbourhood in which they live. It could, for example, be some illegal identity (1980:61) which was actually opposed to/by most of the other people in the locality. The central point is that norm-enforcement exists in relation to the values which people adopt (or address) as they take up/switch between the multiple identities/category-memberships available to them (cf. Ervin Tripp 1969:151-153), and thus norm-enforcement is a complex socio-cognitive activity requiring much more delicate analysis than Milroy gives it, if claims are to be made about its empirical portrayal.

This is not adequately recognised. Milroy outlines the first criterion used in the selection of indicators to be employed in constructing the network scale, as follows:

'They [the indicators] must reflect the conditions which have repeatedly been found important in a wide range of network studies, in predicting the extent to which normative pressures are applied by the local community (and of course accepted by the individual); it is specifically the capacity of some kinds of network to maintain consensus which may be significant here' (1980:141).

The formulation here in effect implies a direct link between material social conditions/environmental circumstances (in the sense of what the composition of your neighbourhood is, whom you work and spend your leisure with etc.) and norm-enforcement: the nature and functioning of local categories of identity are not admitted as a level of analysis and there is thus no chance to examine the organisation of a variety of norms within the local area in terms of their content, distinctiveness and the latitude of acceptable behaviour around them (McKirnan and Hamayan 1980). If one takes in the first instance, norm-enforcement as a behaviour and views it as the dependent variable, Milroy's analysis is clearly deterministic and reductionist, in light of the etic nature of her indicators: it reads 'people who live with lots of kin, go to work with neighbours etc. enforce norms more than those who don't' (cp. Heritage 1984:Ch.2; also the remarks above

on sociolinguistic automata).<sup>9</sup> With this in mind, the dubiousness of Milroy's claims about the causal relation between network structure and variable language behaviour also then emerges (Milroy 1980:136; 1983:104). Her chain of reasoning runs:

network structure	→	norm-enforcement	→	language behaviour
(dense, multiplex	→	strict norm-enforcement	→	homogeneous speech
(sparse, uniplex	→	lax norm-enforcement	→	heterogeneous speech).

<sup>10</sup>

It is hard to take for granted the operation of something (norm-enforcement) which hasn't been either adequately conceptualised or itself empirically addressed, and if one proceeds on such an insubstantial basis, one straightforwardly confuses the empirical product (i.e. speech data) with the means/processes by which it was generated (viz norm-enforcement). If she chooses, Milroy is of course fully entitled to speculate about norm-enforcement in the abstract, but any claims to have demonstrated its operation (such as might flow from the criterion above) are without foundation. There are alternative explanations possible for the correlation of speech with network structure (and after a very brief summary of the argument so far, these can be addressed).

So, so far both Giles and Milroy have been identified with different conceptualisations of 'group', and each has been criticised precisely because each lacks the notion of group with which the other is operating. Finally, it is worth turning to their potential complementarity, and this can be done by considering the ways group in each sense can purport to affect language.

A picture of interactional contacts such as network analysis produces can tell one roughly about the kinds of linguistic item that a person is intensively exposed to, and also what forms they have a chance to pick up in so far as language learning is considered from a fairly mechanical perspective in terms of the time and practice that it requires (cf. Labov 1968:111 cited in Afendras 1979:662; Faerch and Kasper 1983:53 on automatisisation; and Le Page's rider (b) (and (d)) 1980:123-124, p. 95 above). It

also gives an indication of the nature of the audiences to which speakers habitually shape their utterances (cf. Volosinov 1930, in Innis 1985:58; Gal 1979:131-132 (for a more symbolic interactional formulation p.141)). Ervin Tripp (1969:146) writes:

'It seems that people talk like those with whom they have the closest social ties. We do not know precisely why this is the case: it may be that the features of social relationships which bring about this result are not the same for all types of speech similarity. In social networks and groups, there is a high frequency of interaction. The high attraction of others in the group or network means that they not only serve as models but can also act as reinforcing agents in their responses to speech, affecting attitudes toward features in the community repertoire. In addition, there might be secondary reinforcement in sounding like a valued person.'

One would want to challenge this by saying that frequency of interaction depended on the type of network, and that even in closed networks, high attraction could not be taken for granted (see above). However, in general Ervin Tripp's statement contains a healthy degree of vagueness and uncertainty (e.g. re the probably differing relationship of network to different levels/types of speech) and this is appropriate to the central fact that the data of network analysis are social associations potentially comprising a large variety of linguistically consequential affective and role relationships which in their entirety the analysis can't possibly itemise (Mitchell 1969:10,11,22). It is also worth noting the fairly casual (and definitely non-behaviouristic) use of the term reinforcement, which in contrast to Milroy's (norm-)enforcement,<sup>11</sup> implies in a suitably undefined way everyday processes of tacit reciprocal accommodation, which are also much more easily tied in with processes of language acquisition than Milroy's view of the key network mechanism (cf. discussion of prescription in language pedagogy).

Group in the sense of cognitive category membership would seem to have a rather different influence on language. From an acquisitional point of view, an assessment of what group member-

ships were important to an individual could indicate their psychological susceptibility to the speech models perceived around them, and how far a kind of socio-affective filter might operate in picking up and screening out the linguistic data that various social entities provided (as well inhibiting or encouraging its reproduction).

In this sense a person's categorisations and evaluations could be seen as 'canalising' their linguistic development (cp. Barth 1969:15; Kelly 1963:46-50; Bannister and Fransella 1980:17; cp. Giles and Byrne 1981). With regard to language usage rather than acquisition, Giles et al. have obviously developed an elaborate account of how category memberships affect linguistic self-projection/accommodation within interactional dyads (e.g. Giles and Smith 1977; Giles and Johnson 1981; Thakerar, Giles and Cheshire 1982); beyond these and outside the experimental laboratory, a full account of the categories that a person identified with and saw around them could provide a delicate characterisation of the successive interactions comprising the mesh of linkages making up their network. Such a task would in fact be so immense as to be impossible, but if, for example, one concurred with Tajfel (1981:229,239) and Giles and Johnson (1981) that strong identification with a category-membership would lead to its trans-situational salience and projection, one might feel entitled on the basis of an empirical assessment of even one category identification, to predict something about the nature of the interactional contents passing generally across a personal network. Finally, if one really wanted to examine the enforcement of linguistic norms within closed networks, the addition of Giles' account of language and category membership would provide an improved (though without ethnographic exemplification, still crude) framework for doing so, since it focuses on the identity projection and on the psycho-social susceptibility (Ryan and Giles 1983) that are both necessarily entailed in any 'norm-enforcement' that meets with success.

So group-as-interaction/Milroy/network analysis and group-as-cognitive-category/Giles offer differing but complementary perspectives on language acquisition and use, a point that is in fact to some extent self-evident in the way in which they relate to different parts of Le Page's hypothesis and riders.

Now that the task of conceptual ground clearing has been completed, drawing attention to the deficiencies and dangers as well as the differences and complementarities of these two approaches to group membership, the task of outlining a methodology that is geared to systematically exploring each can be commenced. I shall start by outlining an empirical lever on cognitive category-membership - Identity Structure Analysis (ISA).

#### 5.4 Identity Structure Analysis (ISA)

Identity Structure Analysis (henceforth ISA) has been developed by Peter Weinreich as a theoretical and empirical approach to psycho-social identity, to the affinities and overlaps that an individual feels with regard to the people and groups around him (e.g. Weinreich 1979a; 1979b; 1980). My use of ISA will in fact be very simple, but it is worth setting out some of its fundamental assumptions, not only in order to establish the constraints within which any of my own theorisation of ISA results would need to operate, but more importantly perhaps, to suggest its striking *prima facie* appropriacy to sociolinguistic concerns with identity as developed in particular by Le Page (who is taken up in e.g. Milroy 1980; Trudgill 1980; Romaine 1982; Hudson 1980 amongst others (see references in Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985:116)), but also by Giles.

I shall first very briefly outline a little of what I understand to be ISA's antecedents and then define some of its key concepts. After that I shall describe the way in which it could help to empirically identify specific questions formulated by Le Page and Giles.



#### 5.4.1 Some of the Background to ISA<sup>12</sup>

Weinreich identifies two of the major strands behind ISA as being personal construct theory (e.g. Kelly 1963; Bannister and Fransella 1980; Fransella and Bannister 1977) and psycho-dynamic identity theory (e.g. Erikson 1968). Personal construct theory appears to influence ISA's account of the basic and formal principles of cognitive organisation, as well as its empirical method, while psycho-dynamic identity theory appears to have influenced ISA's model of psycho-social processes.

Personal Construct Theory in fact seems quite user-friendly to anyone doing sociolinguistics for several reasons. In the first place it conceives of personality as being the way in which one makes sense of the world (Bannister and Fransella 1980:17) and of man as centrally an 'inquirer'. Constructs are the categories that we use to segment and interpret our experience, and they are built up and modified as we encounter events that replicate (to a greater or lesser degree) our prior experience (B&F 1980:18,24,25; cf. e.g. Heritage 1984; Hudson 1980). Secondly, a lot of attention is paid to the 'grammatical' organisation of constructs: constructs are held to comprise two poles and are arranged in hierarchies (B&F 1980:20); the semiotic nature of constructs becomes apparent when it is emphasised that a construct is not a 'thought' or a 'feeling' but a 'discrimination' (B&F 1980:32). Yet a person's construct system is by no means completely logical or consistent (the 'fragmentation corollary' B&F 1980:26; cf. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1982:181 on the fragmentariness of grammatical systems), and context-specificity is a feature of constructs (the 'Range Corollary' B&F 1980:23). Thirdly, the individual has to be the locus of description since 'persons differ from each other in their construction of events' and no two people are identical in their construct systems (B&F 1980:19,20; cf. Le Page 1978:1,2 and Hudson 1980:12 on the uniqueness of an individual's grammar), although people are by no means entirely different (B&F 1980:27; Le Page and Hudson again). Lastly, the theory emphasises the importance in empirical work of using an informant's own constructs, their own ways

of thinking and talking about things (B&F 1980:65) and this clearly makes it useful in cross-cultural studies (Weinreich 1980:iv).

Weinreich writes of Personal Construct Theory that

'Whilst self in that theory is regarded as the basis process, because of its emphasis on constructs and construing, it had not developed the more macroscopic concepts concerned with identity conflict, antagonisms towards certain groups and allegiances towards others' (1980:iii).

For these 'macroscopic' concepts, he turns to Erik Erikson and here notions of identification enter the account. Weinreich describes Erikson's view of adolescence:<sup>13</sup>

'Erikson sees as one of the main "tasks" of adolescence: "to re-synthesize all childhood identification in some unique way and yet in concordance with the roles offered by some wider section of society" (Erikson 1968:156). Identity formation "arises from the selective repudiation and mutual assimilation of childhood identifications" (Erikson 1968:158). He is circumspect about viewing the process of identification in all or none terms, saying that "children at different stages of their development identify with those part aspects of people by which they themselves are most immediately affected" (1968:158).' (1979b:157,158).

Several things can be drawn out from this: firstly, that the notion of identification is a dynamic one: identifications are susceptible to change and modification, a personal history perspective is clearly well integrated (e.g. Erikson 1968:21; contrast Giles as described on pp 99 - 100), and shifts in identification are by no means smooth, as Weinreich emphasises:

'in broadening 'your' set of identifications, there will necessarily be an element of rejection of certain features of other people who form the wider net of those 'you' identify with' (Weinreich 1979b:160; Le Page and TK 1985:184-5).

Yet these processes can definitely not be seen as essentially pathological (Weinreich 1979a:89; Le Page and TK 1985:184) and hence Weinreich recommends that the general term 'identity conflict' be used sparingly (1979b:106). Secondly, the process is socially located, and this can be amplified with a quotation from Erikson on growth:

'The community supports such development to the extent that it permits the child, at each step, to orient himself towards a complete "life plan" with a hierarchical order of roles as represented by individuals of different ages. Family, neighbourhood, and school provide contact and experimental identification with younger and older children and with young and old adults. A child, in the multiplicity of successive and tentative identifications, thus begins early to build up expectations of what it will be like to be older, and what it will feel like to have been younger - expectations which become part of an identity as they are step by step, verified in decisive experiences of psycho-social "fittedness".' (Erikson 1968:161).

Lastly, identifications with the people around are not total, but instead partial, being with aspects of them rather than wholes (and in this sense the notion of category co-membership used extensively above (p 43 ff) meets with some refinement). This is particularly important in Weinreich's own adaptation of Erikson, since he draws in Construct Theory and characterises personal constructs as the basic frames through which different aspects of people and groups are discerned and then organised in the processes of self-alignment and self-distancing constituting self-definition/identity.

With this clarification of some of its background assumptions, we can now turn to a fuller specification of ISA itself.

#### 5.4.2 Key Concepts in ISA

Some of the 'flavour' of ISA has been suggested, and now more systematic exposition is in order.

The basic concepts in ISA are the self, various others (both

of these being called entities)<sup>14</sup> and constructs, which are the ways in which individuals interpret the world (in fact, since all three are items in a person's mental landscape, there is no essential difference between entities and constructs (cf. e.g. Salmon 1976:25): however, the distinction is methodologically and conceptually very convenient). The self is analysed in ISA into several components: the ideal self - 'me as I would like to be'; the past self - 'me as I used to be'; and the current self - 'me as I am now'. This already introduces a self-perceived historical/autobiographical dimension and the scope for exploring disparities and overlaps between e.g. past and ideal selves begins to emerge. Additional selves can be introduced and in particular, 'me as others see me' ('self for others'), which clearly introduces a social dimension and both acknowledges the importance of and provides a chance to explore the ways an individual thinks others regard him (cf. Erikson 1968:156;<sup>15</sup> also Le Page's rider (e) on feedback, e.g. 1980:124, p95 above). ISA doesn't only investigate the relationship between 'selves' of course, but also explores the relationship between self and other entities (individual and group), with constructs providing the basic vocabulary in which relationships of similarity and difference between all these entities in the cognitive landscape are investigated.

These are the fundamental components in ISA and of course it needs to be stressed that its value as a way of exploring identity centrally depends on the entities and constructs being of symbolic /psychological significance to the individual in question. With that in mind, we can start to elaborate in more (though not exhaustive) detail the concepts and measures built up from these core elements (these are comprehensively and in the main very clearly set out in e.g. Weinreich 1980:10-20, which is included as Appendix 2).

One of the most important concepts is the 'ideal self-image', which Weinreich defines as follows:

'A person's ideal self-image is defined as his construal of "me as I would like to be". The person's ideal self-image is the totality of all that to which he aspires and includes all the characteristics, skills and values he would wish to possess' (1980:10).

In empirical terms a person's ideal self-image is explored by asking them to focus on how they would like to be, and then asking them to consider the applicability of a variety of qualities and attributes to this conception that they have of themselves in the ideal (these qualities and attributes generally have emerged from a prior interview with the respondent, and have *prima facie* personal significance to them of one kind or another). In ISA terms, respondents rate/indicate the extent to which a number of constructs describe the entity 'me as I would like to be'. From this the 'ideal self-image' is deduced, and this consists of the nature and intensity of the qualities that the informant indicates as matching his ideal self. So, for example, having previously elicited the constructs 'tall-short' and 'fat-thin' from the informant, the analyst first presents them to him/her with the chance to differentiate their degrees of relevance (as well as to indicate their total irrelevance). When the rating procedure is completed, analysis would locate the entity 'me as I would like to be' on the informant's rating sheets and, it would then ascertain that the informant's 'ideal self-image' consisted of being quite thin and quite short, or very tall and a little bit fat, or that one or both of the constructs had no bearing at all on his ideal self, etc.

From this notion of the ideal self, Weinreich then proceeds to define an individual's 'positive' and 'negative values':

'A person's positive values are defined as those personal characteristics and guidelines for behaviour which he aspires to implement for himself in accordance with his ideal self-image.' (1980:11).

Empirically his positive values are taken to be those qualities and features which the informant aligns with the entity 'me as I would like to be', so that in the trivial examples above, in the

first case 'quite thinness and quite shortness' would be positive values, in the second 'very tallness and a little bit fatness'. In fact, one may have reservations here about Weinreich's use of the term 'value', and what he calls 'positive values' should probably more parsimoniously be called 'attributes-one-would-personally-like-to-possess'.<sup>16</sup> This is because 'value' connotes moral and cultural systems which are much larger and more differentiated than the personal aspiration being empirically addressed here and a simple example illustrates the difficulty of Weinreich's usage. If I am a teacher and I rate my ideal self highly on the construct 'in command', it does not follow that I would necessarily appreciate the quality 'in command' in my pupils: a virtue in one person can seem a defect in another, and the use of the term 'value' to describe what may be a highly contextualised judgment is potentially misleading. However, this criticism can be regarded as essentially terminological (though it needs to be made early on to prevent confusion when it comes to the theoretical interpretation of results): Personal Construct Theory's 'range' and 'fragmentation corollaries' (see above) clearly address this issue and in fact Weinreich himself builds into the ISA computational procedure a measure specifically designed to broadly identify constructs which are likely to be positively valued in relation to one entity and negatively with respect to another ('Structural Pressure on Constructs' 1980: 17-19). So the procedure is by no means incapacitated by this criticism, and we may proceed with its exposition.

'Negative (or contra-)values'

A person's negative values are defined as the contrasts of his positive values, that is, those characteristics and patterns of behaviour from which he would wish to dissociate' (1980:11)

It is worth suggesting that these might be more precisely called 'qualities/features which the informant would personally not like to possess', but beyond that the centrality of the ideal self to both positive and negative 'values' becomes apparent: while positive values are those sides of bipolar constructs which informants associate with 'me as I would like to be', negative

values are their equivalents on the opposite poles. So that if I say I aspire to fatness, fatness is described by Weinreich as a positive value and thinness a negative or contra-value.

From these definitions of 'positive values' and 'negative values', there emerges

'Positive role model (and reference group)

A person's positive role model (reference group) is defined as some other person (group) construed as having many of the attributes and values to which he aspires, that is, ones associated with his ideal self-image;

Negative role model (and reference group)

A person's negative role model (reference group) is defined as some other person (group) construed as possessing many of the attributes and contra-values from which he wishes to dissociate, that is, ones aligned with his contra-value system.'  
(1980:12).

Empirically, positive role models/reference groups are taken to be those that are construed/given construct ratings comparable to 'me as I would like to be', whereas negative ones are the opposite of ideal-self construals, and it is worth adding here that the ISA procedure allows for up to fifty entities (individuals, groups, events, issues of symbolic importance) to be processed by the computer at any one time (though in practice, fifty is likely to be too many for respondents). Thus a wide range of significant others can be included.

Greater specification of the relationship between entities and the ideal self-image is given in terms of the following:

'Idealistic identification (positive role model and reference group)

The extent of a person's idealistic identification with another is defined as the degree of similarity between the qualities he attributes to the other and those he would like to possess as part of his ideal self-image.

Contra-identification (negative role model and reference group)

The extent of a person's contra-identification with

another is defined as the degree of similarity between the qualities he attributes to the other and those from which he would wish to dissociate' (1980:13).

These descriptions are fairly self-explanatory, and follow logically from the exposition above. Empirically, ISA provides a computational procedure which produces indices to indicate the different degrees of identification (both contra- or idealistic) that any individual entertains towards the entities within his psycho-social field. Thus, ISA quantifies the extent to which a person aspires (or doesn't) to be like his mother, his father, his friends, politicians etc. etc.

These are concepts pivoting on the 'ideal self'. As indicated above however, the ISA procedure also entails informants expressing themselves with regard to 'me as I am now', and 'me as I used to be'.

#### 'Current self-image

A person's current self-image is defined as his construal of "me as I am now";

#### Past self-image

A person's past self-image is defined as his construal of "me as I used to be".' (1980:12)

Each of these provides the anchor for an analysis of the different types of identification that an individual may have with the entities around him.

#### 'Current identification

The extent of a person's current identification with another is defined as the degree of similarity between the qualities he attributes to the other, whether "good" or "bad", and those of his current self-image.

#### Past identification

The extent of a person's past identification with another is defined as the degree of similarity between the qualities he attributes to the other, and those of his past self-image.' (1980:13)

The use of the terms 'good' and 'bad' obviously raises the same



objections as 'value', since by 'good' and 'bad' Weinreich is referring to qualities as these stand in relation to the ideal self-image. But in practice this is a relatively fussy criticism since 'goodness' and 'badness' are not relevant to current and past identification anyway. Otherwise the similarity of the procedure here to the way in which idealistic identification is calculated makes it easy to comprehend how these are operationalised, despite the selves which form the pivots for each type of identification measurement being different.

Two more relatively basic concepts in ISA are worth outlined here. The first of these is 'identification conflict', which can be defined both in relation to the current and the past self-images:

'Identification conflicts

In terms of the person's current self-image, the extent of his identification conflict with another is defined as a multiplicative function of his current and contra-identifications with that other.

(A similar definition holds for identification conflicts in terms of the person's past self-image by substituting past for current identification)' (1980:14).

In other words, if a person has (current) conflictual identification with regard to a particular entity (person or group), he/she would on the one hand regard them as similar to him/her in some respects while at the same time seeing in them qualities from which he/she would wish to be personally dissociated: if both current and contra-identification with those others grew simultaneously, so would the identification conflict experienced in relation to them.<sup>17</sup>

'Ego-involvement

A person's ego-involvement with another is defined as his overall responsiveness to the other in terms of the extensiveness both in quantity and strength of the attributes he construes the other as possessing' (1980:16).

Empirically, this is a measure of how much of a response a particular entity elicits from a respondent, and an index of ego-

involvement is calculated on the basis of (a) the number of constructs that the informant sees as relevant to the entity: (b) strength of the ratings on construct scales and (c) the importance that the informant attached to the constructs involved when s/he gave them an 'ego-rating' (Weinreich 1980:A6; see below Ch.8.3 for a clarification of (b) and (c)). A person's ego-involvement with an entity can be rephrased as its psychological salience for him/her.

These are the ISA concepts of which I shall make most use, and Appendix 3 consists of an extract from Weinreich (1980) which explains in detail how the quantitative indices used to represent these concepts are calculated. In fact, there are a number of other concepts which have been omitted here - e.g. self-involvement, evaluation of others, ambivalence and ego-ambivalence towards an entity, self-esteem, overall identity diffusion - and this is because, as I stated at the outset, my own use of ISA will be relatively simple, descriptive and static. I shall not be investigating the interactions of the elements outlined above in any complexity, or attempting to characterise with any sophistication the psycho-social dynamics on which ISA offers an empirical angle, whether these are to be examined at the level of the group or of the individual (for a full bibliography of studies using ISA, see Weinreich 1980, 2nd edn).

However, instead of merely turning straightaway to my own small empirical exploration, it is worth considering some sociolinguistic themes in the light of what has been outlined above, since I think that ISA has the potential to be very useful, particularly in quantitative sociolinguistics.

#### 5.4.3 The Scope for ISA in Sociolinguistics<sup>18</sup>

A number of compatibilities have already been suggested between the psycho-social approach in ISA, and Le Page's theories (e.g. on the fragmentariness of many construct systems and Le Page's conception of linguistic knowledge; on the uniqueness of the individual's construct and linguistic systems and the consequent

need to start description with the individual; on the relevance of the 'me-as-others-see-me' entity to Le Page's feedback rider). A few more conceptual resemblances merit attention before the prima facie empirical utility of ISA to Le Page's approach is suggested.

In all of the main ISA concepts outlined above, the focus of attention is on a relationship between others and the self - even measures such as 'evaluation of another' rely for their definition on some aspect of the informant's image of his self. Comparably, Le Page (1986:6,7) writes as follows about his enterprise:

'The question of personal identity is supremely important to us as human beings ...

Basically we are concerned here to try to establish as clearly as possible the foundations on which the interlocking human identities of self and group rest. We are confronted with the absolute basic duality in mankind's nature, in that we are gregarious, and that ... the identity of the individual is realised through his relationship to social groups.'

In Le Page's conception, every speech act is addressed to an audience which comprises not only an alter but (presumably by virtue of the reflexivity of talk (Mead 1934:Pt II)) also an ego - an image of the self, the purpose being to explore the relationship between self and other. The relationship between others and the self are obviously the staple of ISA.

The notions of growth in Weinreich and Le Page's approach are very similar: compare the quotations from Weinreich and Erikson on pp. 110, 111 above with Le Page:

'I wish to be able to describe the behaviour of this girl ... in such a way as to reveal something of the process of growing up in a fluid multilingual society, of choosing an identity and a social role; to say something about the way in which the concept of what it means to be a Belizean in this newly-independent country is developing, is revealed by linguistic symptoms and so on. I wish to do so in such a way that I may reveal something of general value

about the way in which societies come into being; jell; and then dissolve ... This child's behaviour is idiosyncratic at each stage of her development, but each stage reflects something of the stereotypes she has created in her mind about her own society. As she gets older, the stereotypes change, and probably harden. She is like other members of her peer group, but not identical to any of them. By being half Mexican and half Creole she straddles the two major cultural groups in the community: their Spanish is broken Spanish and their Creole is broken Creole. Truly therefore, both their languages and their identity are emergent.' (1978:1,2).

Le Page's stereotypes are of the same phenomenological order as Weinreich's entities and constructs; for both growth is seen in terms of fluid experimental part-identifications, stabilising to some degree when some 'psycho-social fittedness' is (temporarily) found. And while Le Page expresses it here in social terms ('societies come into being; jell; and then dissolve'), elsewhere his notion of focusing and diffusion are clearly stated as internal processes (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985:181). They find a sophisticated (and operationalised) analogue in ISA notions of identity diffusion and identity foreclosure. The former is conceived of dispersion and magnitude (spread and intensity) of a person's identity conflicts (see above), or

'as a function of the extent to which the individual's identifications with others straddle values associated both with people he would mostly wish to emulate and with those he would more likely wish to reject' (Weinreich 1979b:160).

In other words, when a person sees attributes in the people he likes which are however also evident in those he wants to dissociate from, there may be problems forming a coherent 'value' system. In contrast in identity foreclosure (which admittedly seems to be a rather extreme condition),

'The conflicts and confusions have been lessened by avoidance. The individual's sense of direction and self is forever fixed, as it is in response to a withdrawal from conflict areas a rigid closing off of possibilities' (Weinreich 1979b:159, citing Hauser).

The comparability between Le Page's account of what happens at the level of language and ISA's account of process at the level of identity are striking: since Le Page is eager to extrapolate from linguistic data to psycho-social processes, in principle ISA would appear to offer an excellent method for investigating the extent to which a shift in levels is empirically justified.

Beyond, or indeed founded on their theoretical compatibility, it is important to stress the empirical convenience of ISA with regard to Le Page's theoretical extrapolations. For example, according to McEntaggart and Le Page (1982), their hypothesis demands that all social and psychological factors be taken into account at once (1982:123) and indeed data is collected on a larger number of factors such as location, age, sex, religion, political activism, wealth, self-reported ethnicity etc. (1982:118). The next stage is identifying correlations between these and speech and it is after that that the theoretically crucial operation takes place, which involves deriving hypotheses and suggestions about people's aspirations and identifications from the emerging correlations. What matters most to Le Page is obviously not so much the 'objective' facts of an individual's relative social position (cp. Milroy for that), as the way in which they represent this to themselves cognitively.

Without requiring a great deal of prior sociological analysis of the environment, ISA goes to the perceived reality directly, and it explores this empirically. Rather than a person's aspirations and identifications being the subject of the researcher's suggestions and inferences, the informant in ISA is afforded a chance to express these himself in some detail when he/she is given the rating booklet (cf. below Ch.8.3). And because the constructs used in the rating procedure have been carefully elicited through conversation, when Weinreich's method then proceeds to produce quantified indices, these do not straightforwardly involve a choice 'between statistically comparable but dehumanised answers, and linguistically and socially informative conversations' (Le Page and McEntaggart 1982:115). It no longer seems true that

'a high level of statistical sophistication seems to militate against anything except rather superficial observations' (1982:115).

Of course both the intrusion of a pencil and paper methodology and the ensuing computational procedures raise problems about the 'emicness' of the emerging picture (see below 5.6.3). Nevertheless ISA would seem to offer scope for substantial methodological advance for 'acts of identity' sociolinguistics.

It is important however not to allow this very striking compatibility of approaches to occupy one's vision entirely, and to ignore the extent to which ISA could be usefully brought to other studies concerned with language and socio-psychological identity.

Giles and his associates develop the following theory of the relevance of group membership to language:

'individuals are more likely to define an encounter with an outgroup person in interethnic terms and to adopt strategies for positive linguistic distinctiveness when they:

1. identify strongly with their ethnic group which considers language an important dimension of its identity;
2. make insecure interethnic comparison (for example, are aware of cognitive alternatives to their own group's status position);
3. perceive their ingroup to have high ethno-linguistic vitality;
4. perceive their ingroup boundaries to be hard and closed;
5. identify strongly with few other social categories;
6. perceive little overlap with the outgroup person in terms of other social category memberships;
7. consider the social identities deriving from other social category memberships are relatively inadequate;
8. perceive their status within the ethnic group to be higher than their intragroup status in their other social category memberships.'

(Giles and Johnson 1981:240).

(When the focus shifts from interactional to large scale linguistic processes and the topic becomes the likelihood of a migrant minority group achieving native-like proficiency in the dominant group's

language, 6 is dropped and 5,7 and 8 are combined (Giles and Byrne 1982)). In fact, this list is not quite as parsimonious as Le Page's and the relationship between the variables it outlines is not entirely clear. Certainly their presentation as a list of separate propositions suggests that each is discrete and at the same level of abstraction, whereas in fact strength of identification in proposition 1 can be seen to some extent as superordinate, others in varying degrees proposing angles from which this can be viewed. For example, with regard to proposition 4, Giles and Johnson talk of 'strength of boundaries', and by this they mean the cross-situational relevance of a particular category membership: yet this is elsewhere straightforwardly linked with strength of identification (1981:233; Tajfel 1981:239,229; see also Giles and Johnson (1981:236) on 'hard boundaries' leading to 'strength of identification' as well). Propositions 7 and 8 also look like angles on proposition 1, although elsewhere discussion of boundaries (this time in terms of 'value') is framed in terms of ethnolinguistic vitality (G&J 1981:234) so here it looks as though proposition 4 is replicating/defining proposition 3. Giles' propositions lack Le Page's tidiness: they are however explicitly provisional and maybe they can be preferred in so far as they explicitly include perceptions of the socio-structural environment within which intergroup relations are set (e.g. in proposition 2, which focuses on the perceived stability and legitimacy of the intergroup context).

Whatever the merits or demerits of these two influential formulations of the relationship of identity and cognitive category membership to language, ISA can be a useful tool<sup>19</sup> to Giles as well as to Le Page, as can be briefly indicated below.

Proposition 1: ... strength of identification with their ethnic group which considers language an important part of its identity. ISA indices offer measures of the strength of past, current and idealistic identification, and inclusion of constructs relating to language (e.g. 'should maintain home language' - 'should learn English') could address the question of whether

language is 'considered' an important element of identity (while obviously not exhausting the issue of their interrelationship!).

Proposition 3: ... perceptions of high ingroup ethno-linguistic vitality. The approach of Giles et al. to perceived ethnolinguistic vitality is through the 'Subjective Vitality Questionnaire' (e.g. Bourhis, Giles and Rosenthal 1981): the kind of questions it asks could of course be transformed into bipolar constructs and used in the ISA rating procedure. There are certainly problems attendant upon supplying (rather than eliciting) constructs to informants, but if these could be overcome and the personal significance of the 'SVQ' questions assured, ISA could provide data on ethnolinguistic vitality as perceived in a variety of groups.

Proposition 5: ... strong identification with few other social categories. ISA of course provides a way of exploring how much and in what ways a person identifies with a range of entities.

Proposition 7: ... inadequacy of the social identities deriving from other social category memberships. This could certainly be addressed by ISA if adequacy was conceptualised in terms of 'identification conflict'. Thus a person might have strong current identification with a range of entities (e.g. ethnic ingroup, professional ingroup, religious ingroup etc.) but where any of these also involved strong contra-identification (and hence identification conflict) these could maybe be conceptualised as 'inadequate' (though here it seems very possible that the different social psychological theories with which Giles and Weinreich operate, might clash rather substantially).

Proposition 8: ... perceptions of intra-ethnic status, compared with intragroup status in other social category-memberships. ISA gives respondents four opportunities to express their views of how others see or used to see them (two relating to the present, two to the past). Thus a person could report on 'me as my ethnic group sees me' vs 'me as my professional colleagues see



me', and e.g. the evaluation indices with regard to each could be taken as an indication of the status that the informant felt accorded to them within each group.

Quite how ISA might approach Giles et al.'s other propositions is not as clear (e.g. proposition 2 and 4), though the selection of apposite constructs could represent one approach (e.g. to address the question of 'legitimacy' subsumed in 2, something like 'deserve their advantages' vs 'don't deserve their advantages' might do). My purpose is not to seek a precise operationalisation of these propositions, and in fact there is one difference between Giles' approach and Le Page's which is particularly important as far as the relevance of ISA is concerned. For Giles and Johnson, the basic identity perception appears to be 'I am a —', whereas for Le Page (and Weinreich) it is much more 'I am like —'. The first of these formulations ties in with the primary attention which Giles gives to interactional dyads: speakers are implicitly viewed as stepping in and out of the ethnic and social roles which constitute the restricted range appropriate to and available within specific interactions. Here language usage signals which category-memberships speakers are taking up, and the empirical task of tying language up with a particular identity is comparatively straightforward since understanding the interactional context gives the analyst clues as to what the relevant identities are at that time. In contrast, the 'I am like —' formulation is not geared in the same way to the analysis of specific interaction: it is more geared to growth and development and in Le Page's work, to the demographic distribution of linguistic forms which results from the differing patterns of identification that arise amongst a range of individuals over a broad expanse of space and time. Within the short course of single interactions, people may take up identities wholesale (become X's), but their development over a longer period will result from a more general appraisal of these temporary experiments in identification. And in this context, 'who are you like?' is a much more useful question than 'what are you?', although at the same time, the empirical sociolinguistic task becomes much harder, since language now has to

be seen as a kind of archeological repository for a much more unrestricted range of identifications. These two perspectives on identity are not incompatible, but while ISA could be useful to Giles et al. in certain respects, it is clearly better suited to Le Page's, which is what my own approach approximates here.

So now some of the background assumptions, some of the key concepts and methods of ISA have been outlined. So too has its prima facie applicability to general sociolinguistic concerns. How far this attractive conceptual compatibility (particularly with Le Page) can ultimately be empirically realised will partly emerge in some of the analysis below.

But now we can turn from the question of psycho-social identity to the issue of interactional network association.

### 5.5 Network Analysis

Network Analysis is much more familiar in sociolinguistics than ISA, so it does not require an extensive exposition of basic concepts such as density, range centrality etc. (the reader is referred to Appendix 4, containing a succinct exposition from Boissevain 1974). I shall of course define the way it would need to be used to make it compatible with ISA, but perhaps more importantly, especially in light of the criticisms made of Milroy above, I shall try to outline how much I think it is that network analysis actually allows one to say. After that, I shall describe how I choose to use it, and why.

#### 5.5.1 The Limitations of Network Analysis

It has already been suggested ( in footnote 4 ) how Network Analysis developed in reaction to structural functional sociology/ social anthropology which saw people enacting the norms which they had internalised as a consequence of their positions in the social structure, in such a way that society remained in homeostatic equilibrium (Boissevain 1974:Ch.1; Mitchell 1969; 1973). Network analysis was designed to take in account people's deviations from their normative roles, to reckon with personal inter-

est, and to 'explain the is, the being and the becoming of social institutions' (Boissevain 1974:5). Given the structural-functional orientation of much quantificational sociolinguistics, the movement of Milroy and others towards network analysis has been very understandable (though for a challenge to the linguistic counterpart of (Durkheim's) notions of structure, function and equilibrium - the Saussurean notion of system - one must turn not to Milroy but again to Le Page (Milroy 1980:23,24 vs Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1982)).

Setting goals does not of course guarantee their ultimate achievement; this must depend on the way in which a conceptual apparatus is applied and with regard to network analysis, assessments of success in general can be left to social anthropology. Cross-disciplinary borrowing (such as sociolinguistics') is unlikely to be motivated by the same goals as its 'feeder discipline', its own problems being only partially addressed by what it takes from elsewhere, and thus it may well have neither the capability nor time to attend adequately to the development of a conceptual 'programme' within that programme's 'native territory'. This is a perfectly ordinary state of affairs in interdisciplinary research, but it does have certain implications for how that borrowing is enacted in the first place: it is essential that the 'hypothesised' is distinguished from the 'accepted', and particular attention must be given to what the originators themselves perceive to be theoretical and methodological limitations and difficulties. When you borrow an idea or scheme, it is much better to be conservative in your claims and be told later by those better in the know that you have been too modest, than to make strong claims which soon turn out to be spurious.

So what do I think that Network Analysis can do and say?

Firstly, at least in Mitchell (1969,1973) and Boissevain (1974), network analysis is not a proper theory but rather an approach to analysis (Boissevain 1974:9; indeed also Milroy 1980:46). It is flexible - able to focus on a variety of behavioural and affective dimensions of social relationships (Boissevain 1974:

45ff; Mitchell 1969:27-29) - but it is also very approximative:

'Size, density, degree of connexion, centrality and clustering are all statements about the theoretical possibility of a person to transact. In the same way multiplexity, transactional content, directional flow, frequency and duration of interaction are indicators of the possible importance of various links. Together they help establish a statistical portrait of the form and content of a person's network. They help to build a model of his social universe which enables us to formulate hypotheses about the way he may behave, given the constraints of his cultural and physical environment. It is well to remember, however, that both content and the form of networks of social relations are constantly shifting. Though the concepts discussed here give greater precision to the study of social relations, they cannot be used to predict with certainty which course of alternative actions will be followed. But they increase the probability that we can predict more correctly by adding an extra dimension to our understanding of social behaviour' (Boissevain 1974:45; my emphases) (see also 1974:37).

The claims being made here are modest: network is seen as simply adding another level of social analysis, it purports to talk about potential rather than actual associations, and clearly a whole dimension of cultural analysis is needed before it can make sense within any given setting ('given the constraints of his cultural ... environment'; cf. my criticisms of Milroy).

This emphasis on network analysis as often (though not always) summarising potential rather than actual interactional links means that broad network descriptions are analytical entities, not cognitive entities for participants. Participants may recognise certain aspects of an analytically conceived network (for example, 'friends of friends'); and when social anthropologists consider 'action-sets' (networks of association as these are actualised in relation to well defined social goals, such as a funeral or election (Mitchell 1969:38-40)), presumably what observers describe as a network can correspond to a unit perceived by insiders (e.g. 'my electoral supporters'). But usually a network measure cannot be said to correspond to local cognitive

representations of 'group' as these latter shape and are shaped by continuous socio-cultural activity.

However, the status of most network portraits as essentially etic observer entities does not mean that local perceptions can be ignored (cf. 'given the ...' immediately above). This applies whether the focus is 'concrete networks' or 'analytic'/institutional networks (in the particular sense of Mitchell 1969:44ff). 'Analytic'/institutional networks entail abstracting from the multiplex relationships of real life whichever role-relation/single strand is relevant to the analyst's wider concern with social structure. Thus, focusing on the enactment of teacher-pupil roles within dyadic settings, network analyses could intimate the extent to which relationships from outside that dyad hindered or facilitated successful role performance (1969:46). However, although such an analysis entails separating out one element from a number which are complexly interwoven in a social relation, the exercise requires that that strand is 'phenomenologically distinct' (Mitchell 1973) and meaningful to participants. Analysis of 'concrete networks', which does not extract one element for particular attention, likewise requires that the ways in which the analyst conceives of relationships have currency amongst network members themselves, since otherwise it would be impossible to talk of the 'social bonds' and personal relationships that NA depicts as, for example, challenging the normative moral order (Boissevain 1974:Ch.2). Despite such network descriptions offering an overview inaccessible to insiders, they still depend on drawing out insider meanings; if they didn't, they couldn't claim to account for potential interactional relationships (Mitchell 1973; 1969:20, 26,40; Anwar 1979:77; Saifullah Khan 1974), merely hypothetical ones, and network analysis would presumably be a different (non-empirical?) research activity with nothing to say about culture.

Finally, the difficulty of analysing and identifying the strands in a relationship are acknowledged, and in this sense, a network description can be said to give an analysis of 'potential' interactional links not only because shifting circumstances push

some into prominence while others recede, but also because of the intrinsic inaccuracies of the analysis itself; 'potential' here meaning 'likely' in the sense of 'I guess'. Of multiplexity in relation to other network concepts, Boissevain writes:

'of these, the most complex is the notion of multiplexity ...

... This is an abstraction from interactional reality of a different order than the others, and hence more difficult to use. (Is conversation exchanged between A and B because they are distant relatives, neighbours, fellow teachers, or all three?)' (1974:45) (see also Mitchell 1969:22).

Beyond this, network analysis also sometimes summarises or compares relationships between quite large numbers of people, amongst whom there may be variations and differences in the construction and interpretation of relationships (Boissevain 1974: 30,31). So in addition to the fluidity of social relations themselves, and the difficulties of identifying strands, network analysis is also approximative in representing general interactional experience within any given locality.

How does this affect what network analysis can therefore be used to say? Again not being engaged in social anthropology, I can't give any kind of comprehensive answer, but as far as my own use of NA is involvement, it suggests the following:

network analysis can make statements about a person's overall interactional involvements, but these are necessarily very approximative. A fair amount of ethnographic work is needed to establish the cultural validity of any interactional strands that the analyst focuses on, and even then s/he cannot be sure whether these comprise the substances of interaction at any one time; in addition, if such strands are used in group portraits, they cannot be assumed to be relevant to all.

### 5.5.2 A Preview of the Use of Network Analysis Here

With these limitations of network analysis clearly to the fore, and in order to facilitate comparison with ISA, it is helpful to preview my own exploratory use of NA. To do so, my research questions, the nature of the social group I am investigating and the constraints of my own data all need to be borne in mind.

The first thing to be said is that I will not be giving affect (Boissevain 1974) or 'intensity' as Mitchell calls it (1969), any great prominence in the network measure to be developed below, because I am keen to avoid simply replicating my ISA measures as far as is possible: the two senses of 'group' need to be kept distinct in empirical analysis. Admittedly, affect will form part of a baseline for the selection of people to include in an ego's network: in general only those non-kin regarded as 'best friends', 'good friends' and 'quite good friends' will be counted (i.e. those classified under 'I like them' and 'I don't like them' will usually not figure). However, while degrees of affect will in this way guide the initial stages of network measure construction (so that the resulting analytic focus cannot be regarded as exclusively behavioural), other dimensions of social association will be more to the fore.

The next issue relates to the fact that the social group I am studying is multi-racial, and that ethnicity will be the subject of analytic concern. Thus Gal's (1979) use of network analysis within a bicultural setting immediately springs to mind as a useful reference point. Gal's method entailed differentiating individuals in terms of the social composition of their networks and she describes the extent to which their contacts over a given time involve people of peasant and worker status. One problem with Gal's measure however, is that it centrally rests on frequency of contact (1979:134), which can be rather a fragile approach to describing group involvement and the cultural accommodation that interactive group membership is held to entail. Boissevain (1974:34) writes: 'Frequency of interaction ... may often be but is not always, an index of the actors' investment in

the relation'; Mitchell describes the relevance of frequency of contact to network analyses as 'marginal' (1969:29) and Ervin Tripp (1969:143-145) outlines cases where 'communicative frequency is high but speech distinctiveness ... maintained', concluding that 'High frequency of communication is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for increased linguistic similarity.' Of course it suited Gal's purposes well, and produced excellent results; but there are in general good grounds for doubting the reliability of frequency of contact as a factor leading to cultural similarity. In seeking a measure of inter-active group involvement in new research sites, it would be safe to look for additional approaches which would differentiate daily contact with milkmen from daily contact with kin (this is especially important in urban settings, when in contrast to the village setting investigated by Gal, e.g. tradesmen may well be much more anonymous figures). Accordingly in my own network indices, while frequency of contact forms another part of the baseline for inclusion as part of a person's network (so that everybody included is reported by ego as being seen at least a few times a week), further means of differentiating network relationships need to be explored, and this will be done by grafting some of Milroy (1980) onto Gal's approach.

For reasons to be outlined below, I shall not in the main be studying a partial network cluster or constructing a sociogram in the manner of Labov (though cp. Chapter 14). This means that measures of network involvement such as 'centrality' and 'degree of connection' (Boissevain 1974:40-42) will not be appropriate. Density, which reflects the extent to which the people around a person know each other independently of him or her (Boissevain 1974:37-40; Milroy 1980:49-50), might have been appropriate, but this was not in fact used for two reasons: firstly, and most importantly, I was not in a position to contact everyone named as part of ego's network in order to see how far they knew each other; and secondly, since many of those named went to the same school and lived in the same neighbourhood, the density of everybody's network might have been very great. A measure better able



to discern how well people knew the individuals around them promised to be more discriminating.

Such a measure is multiplexity, which identifies the number of ways in which two people are associated with each other (Boissevain 1974:28-32; Milroy 1980:51-52; cf. also Fishman on 'redundancy' 1972:23). 'Ways' is a suitably vague term, and multiplexity has been used to describe a number of different 'contents' passing across 'network links'. Boissevain describes it in terms of the number of specific social relations which 'derive from the many different activity fields in which each [person in a particular link] participates. They are in fact role relations' (1974:28). Others describe multiplexity more concretely in terms of the types of behaviour exchanged in a relationship (Kapferer 1969; see also Mitchell 1969:20-24). Also, there are considerable difficulties in actually identifying what the strands in a relationship really might be, as was pointed out above (pp 129-130). However, provided that both of these definitional issues are properly addressed, multiplexity is a particularly apposite notion here for two reasons. Firstly, it gives an indication how far calling someone a friend is accompanied by interactional experience: in this way, it supplements frequency of contact as a way of qualifying the affective element forming part of the network measure baseline - it ensures that indices reflect more than admiration/liking from a distance. Secondly, as intimated above, it lends an element of subtlety to 'frequency of contact' itself. Ervin Tripp (1969) considers 'cohesiveness' a necessary adjunct to 'communicative frequency', and multiplexity provides one angle on this. It enables daily contact with a cousin to be distinguished from daily contact with a shopkeeper.

So what I propose to do is to adapt a relatively sensitive measure of social involvement (such as Milroy attempts to use in a ?mono-cultural? setting) to a multi-/bi-cultural setting such as Gal's. The business of defining strands in a relationship will be conducted at length below, but the overall procedure can be broadly outlined as follows:

- (i) attention will be given to people in an individual's social field with whom they have relatively frequent contact; amongst those who are not kin, only those considered broadly as 'friends' will be included. Thus in Boissevain's terms, the focus will be on the personal and intimate zones (A and quite a lot of B) in an individual's first order/primary networks (1974: 24,45-48).
- (ii) These contacts will be differentiated in terms of their ethnicity, and the extent to which a particular ethnic group comprises these zones of a person's primary network will be represented as a percentage (roughly as per Gal).
- (iii) This percentage will however be strongly qualified by taking into account the multiplexity of each of these relationships, multiplexity being defined in terms of the number of domains (see below Chapter 6) in which a person co-participates with each of their contacts (very roughly as per Milroy, though see 5.3 above, and 7.4.1 below).

From this it must already be clear that my network indices will normally summarise (a) an individual's involvement with a wide variety of others (b) across a wide range of settings. It will not generally (c) attend in specific empirical detail to the linguistic and cultural behaviour of these 'others' with whom an individual is associated and it will not (d) focus on linguistic behaviour within a highly specific institutional setting. Gal and Milroy do (a) and (b) <sup>20</sup> whereas Labov (1972b:Ch.7) investigates the linguistic behaviour of each member of the networks he studies, and describes the distribution of linguistic items across the network in a way that allows him to specify how each member stands in relation to the norms set by particularised leaders (in consequence there is scope to study the social life of linguistic forms which are entirely specific to each network). In addition to this (which = (c)), the speech elicited is situated in peer-group settings (= d).

Given that many anthropological studies have apparently focused on (c) and (d) (Boissevain 1974:35; also Mitchell (ed.) 1969), why opt for broad indices? There are three reasons, all of them relatively practical. Firstly, this was the first investigation of this research site, and rather than specify a particular setting and 'miss', it was more cautious to cast a fairly wide net. Secondly, it fitted satisfactorily with the use of secondary sources to identify speech forms typically associated with particular ethnic groups/language backgrounds. Thirdly and most importantly, ISA as used here will be seen as general and fairly transcontextual in scope, not casting light on context-specific identifications (see 4.4.3 , also 8.1). To match this, a broad portrait of social networks was felt appropriate.

This then gives a picture of some of the intrinsic limitations of network analysis (5.5.1), and of the type of generalised index of 'primary' network involvement that I shall be deploying. The task now must be to draw ISA and network analysis together, in order to define what my combination of them can be said to show.

## 5.6 Combining ISA and Network Analysis

What this combination shows, can be discussed from three angles: firstly, in terms of the data-coverage it gives; secondly, in terms of the different levels of abstraction at which ISA and NA operate, and lastly, in terms of how far the picture to emerge really represents socio-cultural life within the locality.

### 5.6.1 Coverage of Empirical Data

Network analysis will be used to summarise in an approximative way how much interactional involvement each informant has with different categories of people, interactional involvement being conceived of in terms of the number of strands in a relationship, in addition to frequency, and with non-kin, general affect.

ISA will be used to indicate each individual's patterns of

psycho-social identification with people and groupings selected from both inside and outside their interactional networks. Patterns of network involvement and psycho-social identification will then be compared across a group of individuals.

The table below shows the complementarity of NA and ISA in terms of their empirical coverage:

TABLE 5.1 THE EMPIRICAL COVERAGE PRODUCED BY THIS COMBINATION OF ISA AND NETWORK ANALYSIS

The Variables Given Empirical Assessment	Which Variables Each Analysis Measures	
	Network Analysis	Identity Structure Analysis
Type of regular associate	✓ (roughly as per Gal)	X
Number of ways a person is linked to their associates	✓ ( <u>very</u> roughly as per Milroy's multiplexity)	X
Attitudes towards individuals	X	✓
Attitudes towards ingroups and outgroups perceived in the environment	X	✓

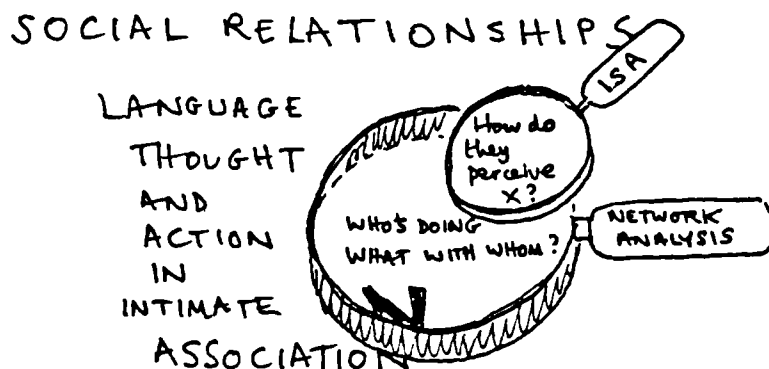
#### 5.6.2 The Respective Levels of Abstraction at Which ISA and NA Operate

It has been suggested earlier that the two notions of group that are the concern of this study are on the one hand behavioural and on the other psychological. Following from that, it has been stated that network analysis is a broadly behavioural measure whereas ISA is attitudinal.

This means that ISA and NA will stand in a relation of part-

to-whole in terms of the coverage that they give to people's social lives. There is no such thing as behaviour without mind, and so it would be an absurdity to conclude that any empirical relationship between network structure and cultural forms reflected the influence of behaviour as opposed to cognition. Milroy's study may emphasise behaviour and observational verifiability, but for network to have any effect on language, psychological processes are of course covertly implicated. Thus the role of ISA vis-à-vis NA will not be to try and measure attitudes vs behaviour, but rather to attempt to make explicit one or two of the numerous psycho-social relationships which network analysis encompasses without specifying. Certainly within sociolinguistics, network indices take within their view a potentially vast number of separate social ties comprising a variety of affective and role relations which are only crudely distinguished (Gal), if at all (Milroy): guided by what is held to be particularly critical to language use (i.e. by theories of language and identity), the function of ISA will be to focus on just a corner of some of these. However, despite its concern being narrow, it will shed some empirical light on what otherwise remains in the realm of speculation if one's only tool is NA.

The relationship between ISA and NA is depicted below:



### 5.6.3 The Relationship of This Combination to Local Socio-Cultural Categories

So ISA and NA exist in a relationship of part to whole. Of course so too do both in relation to real life, and the question arises, how far do the selective categorisations and the procedures which form the basis of measurement in each, coincide with the categories operating within the social field that they are designed to elucidate? In other words, how far can ISA and NA - particularly in my use of them - be seen as producing either emic or etic portraits (see p.88, and pages 100-105).

It would certainly be incorrect to claim that as used here, NA and ISA are capable of modelling the socio-linguistic systems at work in Bedford, and that their use constituted some kind of ethnography of language use. In the first place, the questions guiding this part of the research were formulated with reference to a body of theory prior to involvement in the field, and the basic questions concerning the two senses of group were not subject to revision or inductive reformulation as new data was encountered (in this sense the research was not 'interactive-adaptive' (Hymes 1980:92)). These hypotheses were not originally defined on the basis of 'a comprehensive ethnography' (Hymes 1980:91); the linguistic data was elicited in fairly abnormal social settings to be construed in a-contextual terms (see Ch. 9.2); and the empirical analysis will entail various forms of quantification, not the test of commutation (Hymes 1980:62-87; Erikson 1981:17-22). Quite a good deal of effort is made to elicit judgments and to identify institutions which are meaningful to informants in their everyday lives (see p 112 above, and Chapter 6 below) but rather than being examined in their own terms in order to grasp their intrinsic organisation, these constructs and institutions are fairly rapidly converted into input for the ISA and network analyses. To use Hymes' terms, 'the second order language of analysis' enters 'the first order language of description' fairly quickly.

So ISA and NA as used here clearly do not constitute an

ethnography, and the focus is much more on 'operationalising' ideas which are clearly and coherently formulated with reference to an academic community. Specifically, a major thrust is (a) to define network involvement in a way that would be sufficiently explicit and systematic to allow one to gloss a strong association between network and behaviour as more than just a strong correlation between network and behaviour (cp. Milroy's conclusion 1980:200);<sup>21</sup> and (b) to use a clear and explicit notion of identification. However, this does not of course mean that insider categories can be ignored, and the justification for trying to reckon with them is twofold.

Firstly, as must be apparent from 5.5.1 above, it is necessary to try and work out how a 'community' organises its life simply in order to achieve a better rather than a worse approximation, and to achieve a better translation<sup>22</sup> of the variables requiring examination when a hypothesis is proposed such as 'when you have a lot of interactional ties with people whom you identify with ethnically, you will generally use a lot of ethnically marked variants in your speech.' All surveys are only approximative and they never produce a clear view of how it feels for each person, or of the conventions each perceives or operates with, but by framing instruments in terms which could have local meaning, you decrease the chances of producing uninterpretable or fluke results (i.e. you increase construct validity). Indeed it is possible in this way to narrow the number of elements that in any survey one has to take for granted, so that I would say that potentially ISA and NA have a chance of quite accurately substantiating variables in the hypothesis if: (i) ISA computational procedures accurately model/do not violate what it means to identify with an entity. If, for example, the self is a crucial point of moral and psycho-social orientation for my informants, then ISA can claim to produce a valid-ish picture of important relationships (provided also that ISA's aggregation of separate evaluative dimensions isn't too great a travesty of psycho-social processes). If on the other hand, another entity is psychologically crucial - for instance, 'we' rather than 'me' as may be the case in some Muslim societies (Dr Gundes Vassaf:

personal communication) - its results are likely to be inconsequential. (ii) If the domains which I shall isolate in due course, accord with socio-cultural reality in Bedford, the network indices may adequately capture what it means to be familiar and to have social ties with someone. (iii) If the interview from which speech variants were selected was not unusual, it may be valid to talk of general linguistic effects; and (iv) if people were not put off by pencil and paper, (again) ISA results may not be trivial. Clearly the research is still taking a lot for granted, indeed more than is listed here no doubt, but less than if the constructs used in ISA had all been supplied by the researcher, and less than if no effort at all were to be made to examine the cultural authenticity of the domains that will be used in assessing multiplexity.

The second justification for trying to ascertain emic categories, is that while the 'first order language of description' is here rather quickly fed into 'second order' analysis, it is not thereby destroyed, but remains available for more ethnographic purposes (cf. p.88 above). Thus in contrast to Milroy's aprioristic and uncorroborated adoption of work and the neighbourhood as significant settings, the attempt below to identify domains with reference to the relevant ethnographic literature provides a substantiated background against which domain-specific variations in language usage can be described (see Part III). In other words, while in its present use, domain is merely an input to statistical analysis, elsewhere it is treated as an active component in local sociolinguistic organisation. Likewise constructs may here serve merely as anonymous grist to ISA computations, but they can be adapted to qualitative analysis and in Part III, for example, one such construct ('speaks normal English' vs 'don't know much English') serves as an important value in an account of the ecology of sociolinguistic prestige.

## 5.7 Summary

This part of the thesis is an investigation of social variation in speech and it is informed by fairly recent criticism of ap-



proaches which select pre-given and only aprioristically relational social categories as their extralinguistic variables. Its underlying assumption, following Le Page, is that group affiliation is not simply fixed at birth, but that it is fluid, negotiable and subject to continuous and unpredictable processes of destabilisation and reaffirmation in the course of each person's social experience. Given this view, an understanding of the demographic distribution of speech requires an account of the social and psychological allegiances and alienations characteristic of each speaker at any given time, and it is towards such an account of individuals, their relationships with one another and the reflections of these in their speech that the current enterprise is directed.

Two different conceptualisations of 'group' lend themselves as complementary perspectives on these processes. The first concentrates on habits of social interaction and takes a behavioural focus, leaving unspecified the innumerable ways in which participants construe the stream of encounters constituting their social lives. In contrast, the second attends more precisely to the variety of ways in which participants operate with the cognitions 'them' and 'us', which in different forms and with different degrees of intensity constitute the psycho-social substance of an encounter and direct its course. Both of these ways of looking at groups and group-belonging acknowledge changeability, yet in so far as the first concentrates on behavioural action, which is normally public and intersubjective, it produces an account of a person's social location as a relatively (though only relatively) stable phenomenon. Group allegiance conceptualised in cognitive terms can complement this by giving an account of how a person may either desire to embrace or reject the current array of his social ties, and how he may construe and use the cultural resources that his interactional liaisons make available to him. As far as language is concerned, group-belonging in the first sense (defined in terms of habitual interactions) concentrates on what a person inherits from others, and the speech forms which, all things being equal, s/he is likely to develop through,

and to use in, reciprocal accommodation to the people around. On the other hand, group allegiance defined in terms of a particular 'us' will direct analysts to his/her particular susceptibility to, and projection of, speech forms specifically associated with the group affiliation in question. Milroy and Giles stand as key representatives of sociolinguistic efforts to examine the impact of group in each sense, and in fact as Le Page's hypothesis and riders intimate, each has the capacity to enrich the other, so that Milroy's speakers would acquire minds of their own and Giles', biographies of interactional experience.

A survey based on these premises requires appropriate empirical tools: Identity Structure Analysis offers leverage on group membership as psycho-social identification (as well as being highly compatible with Le Page in terms of theory), and despite some misuse of it by Milroy, network analysis can broadly illuminate patterns of interactional involvement. Each of these requires ethnographically sensitive data as 'input', and while their combination cannot be said to model local socio-cultural categories and processes, its immediate concern with analytic and theoretical concepts does not result in that data's irrevocable violation.

These then are the theoretical assumptions on which the ensuing enterprise is based; such are its antecedents and such is its inter-disciplinary siting. Inevitably in the course of drawing this outline, quite extensive references have already been made to methodology, in order to define the opportunities and limitations within which theoretical extrapolation would need to operate. Now however it is time to shift away from this theoretical perspective on method towards the application of these approaches in a particular social setting, governed by the constraints of field-work.

Let us turn now to assessment of interactional involvement via network analysis. This will first of all require that we construct a model of (sociolinguistic) domains.

NOTES

1. 'Secular linguistics' is the name given by Trudgill (1978: 11ff) (after Labov) to quantitative linguistics as exemplified in e.g. Trudgill (ed.) (1978): Sociolinguistic Patterns in British English.
2. In fact within sociolinguistics, it is not absolutely clear that the adoption of NA (network analysis) has been originally motivated by the desire to see people as persons with relationships rather than as units of population - for both Labov and Milroy (1972b:256; and 1980:40), networks were advocated to a considerable degree as a way of overcoming the observer paradox (indeed, Milroy 1980:139 likens her network indices to SES). Of course, just because you didn't envisage it originally doesn't mean that you can't enjoy what turns out to be a benefit.
3. See also Labov (1972a:25,39) who also asserts the value of a psycho-social account of individuals above units of population approach.
4. It is interesting to compare these developments in the notion of group-membership with some (not such recent) developments in anthropology. Mitchell (1969) describes three different orders/conceptualisations of social relationship:
  - '(a) the structural order by means of which the behaviour of people is interpreted in terms of action appropriate to the position they occupy in an ordered set of positions such as in a factory, a family, a mine, ...
  - (b) the categorical order by means of which the behaviour of people in unstructured situations may be interpreted in terms of social stereotypes such as class, race, ethnicity ...
  - (c) the personal order by means of which the behaviour of people ... may be interpreted in terms of the personal links individuals have with a set of people and the links these people in turn have among themselves and with others' (1969:9,10).

Network analysis is represented in (c) and emerged out of a dissatisfaction with (a):

'structuralist interpretations involve generalisations about the behaviour of people in terms of the positions they occupy in the social system but ... these generalisations based as they are on abstractions ignore individual deviations from the pattern' (1969:9). (Also Boissevain 1974:Ch.1).

Reverting to sociolinguistics, 'early' quantificational stu-

dies using categories like SES, sex etc. can be aligned with (a) in reaction to which network studies developed (Milroy 1980:135; Gal 1979:Ch.5); Le Page's work is a bid for the importance of (b).

5. It is worth pointing out that in fact Labov's empirical methodology doesn't permit him to investigate this distinction, even if he had had the original intention of doing so.

In the case of the Jets in particular, there are two problems. The first relates to the use of sociometric naming techniques in general, which are themselves intrinsically ambiguous in terms of whether the associations that respondents report reflect aspiration (= identification with a cognitive category) or behaviour (= interactional experience). (Thomas summarises their use by psychologists as 'an attitude measure with essentially a behavioural orientation' (1984:63)). The second problem follows on from this and relates to the way that Labov characterises the two clusters in the Jets' core, so that again it is not clear whether we are dealing with aspiration or behaviour. One cluster is defined in relation to a particular activity - pigeon fancying - and this has implications for contact and multiplexity since individuals are likely to meet and talk on rooftops. The second cluster, however, appears to be defined with reference to the central boys' status as the best fighters. Is this a shared activity generating 'sustained' social exchange in the way pigeon fancying is? Also, is this not an activity intrinsically more oriented to intra- and intergroup comparison than pigeon fancying ('best' fighters)? If social category identification affects language differently from interactional experience (cf. Ervin Tripp 1969:151-2), isn't the language behaviour in the reputation-based group (the fighters) going to be slightly different from the activity-based one (fliers)?

Indeed, not only does there appear to be an unrecognised division amongst so-called 'core' members, between those amenable to analysis in terms of interactional experience vs those amenable to analysis in terms of identification: this division draws one to wonder precisely how valid it is to group these two clusters together in the single category 'core'.

In fact, there is also a third problem. Labov doesn't clearly indicate what he means by status (1972b:276) - does he mean low prestige or interactional excludedness? - and since the existence of additional substantive criteria is only hinted at in a footnote (1972b:279; contrast however p.261 on the T-birds), the basis by which he distinguishes secondary vs peripheral Jet members is also rather unclear (some peripherals are not older, and if having other interests is one of the distinguishing features of being a peripheral, are not the pigeon fanciers in some sense peripherals?). So even within the reciprocal naming

rationale, the logic by which Labov constructs his hierarchical sociogram the Jets is not apparent.

Overall, it seems to be an amalgam of ambiguously psychological and network (and demographic) elements; while the duality of Labov conclusions are in tune with this analytic method, it clearly does not have an underlying theoretical basis compatible with my own, and is not capable of giving empirical clarification to the interaction vs identification issue.

6. This formulation receives support from e.g. Brown and Levinson (1979:299) in so far as they define network-type groups as 'concrete' and 'co-active' (my emphasis); from Wallman (1978:205-207), where the notion of an interactive network is implicit in 'interface', which is distinguished from 'identity' partly on the grounds of its being 'real', 'observable' and at the level of action; and from Mitchell (1974).
7. Also most noticeably the rationale she offers to justify her 'segmentation' refers outside the community to academic studies in sites which may be very different - e.g. in Mexico (see also the remarks vis-à-vis Labov
8. E.g. 1980:141,195,199,200,175,176,136.
9. Ironically it results in precisely the type of determinism that network analysts saw in structural-functional sociology, and which they developed NA in order to try to escape.
10. In addition one might criticise Milroy's formulation of this chain in terms of causation rather than interaction: presumably norm-enforcement increases network cohesion (e.g. Mitchell 1969:37), and language behaviour certainly changes norms.
11. The implications of norm-enforcement perhaps need to be drawn out, together with the further difficulties they raise. ENforcement implies explicit comment on deviant behaviour and negative sanctions (almost coercion?) and if norm enforcement is the central mechanism by which dense multiplex networks maintain speech homogeneity (as Milroy implies e.g. 1980:Ch.7), one would expect the slightest 'errings' from the local speech 'orthodoxy' to be highly salient and frequently remarked upon. Given the degree of speech similarity amongst central network members, one would therefore expect incidents such as the one with the Ballymacarrett youngsters (Milroy 1980:61) to be so common that one may only conclude that Milroy has simply failed to draw from her corpus the innumerable instances of such rebukes which would provide excellent and fascinating substantiations of her argument. This in fact seems unlikely, an extremely high frequency of such incidents seems therefore improbable, and the validity of the norm-enforcement

argument falls further into doubt. In contrast, reinforcement as a term has none of the same connotations of an explicit local 'ideology of language'.

Certainly both Gal (1979:106,142) and Labov (1972b: 257,281) also refer to the norm-enforcement mechanism, but for neither is it as central as it is in Milroy's view: both give much fuller consideration to other effects of network membership. Also, Labov is talking about a rather different types of organisation from Milroy: whereas Milroy is looking at a relatively stable and long-term community, Labov is focusing on more of a 'coalition' - on a gang (Boussevain 1974:Ch.7). Labov's group is highly self-conscious (see above), with elaborate membership structure and rules (e.g. 1972b:275,288) and within it language is often ritually performed and as a result explicitly attended to. It is therefore by no means obvious that any norm-enforcement mechanisms operating within this context can be automatically assumed to function in residential adult communities (as does Milroy 1980:175,176).

In Gal's case, the claims being made about the linguistic influence of 'norm-enforcement' are, also in comparison to Milroy, relatively humble, relating only to the choice of German vs Hungarian, or standard vs non-standard. In contrast, in Belfast norm-enforcement is supposed to affect very subtle differences in phonological shape, often without any of the variants being clearly marked as standard (1980:119,196). One can much more easily imagine members noticing the relatively large-scale switches Gal refers to.

12. For a further exposition, see e.g. Weinreich (1980:i-iv). My selection and emphasis of ISA's antecedents is obviously influenced by my concern with ways in which it might be tied in with quantitative sociolinguistics.
13. In fact, Erikson appears to regard identifications as settling after adolescence (Erikson 1968), a view that Weinreich certainly does not straightforwardly adopt (cf. Personal Construct Theory's 'Experience' and 'Modulation Corrolaries' (B&F 1980:24-26; Kelly 1963:72-82: also with regard to language, cf. e.g. Nash (1982) on the potential mutability of competence after adolescence).
14. In fact, entities can be more than this: 'person, thing or event', 'people, groupings and issues of symbolic meaning to the individual' (Weinreich 1980:3).
15. 'If ... we speak of the community's response to the young individual's need to be "recognised" by those around him, we mean something beyond mere recognition of achievement; for it is of great relevance to the young individual's identity formation that he be responded to and be given function and

status as a person whose gradual growth and transformation make sense to those who make sense to him' (1968:156).

16. In fact, it is not uncommon to confuse aspiration with evaluation e.g. Hargreaves (1967:77).
17. NB Weinreich (1979:92): the topic is not here a condition of generalised 'identity-conflict', but rather conflictual identification with specified others.
18. On an exploration of ISA in relation to bilingual identity see Northover (1983).
19. It is important to stress 'tool' in the case of ISA's relevance to Giles, since its theoretical compatibility is nowhere near as clear as it is with Le Page. (In fact, quite often, it seems to me, Giles' epistemology seems rather uncertain (cf. Rampton 1983).)
20. Though Gal and Milroy approach description of the linguistic behaviour correlating with their relatively general network portraits in rather different ways. Milroy's focuses on the 'vernacular', a positivistic and in ethnographic terms, an a-contextual notion from which Gal is keen to dissociate herself (Gal 1979:7-9; see also Hudson's review of Milroy (1980) (1982:200ff); and for a summary of criticisms of the attention-to-speech vernacular paradigm Rampton (1985a, 1986)). Gal's own approach to matching a broad network measure with a broad account of speech is to examine a range of contexts which are nevertheless ethnographically specific (1979:135).
21. In general, the mixture of components in Milroy's indices (gender, kinship, residential proximity, friendship, quantity of contacts) is such that it looks as impossible to abstract from her results to, for example, the discussion of particular 'institutional' networks (cf. section 5.5.1, p.126; Mitchell 1969:44ff). Her conclusion that in effect the validity of network indices emerges from the strength of the correlation they produce (pp.201-202) constitutes an admission that network as she uses it is not motivated by either more specific or more general theoretical questions. An if-it-works-it-works approach such as this is not conceptually generative: it also opens the door to gerrymandering.
22. All empirical research is a process of translation between insider and outsider idioms.

## CHAPTER 6

### 6. A MODEL OF DOMAINS

Several aspects of my operationalisation of interactional involvement have already been outlined: I shall be focusing on the 'personal and intimate zones' of each informant's primary networks; network contacts will be differentiated in terms of their 'bio-ethnicity'; an attempt will also be made to gauge the multiplexity of these relationships; multiplexity will be defined in terms of 'domain co-participation'.

Working backwards, the first task will be to clarify: what is meant by domain? what domains can be said to exist in the neighbourhood being studied? how can settings be combined into domains? These are the main questions that will be handled in this chapter. In the chapter following this, we will address questions concerned with the reliability of the data on domain co-participation. Immediately after that, other elements in the construction of indices of interactional involvement will be fully discussed, and then a scoring procedure will be outlined and informants will be assessed in terms of it.

#### 6.1 The Task of Identifying Domains

A domain is described by Fishman as a clustering of congruent settings, topics, role-relations, language choice and at a higher level, value systems: a domain is a set of typical co-occurrence relations and in urban settings social life might be, for example, divided into domains such as 'family', 'friendship', 'religion', 'education' and 'employment' (1972:47). In this way domains bear a close conceptual resemblance to social institutions (Fishman 1972:45).

Domains are constructs which can have either etic or emic status. A domain can have local socio-cognitive currency, active-



ly used by members of a community to 'guide them through the infinite encounters of daily interaction' (1972:51; also p.49) and in Fishman's view, identifying such domains is the 'central task of descriptive sociology of language and it can only be accomplished by painstaking research - utilizing all the available social science methods: participant observation, interviews, surveys and experiments too' (1972:51). However, domains can also be used as analytic yardsticks by which, for example, processes of language shift are measured and in such cases, where perhaps differences in the allocation of codes to domains occur, the local socio-cultural significance of domains comes into question, obviously particularly amongst those who no longer mark it in their linguistic behaviour. The results of such analyses is an interesting comparison by means of etic domains.

What are the implications of this for the current enterprise? In terms of representing the extent to which a person is likely to feel social ties with another, it is important that as far as is possible, domain is used as at least a potentially emic construct, so that people with relationships across three domains can be held to be probably more involved with one another than those with single domain connections. But of course precisely the same caveats will apply that were mentioned generally in relation to network analysis: namely, that one is talking in approximative terms about potential connectedness - one is generalising across a range of individuals and one cannot be certain that all operate with the same segmentations of social life (see 5.5.1).<sup>1</sup>

In practical terms then, this means trying to identify distinct sets of values likely to co-occur with particular clusters of settings, along with particular groups of relationships and/or types of interlocutor. And an additionally useful source of information would be the patterns of language use typically associated with any such clusterings that emerge.

In the current research, three data sources will be con-

sulted: I shall draw on my own observation where this is appropriate, I shall use my informants' own accounts of what types of people they see where, using which languages; and finally I shall refer quite extensively to ethnographic literature on people of South Asian extraction in Britain in order to compensate for my own lack of first hand knowledge in a number of spheres.<sup>2</sup>

Four domains will be proposed - home, school, peer group recreation and the adult (co-ethnic) community - but three clear problems arise. These four domains may be more or less in tune with the partitions in social life set up in studies concerned with urban life (e.g. Fishman 1971), but it certainly cannot be generally assumed that a single invariant list of domains is adequate for all settings (e.g. Fishman 1972:119) and in particular, there may well be difficulties involved in transferring categories of social organisation appropriate to city life to communities who still have strong links with rural society. This is a point made by Saifullah Khan (1974:179ff) in connection with Mirpuri immigrants in Bradford and it could well apply to the situation in Bedford also. Nearly all of my South Asian informants' parents were born in the Indian subcontinent, and the majority of these came from villages, to which most of my informants have returned for visits. So some caution needs to be exercised in proposing the relevance of these four domains.

A second related problem lies in devising domains for communities whose social organisation is to some degree undergoing rapid change, as is often the case with fairly recent immigrant minorities. This being the case, models derived either from urban industrial settings, or from rural agricultural ones may not quite fit.

A final, and different problem with these domains lies in the multi-ethnic composition of the group I am studying. It is central to the notion of multiplexity that the items counted as strands are potentially emic, and that they could accord with participants' own sense of what the distinctive components in a

relationship can be (see section 5.5.1). It follows from this that if I want to use domain co-participation as the basis for deciding multiplexity, the domains that I isolate will have to have some chance of according with my informants' own sense of the main social arenas in their lives, as far as their sense of these is ascertainable. Where informants are drawn from a variety of cultural groups, the task for the analyst is that much harder, and it cannot be assumed that any single framework of domains will be appropriate for all. Although separate domain models will not be developed for children of Asian, Anglo- and Afro-Caribbean backgrounds respectively, some points of difference will be briefly intimated below, and finally a method of network scoring will be introduced which seems capable of overcoming this problem of cross-cultural comparison (section 7.4.1).

Evidently, identifying domains is not going to be a rapid or simple business: however, if one is going to use the network concept of multiplexity and if one decides to operationalise it in terms of domain or other comparable macrostructures, such lengths are I think unavoidable. Milroy's unargued adoption of neighbourhood, work and leisure as crucial social arenas was extensively criticised above (section 5.3).

Let us now turn to the definition of domains themselves.

## 6.2 The Four Domains

In what follows, I shall initially argue for the validity of home, adult ethnic community, peergroup recreation and school as separate domains, with reference to the majority of my informants, who are of South Asian extraction. After that I shall much more briefly, turn to consider the relevance of these domains to ethnically Anglo and Afro-Caribbean informants.

The method of argumentation will be to compare home in Britain with home in India and Pakistan, and then, referring to Britain, to try and establish systematically the separateness of

home vs adult-community, vs peergroup, vs school; adult-community vs peergroup, vs school; peergroup vs ... etc.

#### 6.2.1 The Home as a Domain

#### 6.2.2 Home in Pakistan and India vs Home in Britain

According to Saifullah Khan (1974), a person's house is not a very distinctive setting in Pakistan in a variety of senses. In the first place, there are a number of key relationships in which an individual is involved (in the joint-extended family) which are often not co-terminous merely with one's physical house (according to James 1974:14, this is much the same for Sikh children in India, for whom 'home' means the home of the senior male member of the extended family). Secondly, home is not clearly separable from work, which takes place in the close vicinity, and generally as a centre of a great deal of activity, it apparently makes little sense to Saifullah Khan to identify 'home' as one amongst a variety of separate 'activity fields' within the Mirpuri village. Other factors which she relates are the fact that other kin often live in close proximity and that a great deal of activity takes place in the open air, visible to anyone. In analysing the social networks of Pakistani villagers, Saifullah Khan rejects conceptualisation in terms of family/household, neighbourhood etc., and instead proposes as crucial a set of locations which are defined in terms of kinship relations ('dadke' - the home and village of a person's parents and father; 'nanke' where one's mother resides, and for adults also 'peke' and 'saure').

In Britain however, the child of Mirpuri parents is unlikely to conceive of his 'dadke' as having the same importance, and is also unlikely to think of it in the same way as his parents (Saifullah Khan 1974:221-222; see also James 1974:14 who reports that in Leeds, by 'home' a Sikh boy means his own father's house in Britain). This is the first evidence that, in contrast to life in Pakistan (and India), it may be valid to regard home (i.e. one's father's house) as a significantly distinctive domain

for ethnically South Asian children in Britain, and a number of other factors can be drawn in to support this case. There is generally said to be a greater degree of privacy in the South Asian home in Britain (Brah 1978:198,203; Khan 1974:307,322) and due to the nature of British housing stock, most families reside in 'nuclear' households (Brah 1978:202; Anwar 1979:54). Relationships between husband and wife and between mother and siblings are said to be closer due to migration and removal away from some of the extended family: e.g. mothers-in-law play less of a role in upbringing and decision-making (Dhanjal 1976:112; Khan 1974:220,228; 1976:104; Purewal 1976:54ff; James 1974: 19). Lastly, the household in Britain is no longer the centre of all activities as it was in the village, and the husband often works at some distance from home (Khan 1974:307,322).

This is not to say that British South Asian homes resemble the stereotypical Englishman's 'castle'; and there may be continuity with home life in the Indian subcontinent in a number of possible ways. For example, the fact that the unit under one roof looks 'nuclear' doesn't mean that in reality it isn't part of a joint or extended family locally (for the definition of joint and extended families see e.g. Brah 1976:197; Anwar 1979: 51,52; Ballard 1972:13). Co-residence is not a criterion for deciding jointness (Anwar 1979:54; Thomson 1974:244; Ballard 1972:19) and thus two-generation 'elementary' families are not necessarily 'nuclear' simply by virtue of their not living with other people - other members of the joint-extended family may live locally and visit frequently. Indeed generally, visiting is very common - a principal Biraderi activity (Khan 1974:245-6; Anwar 1979:70) - and it extends beyond extra-familial kin to workmates etc. (James 1974:92; Anwar 1979:71).

So the physical separateness of a family isn't necessarily social separateness, and the difficulty of making categorical distinctions is more generally illustrated amongst my informants where in fact there are co-resident extended families (six out of seventeen). Furthermore, unemployment may mean that the 'home'

becomes much more the focal point for activity of e.g. males than before (five of the fathers of Asian informants were unemployed, though one was in Pakistan): clearly the home isn't entirely unproblematical as a distinct social arena.

To sum up so far however, in general there appears to be some consensus within the ethnographic literature that the immediate family has greater autonomy in Britain than in Pakistan and India. Admittedly, this is only a matter of degree, and recognition still needs to be given to the normative pressures exerted by both non-household kin and the wider community on life in the home (see Helweg 1979:18; James 1974:99). Even so, there is some basis for postulating 'home' as a separate domain for ethnically South Asian children in Britain and aware of the idealisation involved, we may proceed in a provisional manner.

#### 6.2.3 Differentiating 'Home' as a Domain from the Adult Community as a Domain

If 'home' were not to be recognised as a domain, one possibility would be to merge it with 'the adult community'. There are two problems in doing this, one practical and the other theoretical.

- (i) In terms of counting co-participation in a domain as one strand in a network link, merging home and the community into one would loose distinctions that could be important, and it might also blur relationships that look rather different. From the network data, it appears that the co-ethnic individuals encountered in the home are generally a rather smaller and more exclusive group than those encountered in collective corporate activities such as worship and family parties and weddings. Equally, people from other ethnic groups are encountered in the home and not in community activities. Rather than lumping them both together, in this respect it seems more differentiating to keep home and community separate from one another.
- (ii) The second reason for keeping the home and the adult community as separate domains, concerns the value-systems

operating within each. Several writers indicate that these are not identical: more specifically, they produce reports of parents and close kin who are sympathetic to the less traditional interests of their children, while at the same time recognising the often rather different views and expectations of the wider kin group and ethnic community (Purewal 1976:53; Dhanjal 1976:112; James 1974:18,80; Helweg 1979:119; Jeffcoate and Mayor 1982:35 (on Sikhs); on South Asians generally, Brah 1978:204). Consequently, it may be worth distinguishing the home from the adult community in so far as, in being more private, the home may be a place in which values can be negotiated to a greater degree.

#### 6.2.4 Differentiating the Home Domain from the Peergroup-Recreational and School Domains

That home and school are different domains doesn't really need to be extensively argued: at school, a larger and ethnically diverse group of people are encountered, and the dominant adult values are those of white (middle-class) society (e.g. Khan 1974: 349; Thomson 1974:247; LMP 1985:280).

In fact, rather than argue for their distinctness, it is worth noting that the difference between home and school has been often exaggerated, with talk of two completely separate cultures and children stranded in between (e.g. Bullock 1975). In reality the presence of kin at school, and adult awareness in the home of the school's values and priorities can obviously mean that the 'gap' between these domains is by no means total (see e.g. Purewal 1976; Ghumann 1980; Brah 1978:204; Thomson 1974: 247; Tomlinson 1984). Even so, that there are some important differences between them is fairly uncontroversial (e.g. in attitudes towards types of appropriate contact between girls and boys).

The difference between home and the peergroup resides in the

dominant values of the home being the parents', whereas in the peer group, though a respect for parental values may be encouraged by e.g. the presence of kin or co-ethnic peers (Thomson 1974:248), the operant values are likely to be more fully 'bi-cultural' and more easily shaped by the younger generation. Again, no 'yawning gap' is being implied, and there may well be much more reciprocal accommodation between these two sets of notionally distinct values (see Brah 1978:200,204; Thomson 1974:242 and Purewal 1976:58) than between those of home and school. Even so, the range of associates potentially encountered in peer-recreation is again larger and more ethnically diverse than those encountered in the home; much of my empirical data confirms this and thus lends support to the more theoretical grounds for differentiating home and peer-recreation as domains.

#### 6.2.5 The Adult Community as a Domain

The settings relevant to this will be collective activities and events in which adults are major participants, such as religious worship, weddings and family parties, and in this domain, both parents and children are exposed to the scrutiny and values of the extra-familial kin group and the wider community. These corporate events can be broadly seen as involving an affirmation of wider kin group, religious or ethnic identity (Anwar 1979:49, 52,70,73; Thomson 1974:245; Helweg 1979:44,61; James 1974:39, 92; Ghumann 1980:12) and institutions specifically involved in socialising children into adult community norms can also be seen as part of this domain (on classes at the mosque, see Khan 1974: 314; Anwar 1979:159-161; on mother tongue classes generally, see LMP 1985:264).

Reasons for differentiating this as a domain from the home as a domain have already been given, though the borderline looks fairly blurred when it comes to activities such as inter-family visiting (Anwar 1979:70; Khan 1976:102; James 1974:17,18; Purewal 1976:62), which is both less obviously corporate and is also sited inside homes (see the discussion below of the category 'visiting their house with my mum, dad or adults from my family': section 6.3).



Distinguishing the adult community domain from the school domain could be supported by reference to community language and religious education being provided independently of the state school (see LMP 1985:271). Ethnic minority criticisms of LEA schools (Helweg 1979:94-111; Tomlinson 1984; Ghumann 1980) also suggest that in a number of respects, the values of the school are felt to diverge from those of the community, though of course this relationship is not static, schools do partially adapt and in addition to criticisms, schools receive some support and praise (see the same references immediately above). Again, it is perhaps important not to overstate the gap between school and community (Purewal 1976). Thomson (1974:247) reports that in Coventry, 'schooling together has reinforced the ties of family, neighbourhood language and culture which already link them, so that every Punjabi boy in the city knows all the others by sight at least. This was because every Punjabi boy in the city went to one of two schools.' Due both to the organisation of catchment areas and the rather exclusionary impact of the voluntary-aided schools, a comparable effect may have occurred in the town I am studying, where many children of Asian parentage from relatively distant areas attend the same Upper School (see Jeffcoate 1984:101,105). Even so, the ethnic diversity encountered in school remains much greater than that encountered in the course of life in the adult community, the contact between the adults in each is usually not extensive, and again, as with the distinction between home and school, the existence of some difference between the adult community and school domains can be accepted as fairly uncontroversial.

A major difference between the adult community domain and the peer-recreational domain relates to the presence of girls (Anwar 1976:36). Certainly from early adolescence on, constraints are placed on mixing between the sexes in both Sikh and Muslim families, and peer-group recreation is single-sex. The constraints placed upon girls appear generally to be stricter than those placed on boys (Purewal 1976; Ballard 1972; Khan 1974) and they have less freedom to move in relatively open and

unsupervised places such as the park and street (Brah 1978:204). In community settings such as weddings or attendance at the Gurdwara (but not the Mosque, though young girls sometimes do go there for single-sex classes (Anwar 1979:167)), there appears from my data to be some meeting between boys and girls, at least from within the family group. But there is virtually none in relatively unsupervised, unchaperoned places such as the park or club (see Ballard 1972:22 on chaperoning in a Sikh context but also Purewal 1976:59). In contrast there is also much more cross-ethnic mixing in the peer-recreational domain than in the adult community.

Peer-recreation as a domain differs then from home and community domain in so far as it appears to be both more exclusively single-sex and more polyethnic, which suggests maybe that this domain is perceived to be potentially more unrestrained and susceptible to immoderate values (Anwar 1979:167; Purewal 1976:44; on the relationship between this view and the peer group's polyethnic constituency see Purewal 1976:60,61; Anwar 1979:167; Agnihotri 1979:115). In fact Anwar (1976:41-42; also 1979:60, 61) found in a fairly large survey of South Asian opinion that 'things done in spare time/leisure' were the most commonly mentioned (and most serious) source of conflict between parents and young children. After 'clothes', 'friends/dating etc.' came next, and both of these findings lend support to the separateness of the peer group recreational domain.

In Anwar's survey, it was nevertheless only a minority of those surveyed who reported this, and as in the discussion of the distinction between home and peer recreation (which should be seen as very close to the argumentation here), it is important not to exaggerate these differences. Helweg (1979:119) reports the setting up of the Indian Youth Federation to keep Sikh boys together and 'out of trouble', and at least one of the clubs in Bedford is similarly run by Indian adults with the result that at least for some Sikh boys, parts of their recreation takes place under ingroup adult auspices. Also, the park and street

are not completely free from adult supervision, and the conduct of children may be observed and reported back to their parents (Helweg 1979:119; Purewal 1976:43,44; Brah 1978:199). Finally, community activities such as weddings and attendance at a religious/community centre need not necessarily entail highly restrained conduct from children. James (1974:39) and Helweg (1979:65) report on the fairly unrestricted noisiness of children at the Gurdwara, and according to one of my informants (F), some kids just go there to muck about (another, A, reported snowball fights he'd had there). Similarly, a few of my informants reported messing around and doing what you want as a feature of family parties and weddings (Di, Fi, Op).

Broadly, peergroup recreation looks like a domain distinct from both home and adult community, though again, the analytic 'segmentation' of social life is never a straightforward affair.

The differentiation of domains that I have so far attempted has covered:

- home vs adult community
- home vs peergroup recreation
- home vs school
- home in Britain vs home in India and Pakistan
- adult community vs peergroup recreation
- adult community vs school.

This leaves as the final one, the difference between school and peergroup recreational domains.

#### 6.2.6 Peergroup Recreation vs School Domains

The school affords extensive contact with white adults; in the peergroup there are certainly fewer adults and for some children there is also less contact with ethnic English (or West Indian) people. In the same way that the peergroup affords more scope for 'biculturalism' than the home or adult community domains, the peergroup's relationship to the school is comparable, but this time it gives comparatively more scope for the expression

of values deriving from parents and co-ethnic adults (rather than the other way round).

Girls are present at school, and evidently in the eyes of many parents they are adequately supervised (Brah 1978:204). And while perhaps there may not be a great deal of face-to-face interaction between them (at least in free-time at school), there may be active awareness of the presence of kin of the opposite sex (Purewal 1976:56) as well as of non-kin and other-ethnic youngsters (e.g. Purewal 1976; Brah 1978; Saifullah Khan 1976: 105). In contrast, as stated above, peer group recreation outside the home and adult community institutions is almost completely single-sex (this applies to ethnically Anglo and Afro-Caribbean informants as well).

Finally, conduct in school, in lessons and in free-time is fairly closely supervised by (almost exclusively) white adults, and there is a set of sanctions available for dealing with deviance that not only differ from those of the home, but also are of course absent in the peer-recreational domain.

#### 6.2.7 Domains and Informants of Anglo and Afro-Caribbean Extraction

In developing indices of network involvement, reference will be made to the framework of domains being elaborated above. But so far the discussion has related almost exclusively to youngsters of South Asian extraction. There are also boys of Afro-Caribbean and Anglo parentage amongst my informants and the relevance to them of this four-domain model needs to be considered.

I do not propose to develop separate domain frameworks for these informants for several reasons. The fact that Anglo and Afro-Caribbean youngsters represent only six out of a sample of twenty-three means that discussions of South Asian ethnicity remain as the most important to this task. In fact, it would be difficult to review ethnographic writings on Afro-Caribbean social organisation, for example, when there are only two in-

formants of pure Grenadan extraction and one of mixed Anglo and Grenadan parentage: these would be too small and unreliable a basis for assessing the relevance of such texts to the local setting. Finally, to a degree, the Afro-Caribbean and Anglo informants participate in the same social institution as ethnically Asian kids (at school and in the peer group).

Even so, some remarks as likely points of difference in the sociolinguistic domains appropriate to the three ethnic groupings here are in order. These observations largely derive from the data on Anglo and Afro-Caribbean informants: their wider relevance is open to question.

Firstly, there are grounds for wondering whether at least for Anglo kids, participation within the adult co-ethnic community is as marked and significant an activity as it is for Sikh and Muslim boys. Kids of Anglo parentage appear to attend fewer collective community events: the ethnically Anglo informants had hardly been to any weddings and no longer went to church or Sunday school. Though they had some kin in the locality (and differed from nearly all of the rest in the way that grandmothers figured prominently), kinship networks were by no means as extensive as they were amongst ethnically Indian and Pakistani informants and they did not appear to be drawn in in the same way to adult activities which maintained and cultivated ingroup cohesion.

The extended kinship ties of informants with Grenadan parents also seemed smaller. Although there are four West Indian Churches in Bedford (Jeffcoate and Mayor 1982:37), both S and R attended the local Anglican church with an ethnically mixed congregation and to some extent participated in the collective activities organised through that (e.g. occasional day trips and a youth club). As with Anglo boys, quite a lot of visiting amongst kin was reported at weekends, for example, although in general for both, participation in adult community functions seemed less regular.

There are also grounds for supposing that the relationship between home and school might be slightly different, for the Anglo boys in particular. One had a parent who was standing for school governor, another worked on the domestic staff at a local school, and a third (who moved to a voluntary-aided school very earlier on in the project) was closely related to a school caretaker. So connections between Anglo adult kin and schools were, on this tiny sample, stronger than with Asian and Afro-Caribbean adults. Whether or not this means that home and school could be less legitimately viewed as separate domains is open to question: though there might be greater interactional contact between home and school, much more intensive examination would be needed to decide how far this mitigated (or was simply exceptional to) quite widespread white working-class disaffection with school (see e.g. Willis 1977). (Purely on the basis of secondary sources, it would appear that ethnic minority parents are in some ways more attitudinally attuned to education than their Anglo counterparts - see e.g. Tomlinson 1984; Bhachu 1984/5).

This discussion clearly requires local data on more ethnically Anglo and Afro-Caribbean informants if domain organisation for kids in different ethnic sectors of the neighbourhood is to be fully understood. In general though, the four-domain model of home, school, peergroup and adult community will still be adequate for the task here of cross-cultural comparison. This is partly due to the fact that in any case, the model remains approximative. More importantly, the network indices to be devised in due course will not rest on the assumption that these four domains are equivalent in their cultural importance in each ethnic community. Instead, they will depend on a basic dichotomy between intra and inter-ethnic domains, on home and adult community vs peergroup and school (see section 7.4.1). While there are evidently one or two complications here (e.g. with the church as an inter-ethnic adult activity for ethnically Afro-Caribbean kids), these are minor and in practice make no difference to the scoring of network association.

So from now on, while most of the discussion will continue to focus on the majority (South Asian) informants, evidence on ethnically Afro-Caribbean and Anglo informants will also be drawn in to elucidate a single domains-framework.

#### 6.2.8 Summary by Rephrasing

Schematically much of the preceding discussion of domains can be represented in terms of the roles which a boy is likely to enact in each domain, and in terms of the typical composition of the participants in each:

#### AN ETHNICALLY ASIAN BOY'S ROLES WITHIN EACH DOMAIN: THE MOST DISTINCTIVE/ESSENTIAL ROLES, AND ALSO OTHER POSSIBLE ROLES

HOME SETTING	ADULT COMMUNITY SETTINGS	PEERGROUP RECREATIONAL SETTINGS	SCHOOL SETTINGS
<u>Son</u>	<u>Kinsman</u>	<u>Friend</u>	<u>Pupil</u>
<u>Brother</u>	<u>Ethnic fellow</u>	(brother)	(friend)
(grandson)	<u>Religious pupil</u>	(kinsman)	(brother)
(kinsman)	(son)	(ethnic	(kinsman)
(religious	(brother)	fellow)	(ethnic
pupil, see	(friend)		fellow)
e.g. Anwar			
1979:166)			
(ethnic fellow)			
(friend)			

\_\_\_\_\_ = most distinctive/essential roles

( ) = other possible roles

CATEGORIES OF PEOPLE TYPICALLY CO-PARTICIPATING WITH A BOY OF  
ASIAN PARENTAGE IN EACH DOMAIN

HOME SETTING	ADULT COMMUNITY SETTINGS	PEERGROUP RECREATIONAL SETTINGS	SCHOOL SETTINGS
Immediate family	Immediate and extended family	Siblings	Siblings
Adults and children	Adults and children	Kin (e.g. cousins)	Kin (e.g. cousins)
	<u>Co-ethnic</u> <u>non-kin</u>	<u>Kids only:</u> <u>boys only</u>	<u>Kids and</u> <u>white adults</u>
		Co-ethnic non-kin and <u>ethnic</u> <u>outgroups</u>	Co-ethnic non-kin and ethnic outgroups

- - - - - = some important distinguishing features

Together these two schematic outlines show much of the overlap between domains which makes their isolation seem rather difficult at times; yet they also indicate ways in which each can be seen to differ: each role is seen to implicate different rights and obligations, and if the groups of co-participants are regarded as bringing with them (varyingly) different sets of values and expectations, then an idea of the potential socio-psychological distinctiveness of each domain emerges.

For ethnically Afro-Caribbean and Anglo youngsters, this model would probably be different in certain respects, and further empirical study would be needed to identify where such differences lay. However, for the present, they will not obstruct the use of this domains model in the construction of network indices.

### 6.3 Allocating Settings to These Four Domains

So far I have argued for the broad distinctiveness of these four domains largely on the basis of ethnographic literature relating to South Asians in Britain generally, and also partially by



glancing forward to certain aspects of my own social network data. The ultimate purpose here is to trace in empirical detail the ways in which each of my informant's associates are distributed across these domains, yet this cannot be achieved immediately. Fishman asserts (1972:22) that domains 'are a higher order generalisation from congruent situations': a domain is a 'cluster of social situations typically constrained by a common set of behavioural rules' (1972:30). In line with this, the preceding section represents the researcher's attempt to construct and validate a framework of domains into which settings and situations might be clustered; the objective in this section is to outline in more detail which settings/situations can be categorised where. My empirical data offers information on 'associate x setting/situation': now I want to show how this can be transposed to 'associate x domain'.

In the ISM procedure, informants were given a matrix which had a list of about thirty-five to forty-five of their named associates as the vertical axis, and a list of between about twelve and eighteen settings/situations as the horizontal axis. Informants were asked to fill in the cells in the matrix with ticks, to show whom they regularly encountered where.

The settings/situations comprising this horizontal axis were drawn from the following list:

- |    |   |      |
|----|---|------|
| a. | In my home  | [23] |
| b. | Visiting their house with my mum, dad or adults from my family  | [23] |
| c. | Going into their house on my own, or with other kids            | [23] |
| d. | Just doing things in the park, in the street or round the place | [23] |
| e. | At the Gurdwara/Mosque/Church                                   | [18] |
| f. | At classes outside schooltime                                   | [6]  |
| g. | On the phone  | [21] |
| h. | At the club   | [21] |
| i. | At parties  | [6]  |
| j. | At friends' parties   | [17] |

k.	At family parties and weddings	[17]
l.	Going shopping	[19]
m.	Staying in another town in Britain	[23]
n.	In another country	[18]
o.	At the town library	[7]
p.	At school in lessons	[23]
q.	At school in free time	[23]
r.	In the cricket team (not the school one)	[3]
s.	On day trips and outings (not from school)	[20]
t.	At training	[2]
u.	In Amusement Arcades	[14]
v.	Swimming (not with the school)	[3]
w.	At canoeing	[1]
x.	At golf	[1]
y.	At video hire	[1]
z.	At play-bus	[1]
a'.	At tennis outside school time	[1]
b'.	At scouts	[2]
c'.	Fishing	[2]
d'.	At motorbike club	[1]
e'.	At Judo club	[1]

[Numbers in square brackets show how many informants were presented with each setting]

In addition to settings presented as columns on the matrix, some were also qualified and further described orally. Thus d was usually subcategorised in terms of

'Just doing things in the park, in the street or round the place

i. just in term time

ii. in the holidays.'

And h 'At the club', was usually subdivided in terms of

i. junior club (from 3.30 p.m. till 5.30 p.m.)

ii. evening club/senior club/Asian Youth (from 7 p.m. till 10.00 p.m.)

iii. the church club.

For several reasons, it was highly advantageous to reduce this long list to four macro-categories (i.e. domains).<sup>3</sup> The question was how? Which settings belong in which domains?

The first step must be to identify those settings (situations) which we will not attempt to classify, as well as those remaining in consequence.

#### 6.3.1 Settings Not Assigned to the Four Domains, and Resulting Allocations

As clusters of typically congruent situations, domains will not be able to account for all settings: some will not fit any domain and therefore we should expect to have to exclude some settings on account of their being non-congruous (cf. Fishman 1972).

So, out of the eight settings that I shall exclude, some simply seem unable to fit into the four-domain model enunciated above. Others however will be excluded as a consequence of inadequacy in my fieldwork procedure, and a final element contributing to these exclusions is my own research aim, which is to examine the relationship of frequent interactional involvement and local speech norms.

The settings which I shall not count are: 'on the phone' (g); 'at friends' parties' (j); 'going shopping' (l); 'staying in another town in Britain' (m); 'in another country' (n); 'on day trips and outings (not from school)' (s); 'at Video hire' (y); and in certain circumstances 'at parties'. More detailed discussion of each of these exclusions is contained in Appendix 5.

This means that the allocation of settings to domains with which I shall operate, will be as follows:

(a) In my home	]	HOME
(c) Going into their house on my own, or with other kids		
((d') At motorbike club)		
(b) Visiting their house with my mum, dad or adults from my family	]	ADULT COMMUNITY
(e) At the Gurdwara/Mosque/Church		
(f) At classes outside schooltime		
((i) At parties)		
(k) At family parties and weddings		
(d) Just doing things in the park, in the street or round the place	]	PEERGROUP RECREATION
(h) At the club		
(o) At the town library		
(r) In the cricket team; (t) at training;		
(u) in Amusement Arcades; (v) swimming;		
(w) at canoeing; (x) at golf; (z) at playbus; (a') at tennis outside school;		
(b') at scouts; (c') fishing; (e') at Judo club		
(p) At school in lessons		
(q) At school in free time	]	SCHOOL

How can those decisions about allocation now be justified? Some of the problems entailed in segmenting social life will re-emerge, and even if what follows sometimes seems a little arbitrary, it is important to be explicit about one or two further matters.

### 6.3.2 Settings Constituting the Home Domain

One uncertainty about 'in my home' hinges on whether the youngsters visiting informants came with their parents or not. This isn't immediately clear from responses in the 'in my home' column of the ISM matrix, and so the question arises: am I placing in the home domain what rightly belongs with 'visiting with adults' in the adult community domain? In fact, this issue isn't soluble, but a reasonable policy is to look at the 'visiting their house on my own, or with other kids' column, and where an informant says they see someone both in that situation and in their own homes, I shall assume that home visiting unaccompanied by adults is reciprocal.

The question also arises as to whether visiting people's houses on your own or with other kids involves exposure to the scrutiny and value-systems of the household adults, or whether it is merely a routine part of peer-recreational activity, like doing things in the park, street or round the place?<sup>4</sup> The wording is important here: 'in my home' and 'going in their house' rather than 'at home' and 'visiting their house' or 'going round to their home'. Several informants drew attention to the difference between going inside, and waiting in the garden or calling at the door (I,L,P,S). Waiting at the door when calling round seems a fairly routine part of peer-recreational activity, and I shall count it as entailing no involvement in the home domain.

Going inside however, which is what the ISM headings ask about (and what I reiterated often in the last and checking phase of the ISM procedure), will be counted as home domain involvement: how much time a kid spends inside another's house, how often/whether or not parents are at home, and how far visiting kids actually run into household adults, are all issues on which I have no empirical data. Nevertheless, I shall be working on the principle that when an informant and his friend reciprocally go into one another's houses fairly regularly, they are exposing

one another to the scrutiny of their household families (and vice versa) and as such are co-participating in their home domains.

(I have also included 'At motorbike club' in the home domain: this relates to only one informant, and as this club is quite a long way away, he always goes with his parents. Thus the friends he takes with him are exposed to the values of his household in the same way.)

#### 6.3.3 Settings Constituting the Adult Community Domain

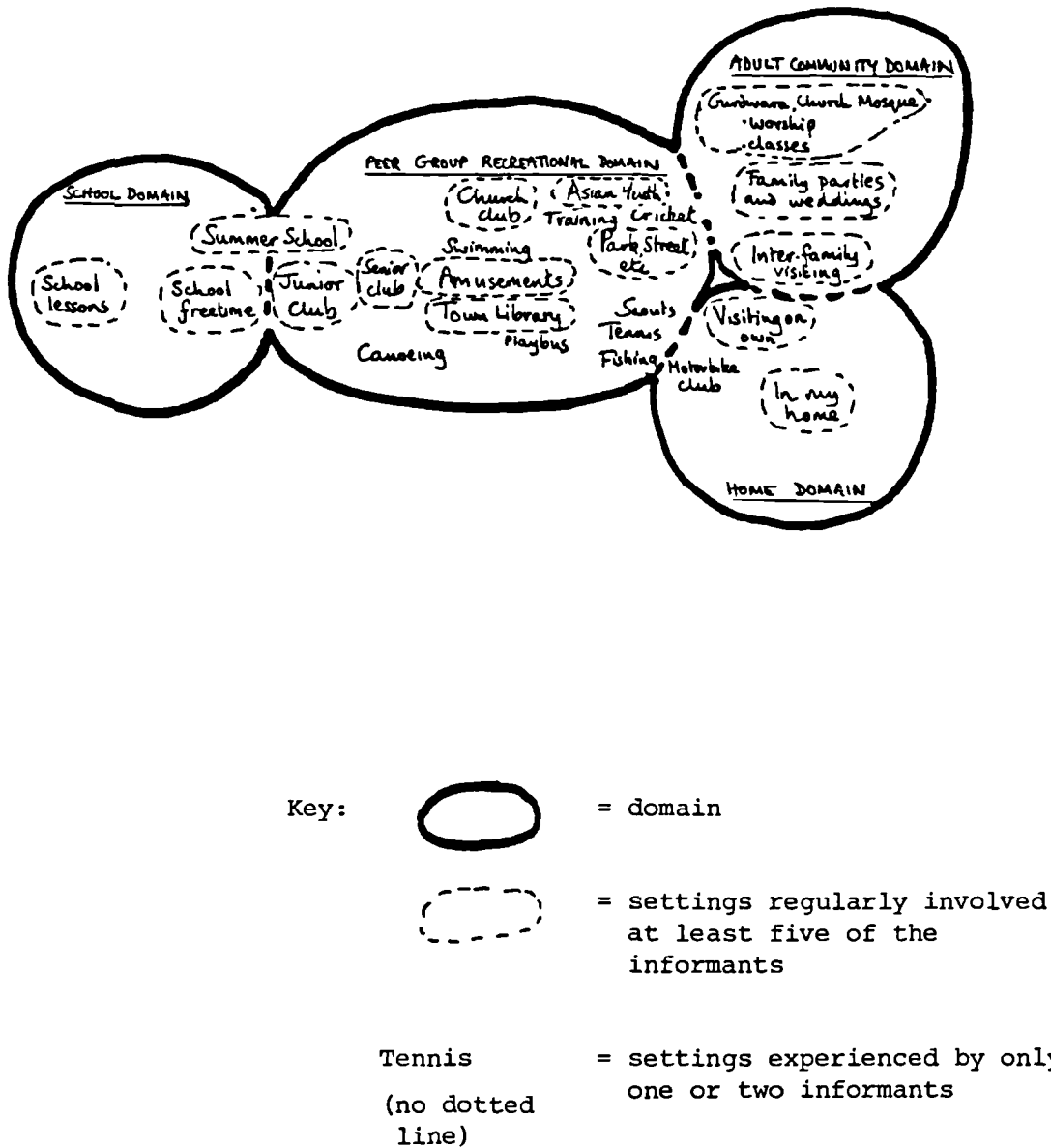
In allocating 'Visiting their house with my mum, dad or adults from my family' to this domain, I am assuming that when children are with their parents in the company of other adults, the inter-generational negotiation of values and conduct is less flexible than it is within a single household, and children feel more compelled to act in accordance with the norms of the adult community (see the remarks above about the importance of visiting to community life - 6.2.2). In fact, fifteen of my informants remarked on the difference between visiting people's houses with their parents and visiting on their own, and they often explained this in terms of having to be more polite, to keep quiet and sit still, act more sensibly and not muck around (Bi,Op,Kp,Lp,Tm,Di, Hp,Rw,Sw,Pp,Gi,Ue,We), though one felt more relaxed visiting with his parents (Ip) and another felt a bit shameful.

Also comprising the adult community domain are settings such as the Mosque, Gurdwara and Church, and religious and Community Language classes. The rationales for including these have already been given (6.2.5) and they are the same as those for the inclusion of 'family parties and weddings'.

#### 6.3.4 Settings Constituting the Peergroup Recreational Domain

The settings within the peer recreational domain involve varying degrees of supervision by adults (of different ethnicities), and indeed different settings/situations seem closer to the borderline with particular other domains than others. Perhaps it is helpful to set this out diagrammatically, and then explain this domain by glossing the diagram:

DIAGRAM 6.1 SETTINGS AND DOMAINS



The large almost continuous circles represent domains, the circles in dotted lines are settings/situations/activities, and circles are placed close to one another when the locations, values and personnel that they entail share some similarity. Thus in order to justify the allocation of particular settings to the peer group recreational domain, it is perhaps most sensible to start at its margins.

Included in the diagram is a reference to Summer School. This is run for four weeks every Summer holidays by the local Community Relations Association and it was there that I commenced my fieldwork. It was not included as a setting on the ISM matrix (I personally knew who knew whom there) and in fact, it is a sufficiently ambiguous institution to be counted as properly belonging neither to the school nor to the peer-recreational domain. It takes place on the school premises, involves reading and writing, is attended by a small number of Asian girls, entails a restricted age-range (about 8 to 13) and is run by one or two adults who are teachers (one of whom in 1984 worked in a non-teaching capacity in the real school attended by my informants). On these grounds, it might be aligned with the school domain. On the other hand, attendance is voluntary, lots of Asian girls don't attend, and recruitment is reported by some to be through friendship networks. Older children and young adults figure prominently as helpers and teachers, and are addressed by their first names. The system of sanctions for misconduct is generally ad hoc and observed with some laxity; a good deal of the classroom work is merely tokenistic, and the emphasis is often on organised games and outings. On these grounds it seems more like a club and overall this ambivalence merits its exclusion.

There are in fact several clubs, and three of them (Junior, Senior and Asian Youth Association) are situated in the same grounds very close to the Middle school attended by all my informants.

Junior club comes closest in its general characterisation to free-time activity at school: it opens during the dinner-break on Mondays, and straight after school until 5.30 p.m. on Thursdays. It is attended by the same age-group that informants encounter at Middle school and on Mondays, they can decide whether to do something in the club or in the playground. To that extent, it seems to belong in the school domain, at least as much as break-time activity does. There are however some major differences. There are a range of facilities available in



the club which differentiate it from the school (pinball machines, space-invaders, a coffee-bar, ping pong and pool tables); entry is by payment and is voluntary; relations with adults are much more informal (first names). A group of 16-18 year old mainly white boys are very prominently involved in organising and helping out, and relations between school and club staff are not especially close, each being accountable to different branches of the LEA. There is never any question of misdemeanour in the club being reported to school authorities and conduct is generally much rowdier. Finally, after school at least, Junior club is not attended by girls of Asian parentage, though some ethnically West Indian and Anglo girls go. All in all, because the element of uncertainty regarding the distinctiveness of the lunchtime Junior club vis-à-vis break-time (i.e. free time at school), I decided in the course of fieldwork to count dinner-time attendance as constituting participation in neither the school nor the peer-recreation domains. There are however quite reasonable grounds for seeing the after-school clubs as part of the recreational domain.

Senior/evening club is from 7 p.m. till 10 p.m., and in addition to the time difference, the presence of older teenagers and young adults obviously distinguishes this from the school domain. It is primarily run by the same full-time (white) staff, though a number of ethnically Indian, English and West Indian young adults play an active role as part-time youth workers. The degree of supervision is not strong, and maybe from time to time there might be some concern about the club within the adult communities. Virtually no Asian girls attend Senior club.

The Asian Youth Association's club is open on the same premises on two nights a week, and families apparently attend on one of these. On Wednesdays many of the same youngsters attend the Asian Youth Association as on other nights of the week, and again the same degree of informality avails. However, the Asian Youth football team trains on the premises that evening, and perhaps some Asian parents may be happier about their children attending a club which is principally organised by co-ethnic

adults. For these reasons I have located the Asian Youth club closer to the adult community domain than Senior club, though of course this may be inappropriate for the ethnically English and West Indian youngsters who attend.

'Church club', as designated on the diagram, is situated away from the school in the hall attached to the local Anglican church, and is run by a local white woman who is a member of the same congregation as the parents of some of the children who go to the club. While the organiser shares religious co-membership with the parents of two of my informants, this does not extend to ethnic co-membership, and the other of my informants who attend this club share neither ethnicity nor religion. On these grounds, the assignment of this setting to the peer-recreational domain (rather than to the adult community one) does not seem very problematic, though some parents are probably more likely to hear of their children's misdemeanour there than at Junior club.

There are in fact two cricket teams included within the peer-recreational domain: one organised by Di, and the other, in which Di and a few other informants take part, is organised by Di's big brother. In Di's big brother's team, young adults participate to a greater degree and so it may be more adequately placed overlapping the adult community domain; however, Di's own team only involves kids and really constitutes an organised form of 'park, street and round the place' activity.

Some of my informants report doing things in the park, street and round the place with adult kin (see also James 1974:23), but generally this is a peer group activity and was sometimes glossed as 'messing' or 'mucking around', and likened to going swimming (Bi;Di); going to the library (Ci;Di); going to the clubs (Ei,Qp) or to Amusement Arcades (Fi). It can involve a variety of games, some of them specifically designed to incur adult disapproval (viz. the very popular 'knock knock/knock door ginger') and some boys are reputed to be kept in. Adult supervision in this setting is not active, though as suggested

above, how children behave in the street etc. may be observed by adults, who are more likely to belong to the home or adult community than to the school domain (few of the teachers live locally, as far as I know - some fraught encounters with the only one that does are reported by Lp).

Tennis, canoeing, fishing and playbus are fairly marginal settings in so far as only one or two of my informants are involved in them. Lp plays tennis with his brother and his cousin Mp; Np goes to canoeing on Fridays after school; Ue and Ve go fishing, sometimes with each other, sometimes alone and sometimes with members of their family (which maybe makes domain classification a little dicey in theory, though in practice it is completely insignificant); Playbus is a facility provided during the summer holidays in a local park, and it is worth also mentioning scouts which two of my informants attend (Tm and We), though several others disparage it because it is thought either boring (Ve and Rw) or snobbish (Hp) (cp. Hargreaves 1967:152 on scouts being a posh kids' activity).

Several informants go to the town library with friends, brothers or cousins on Saturday mornings (often to use the library's computer); quite a number go swimming in the town pool, which they often characterise as messing about/mucking around (Bi;Di;Hp;Ip;Kp;Lp;Sw;Tm) and as being similar to doing things in the park and street (Np;Pp;Sw). At least in terms of supervision by adults from the home, school or ethnic community, there is no reason to consider attendance at Amusement Arcades as being qualitatively different (with regard to other settings, they are likened to the club by Hp, the park by Fi and swimming by Jp), and being mostly located outside the immediate neighbourhood, it is perhaps at swimming and in Amusement Arcades that youngsters are least under the auspices of adults.

#### 6.3.5 Settings Constituting the School Domain

Lessons at school are the occasions in which children are most clearly exposed to white adults, and obviously the distinctive

constraints on kids' conduct are considerable. However, I have already identified a degree of difficulty in drawing a line between free-time at school and lunch-time Junior club, and a few words are required to justify the allocation of break-time etc. to the school rather than to the peer-recreational domain.

In the first instance, free-time at school may not be lessons but one is still under the jurisdiction (and surveillance) of teachers; secondly, it is compulsory (and on cold winter days outside, unpleasant); thirdly, it is more widely acceptable to parents than doing things in the park, or going to the club; fourthly, there is a good practical reason for counting it as part of the school domain. If free-time were excluded, there would be no opportunity for informants to express on the ISM matrix the fact that many of them go to the same school as older and younger siblings and cousins. Being of different ages, they are unlikely to see them in lessons and yet they may co-participate in e.g. assemblies and have a great deal of closely shared knowledge concerning people and issues at school. This is an important co-membership covering types of knowledge and experience that peer group recreational settings won't replicate: indeed, not only does the ISM column 'at school in free-time' give informants a fuller chance to say whom they go to school with, it keys into experience that is qualitatively different from peer-recreation in major ways.

#### 6.4 Domains and Reports of Bilingual Code Selection

Such then are the domain clusters that an analysis of values, types of interlocutor and settings leads one to formulate. With regard to informants of Indian and Pakistani extraction, it is also worth glancing at how bilingual language choice is perceived to fit in with this model.

During fieldwork, informants were asked (individually) about the settings on their ISM matrices and the language use which typically accompanied each (in fact, foolishly, my wording

to them shifted between 'what language do you generally use when you're in setting X' for some informants, and 'what language is generally used in setting X' for others). Informants were asked to code as many settings as they felt fit, in terms of

1. 'All Punjabi' or 'All Pakistani' (the latter was sometimes used with informants of Pakistani parentage)
2. 'Mainly Punjabi'/'Mainly Pakistani'
3. 'Equal Punjabi/Pakistani and English'
4. 'Mainly English'
5. 'All English'.

Several things need to be said in relation to this procedure. Firstly, it concerns perceived congruences between language and setting, not necessarily actual usage. Secondly, the alternation in the wording of my question means that the nature of this perceived congruence is regrettably ambiguous. Thirdly, it omitted consideration of language use to particular (typical or non-typical) informants within each setting and so informants lacked adequately explicit and specific anchors for their reflections.

The second and third points mean that the emerging data can certainly be criticised on methodological grounds. However, the fact that within those constraints, the data outline perceptions and not necessarily behaviour doesn't matter, and they can be cautiously used in discussion of the potential psycho-social distinctiveness of the domains being isolated.

Table 6.1 sets out below the average patterns of bilingual code selection which informants reported as accompanying the settings which I have merged into domains.

None of the postulated domains is entirely discrete in the patterns of code selection felt appropriate to the settings comprising it - thus the 'adult community' settings do not exclusively have medians and modes of 2 (= 'mainly Punjabi/Pakistani'); equally the school domain is not felt to be all English. In this sense, the emerging patterns of language selection do not straightforwardly ratify the domain model I am proposing.

TABLE 6.1 AVERAGE REPORTED LANGUAGE SELECTION IN DIFFERENT SETTINGS, BY INFORMANTS  
OF INDIAN PARENTAGE, PAKISTANI PARENTAGE AND COMBINED

		THE ADULT COMMUNITY DOMAIN				THE HOME DOMAIN		THE PEERGROUP RECREATIONAL DOMAIN						THE SCHOOL DOMAIN	
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV
Informants of Indian Parentage	median	3	2	2	3	3	4	4	4	5		4	4	4	4
	mode	3	2	2	3	3	4	4	4	5		4	4	4	5
	(n)	(6)	(3)	(7)	(7)	(7)	(7)	(3)	(2)	(2)		(7)	(7)	(7)	(7)
Informants of Pakistani Parentage	median	2		2	3	2.5	3.5			4	4	4	5	4	5
	mode	2		2	3	2	4			4,5	4	4	5	4	5
	(n)	(6)	(1)	(8)	(8)	(8)	(8)			(5)	(5)	(8)	(7)	(8)	(8)
Informants of Indian and Pakistani Parentage Combined	median	2	2	2	3	3	4			5		4	4	4	5
	mode	2	2	2	3	2,3	4			5		4	4	4	5
	(n)	(12)	(4)	(15)	(15)	(15)	(15)			(7)		(15)	(14)	(15)	(15)

Key: Different settings:

- I At Gurdwara or Mosque
- II At classes at Gurdwara/Mosque
- III Visiting with adults
- IV Family parties and weddings  
(and parties where these appear  
to be family ones)
- V In my home
- VI Visiting their house on my own

- VII Cricket
- VIII Training
- IX Amusement Arcades
- X Town library
- XI At the park etc.
- XII At the club
- XIII At school in free-time
- XIV At school in lessons

Languages normally spoken:

- 1 All Punjabi/Pakistani
- 2 Mainly Punjabi/Pakistani
- 3 Equal English and  
Punjabi/Pakistani
- 4 Mainly English
- 5 All English

For each individual's reported  
language selection see Table 6.2.

TABLE 6.2 REPORTED LANGUAGE SELECTION IN DIFFERENT SETTINGS, FOR EACH INFORMANT OF INDIAN AND PAKISTANI PARENTAGE

	THE ADULT COMMUNITY DOMAIN				THE HOME DOMAIN		THE PEERGROUP RECREATIONAL DOMAIN						THE SCHOOL DOMAIN		OTHER				
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX
Ai	3	2	1	5	3	5					5	5	4	5	3	5	5	5	
Bi			4	3	3	4	4	4			4	3-5	4	4	3	2	4	2	
Ci	4		2	4	2	4	4				4	4	5	5	1	2	4	4	5
Di	3	2	1	3	2	3-5	2	4			4	4	1-2	4	2	2	4		4
Ei	3		2	3	3	4					4	4	4	3	1-2	3	4		
Fi	3	3	2	3-4	4	3		5			4	4	4	5	3	4	4	3	3
Gi	2		3	3	1	3-5		5			4	5	3-4	3-4	1	4	4	3	3
Hp	2		4	3	4	3		5	5	5	5	5	3	5	1	4	5		
Ip			1	3	3	3		5			5	5	4	5	1	3	3	5	
Jp	2		1	1	2	2		4	4	4	4	4	4	4	2	2		2	
Kp	2		2	3	2	4		4	4	3	4	4	4	5	2	4	4	4	4
Lp			3	2	3	4			4	4	4	4	4	5	3	4	3	3	3
Mp																			
Np																			
Op	1	1	2	3	2	4		3			5	5	3	5	1	3			
Pp	2		3	4	2	3					4	5	4	5	2	3	4	4	4
Qp	2		2	4	3	4			4	4			4	5	2	3	3	2	3

(contd)

TABLE 6.2 (contd)

Key:	<u>Different settings:</u>	<u>Languages normally spoken:</u>
	I At Gurdwara or Mosque	1 All Punjabi/Pakistani
	II At classes at Gurdwara/Mosque	2 Mainly Punjabi/Pakistani
	III Visiting with adults	3 Equal English and Punjabi/Pakistani
	IV Family parties and weddings	4 Mainly English
	V In my home	5 All English
	VI Visiting their house on my own	
	VII Cricket	
	VIII Training	
	IX Amusement Arcades	
	X Town library	
	XI At the park etc.	
	XII At the club	
	XIII At school in free-time	
	XIV At school in lessons	
	XV In another country	
	XVI In another town	
	XVII On day trips and outings	
	XVIII Shopping	
	XIX On the phone	



Neither, however, do they invalidate it, since anyway, psycho-social factors such as values and types of interlocutor obviously have to be given greater prominence than language in an analysis of how communities segment their social lives. Beyond this, in fact, the patterns of code selection outlined here could be said to broadly endorse the model in two ways.

Firstly, the analysis of domains was itself never proposed as a straightforward exercise embracing easy categories; the blurrings in language selection across domains in fact agree with much of what the preceding analysis had led us to expect. Thus family parties and weddings, and attendance at the Gurdwara are not on average reported as 'Mainly Punjabi/Pakistani' language events and in this respect they differ from the other settings in the adult community domain: yet this is what one might expect from the earlier account of the relative freedom youngsters are given on such occasions (see section 6.2.5 above). Similarly, the difficulty in separating the school domain setting 'At school in free-time' from the peergroup recreational domains was noted, and accordingly, patterns of language use are on average felt to be similar in both. That the blurry edges noted in earlier sections co-ordinate with fuzziness in these empirical data in fact suggests quite a positive correspondence between local perceptions and my own, derived from observation, interviews and secondary sources, and this may be seen as one type of endorsement.

Secondly, though the average scores for bilingual code selection do not perfectly replicate the model of domains being proposed here (due to their fuzzy edges), neither do they completely contradict it. Thus the settings allocated to the adult community domain overall co-occur with 'Mainly Punjabi/Pakistani' language selection; the home domain looks as though it is felt to favour a slightly increased use of English; and school in lessons broadly looks as if it's the 'All English' environment par excellence.

So an analysis of code selection by setting lends some cre-

dence to the model being proposed here: beyond this (and supported by parts of the preceding analysis) it also suggests a meta-clustering of domains, which at this point it is worth making explicit.

#### 6.5 Intra-ethnic and Interethnic Meta-domains

The picture of code selection here suggests a higher level clustering of domains which will in fact be very useful both in relation to the measures of multiplexity to be developed below, and to the later analysis of (NP) (VA)E (Part Three).

What it initially suggests is that on the one hand school and peer group recreational domains may be united as being 'English language dominant', while on the other and in contrast, adult community and home can be joined as 'Non-English dominant'. It would be incorrect to assume that this was a straightforward intra-ethnic vs interethnic distinction in terms of the people that are typically encountered in each 'meta-sphere': the greater association of English with the peer group could just as easily be due to the absence of adults whose primary language was Punjabi, as due to the presence of ethnically Anglo and Afro-Caribbean peers. However, without having to adopt a strong Whorfian position, and without implying home and adult community domains are automatically identical in this, it is not unreasonable to see the greater reported usage of English as potentially and broadly entailing increased exposure to ethnic Anglo majority and Afro-Caribbean values. And while in practice in school and peer group settings, informants of Indian and Pakistani parentage may pass much of their time with peers from similar bilingual, if not ethnic backgrounds, they are in principle much more accessible to outgroup members than in home and adult community settings (none of the peer recreational or school settings are ethnically exclusive, while outgroup access to settings in the other domain would perhaps require the permission of an ingroup adult).

That then concludes the basic analysis of domains which

other parts of the thesis will draw on or elaborate. We have moved from settings to domains to meta-domains, these last being characterised in terms of a broad division between those settings in which the predominant values are likely to be the ethnic ingroup's, and those in which there is the possibility of encountering greater social and cultural diversity.

From these relatively theoretical questions, we must now move to a more technically orientated investigation of the quality of the empirical data to be used in quantitative analysis.

NOTES

1. In particular, there is the dangerous paradox that of course the more multiplex a person's relationships are, the less likely they are to differentiate the domains that were used to define multiplexity in the first place: the more integrated two people are, the less basis there may be for identifying them as closely connected at all! In fact, for the measurement of multiplexity in terms of domain co-participation to hold, one has to try and establish that in spite of particular relationships encompassing lots of domains simultaneously, a sense of the differentness of each of these domains is still maintained. After that, one needs to assume that this sense of multiple and distinct domain co-participation is likely to create a feeling of firm social bonding between the people involved.
2. Since I am trying to establish the validity of various domains for both ethnically Sikh and Pakistani Muslim informants, it may help here to indicate which ethnic group(s) form the focus for each of the writers I shall refer to. The following are concerned mainly with Jat Sikhs in Britain: Ballard (1972), Helweg (1979), James (1974), Thomson (1974). Those concerned with other Sikh subgroups as well, or talking of Sikhs non-specifically, are: Dhanjal (1976), Jeffcoate and Mayor (1982), and Purewal (1976) (who also refers to some Hindus). Anwar (1979) and Saifullah Khan (1974) and (1976) are concerned with British Pakistani Muslims (the latter with Mirpuris). Ghumann (1980) treats Punjabis generally, and South Asians generally are the concern of Brah (1978) and Anwar (1976). Tomlinson (1984) and LMP refers to other ethnic minorities as well. Jeffcoate and Mayor (1982) describe Bedford and Purewal (1976) gives an account of a neighbourhood very similar to the one in which my own study is situated.
3. The first reason is a matter of data-tidying. Often informants were given different settings, and at the level of settings, informants are therefore often non-comparable. Combining settings into domains allows one to make comparisons across all informants. The second relates to the reliability of the reports that informants make about whom they see where. Clustering lower-level settings together into macro-categories enables one to make more confident estimates than one could achieve if one dealt only in settings, since within these macro-categories, the responses that informants give concur with one another more consistently.

A third reason relates to my intention to identify arenas in social life that are potentially socio-psychologically distinct, so that I can then proceed to count up co-participation in these arenas and produce network

multiplexity scores. Our cultural recognition of Amusement Arcades and swimming pools as locations where different activities take place indicates that at some level they are socio-psychologically distinct and could be counted as contributing separate strands in a network relationship. However, to try to rationalise the difference between swimming pool and Amusement Arcade participation, would not only need a much closer observational knowledge of my informants' behaviour in these spheres than I actually have; it would also at that level require an exploration of the relationship of these two settings to the thirty-four others outlined above, which would be interminable. As it is, the macro-categories being opted for are pitched at a level which can key in with quite a good deal of sociological/social anthropological work, and in this way we can try to rationalise the cultural distinctiveness of the units we shall work with without being too heavily penalised for a lack of participant-knowledge of life in informants' homes and adult communities.

Finally, the concept of domain - to which these settings will be 'reduced' - is itself of proven analytic utility.

4. One informant said that going into people's houses was like doing things in the park (Np); however, in one way or another, three disagreed (Fi,Op,We).

## CHAPTER 7

### 7. CONSTRUCTING INDICES OF NETWORK ASSOCIATION FROM THE MODEL OF DOMAINS

With the model of domains in place, we can now advance towards the specification of quantitative indices of patterns of interactional/network association. However, this cannot be at one bound since the empirical indices eventually constructed must take cognisance of the quality of the data on which they will be based. Indeed the basic data needs to be scrutinised with particular care in view of Part II's governing objectives, one of which is to ensure that interactional association and psychosocial identification are adequately differentiated. So the first three sections of this chapter address questions of reliability. After these, the network indices are finally defined.

#### 7.1 The Reliability of the Empirical Data and the Need to Achieve a Fairly Close Reflection of Behavioural Reality

The important issue here entails giving scrutiny to the empirical data that is obtained within the domains framework. Firstly, in the responses recorded on ISM (Chapter 3.1), have informants managed to say what they mean? Have they managed to give an accurate representation of the way they see things? Secondly, do those ISM responses reflect what informants actually do? Have they given an accurate account of behavioural reality? The first questions are important to any study focusing on participants' own accounts (network or other). But the second are particularly important to my own study, more so than in many other network analyses (Gal 1979; Milroy 1980; Labov 1972).

At the heart of the argument about the relevance of social networks to language is a recognition that psychological factors are involved: conformity and non-conformity to group norms must obviously be mediated by mental processes. Consequently, though the analytic emphasis may be on 'structural' and 'external' variables, network analysis is not compromised (despite Milroy 1980:

141) if it relies to some extent on self-report data, which may be influenced by 'internal' aspirations and aversions to produce accounts that are not strictly in tune with behavioural, external reality. In principle at least Gal, Milroy and Labov need not be compromised because in contrast to my own endeavour, they are not trying to pull behavioural perspectives apart from attitudinal ones in order to investigate the potentially different impacts on language of behavioural (interactional) association vs psychological identification. But this is of course precisely what my juxtaposition of network analysis to Identity Structure Analysis strives to achieve.

As I have clearly stated, my use of network analysis is not intended to enable me to make clear-cut statements about the importance to language of behaviour versus attitudes: however, it is intended to show how a dissonant relationship between network involvement and attitudinal affiliation can be examined. For this reason, it is important that, as far as I can manage, I make sure my network measures accurately represent behavioural actuality, and while my purpose is not utterly defeated if I cannot achieve this completely, the exercise is fairly futile if my network measures reveal no more than attitudes.

The obstacles to achieving total observational verification are in fact considerable, and the problems involved in observing at first hand (in urban settings) the complete social networks of more than a couple of informants are well recognised (Boissevain 1974:97; Anwar 1979:224,227,228; Milroy 1980:141). In view of the fact that there are twenty-three informants (who each report encountering on average about forty people in about fifteen settings per informant), the task of observationally verifying all of these meetings (and non-meetings) (potentially 13,800?) is frankly impossible. In consequence, non-observational methods for trying to ensure the behavioural reality of what informants report need to be considered, and at this point it is necessary to turn to a fuller account of field-work procedure, and to ask of the method by which network data was elicited, how

reliable a picture of behavioural reality does it provide?

7.2 How Far Do ISM Responses Accurately Reflect What Informants  
Think and Do: The Field-work Procedures

An account of the reliability of the data our interactional involvement initially requires a consideration of the elicitation context and methods. The first question is: did informants get a proper chance to say what they thought?

It is probably safe to discount nervousness with the researcher, and unfamiliarity with the interview/questionnaire situation as producing responses which informants would elsewhere regard as inaccurately representing their views. By the time they came to fill in ISM, informants had already filled in one form (LTT) and discussed it in a relaxed way, and had in total had between three and nine sessions with me previously. To the extent that my status was comparable to a youth worker's, whom informants often encountered either in summer school (running games, not lessons) or at the youth clubs (or both), there are further grounds for hoping that nervousness did not make them misrepresent their views. Secondly, the fact that I habitually encountered informants outside the interview situation in the recreational as well as in the school domain, might also have made it less likely that anyone would try to spin me a yarn about their associates: certainly, if my field-work had clearly involved only once-off interviewing, I would have seemed much easier 'game'.

My field-work elicitation involved a series of checks built in to the step-by-step procedure which produced the final ISM data. The relevant stages were roughly as follows:

- (i) the informant lists his associates, indicating how often he sees them, their rough age, relationship (broadly defined) and approximate area of residence (this is the LTT questionnaire) (LTT = List of whom you Talk To).
- (ii) I scrutinise it for gaps, prepare some additional names which the informant might have forgotten.



- (iii) The informant and I go over LTT, defining ages, residence and relationship more precisely, as well as indicating the degree of affect that informants feel towards those listed as peers. Informants include those people I'd prepared in (ii) that they regard as friends, relations etc.
- (iv) I present informants with a list of settings and they tell me which they attend, which ones feel pretty much same, and which ones they act differently in.
- (v) From the data elicited from (i)-(iii) I construct the vertical axis for ISM; (iv) provides the basis for the horizontal axis. Thus each informant has a partially unique matrix.
- (vi) Informants were presented with their matrices (usually singly, though occasionally in pairs). The following written instructions accompanied it:

---

Please put a tick to show where you  
see each person (where you talk or  
do things with them).  
(If it's only ever been once or  
twice, don't put a tick.)

---

Oral instructions were also given, and the settings forming the horizontal axis were checked for their relevance and comprehensibility. The first few entries were made together, and then sometimes informants proceeded to fill in the matrices silently themselves. On other occasions, the matrices were filled in jointly, with me putting the ticks and asking the questions while the single informant dictated and closely watched what I was doing.

- (vii) I scrutinise the ISM matrix for inconsistencies and gaps, marking with an orange dot those cells where I think there may be errors.
- (viii) Jointly, the informant and I go over the orange dots, affirming or altering the previous responses, qualifying and clarifying others.

This whole procedure involved informants in 4-5 contact sessions ((iii) and (iv) were sometimes combined); one or two involved their working with a pencil. This procedure was interspersed with other more discursive interviews (concerned with e.g. varieties of Punjabi, or varieties of English), and was generally spread over a few weeks. All oral discussion relating to this procedure was conducted alone with me, though when step (vi) (filling in the ISM matrix) was done in writing, sometimes it was done in pairs. Steps (i), (iii), (iv) and (vi) were sufficiently varied to hold informants' interest though filling ISM did require some concentration, and it both worked faster and required less revision later when it was done jointly, with the informants' contribution being oral. Often the completion of ISM was done during assembly, R.E. or the tutor period and no informants minded coming back at break-time to finish off on the occasions when this was necessary. Four informants suggested doing it at home, to which I had no objections, and three returned them completed with no prompting.

I think however that boredom may have become an issue with some informants in the final checking session (stage viii). I began it by apologising in advance for what might be a bit boring, but explained this in terms of my having to be very careful when doing a project such as I was engaged in. The activity for informants was oral, though focused on the ISM matrix, and I tried to keep the pace brisk and the questions general. However, in listening to recordings of this session, I inferred a degree of boredom in six informants (B; E; L; O; S; U): they all completed it but may be judged to have been more motivated by good will towards me than intrinsic enthusiasm for the task in hand. These feelings may have been more widespread than this, and this must be acknowledged as a factor potentially undermining this last stage, leading informants not to say what more auspicious circumstances might reveal to be their thoughts.

Besides generally tidying up the questionnaire forms (identifying obvious omissions concerned with e.g. how often informants

spoke to a particular entity), the scrutiny and checking which constituted stage (ii) involved my comparing the names listed by one informant with those listed by other informants closely associated with them. In this way I hoped to compensate for any initial oversights (obviously I was able to do this less extensively with the first informants at the start of my field-work). Many informants had already mentioned some of their associates to me in the course of preceding language attitude discussions and oral diary reports.

Information gained from previous conversations and from oral and written diary reports also provided one way of checking the responses in ISM (stage vii). Another procedure entailed looking at 'natural' social groupings (e.g. one family at a time) and seeing the extent to which all members were encountered in the same places. Where, for example, one member deviated, I would put an orange dot on the matrix in order to ask the informant later (in the course of viii).

A third method involved cross-checking ISM responses with what other informants had said on their matrices (see 7.3), and the final method entailed bringing to bear my own knowledge, gained through familiarity with the school timetable and through visual and radio-microphone observation around the school and at the club. The fact that I didn't see X doing things with Y at junior club did not mean that they never did and that X was fabricating, since I did not attend every junior club. Also my observation was not specifically geared to confirming who saw whom where, and my field notes do not contain details of this. I did not know all of every informant's peer-group by sight. However, I did know many of them and I am able to confirm reports of attendance at Junior and Evening clubs by most of those known to me by name/sight, and to query some omissions.

To summarise, the following elements in the field-work procedure may be considered to have increased the likelihood that ISM data accurately captures what people really think/perceive:

1. Familiarity with the interviewer and the interview situation;
2. Consistency checks made with reference to information previously given by the informant;
3. Checks on the internal consistency of responses, made with reference to natural social groupings.

The element of tedium that at least some informants felt during stage viii may however be seen as undermining this accuracy.

Those components which can be taken as, in addition, improving the likelihood that ISM data reflects behavioural reality are

4. the fact that informants knew that the interviewer co-participated to some degree in the school and peer-recreational domains;
5. Comparison with information given by other informants;
6. Comparison to some degree with the researcher's own knowledge of the situation.

### 7.3 The Evidence on Intersubjective Agreement Within a Subsample of the Data, and Some Data-handling Procedures Designed to Increase Reliability More Generally

The field-work procedures, then, to some extent improve the confidence that can be placed in the veracity of the ISM results, though such confidence cannot be total.

Indeed, since informants often reported doing things with one another on their ISM matrices, it is possible to cross-check a subsample of the final data

- (a) to indicate the extent to which there is or isn't agreement on who sees whom where; and
- (b) on the basis of this at least intersubjectively verified subsample, to devise general indices and measures of network involvement that are fairly dependable in so far as they accurately correspond to/reflect results that have been intersubjectively validated. In this way, the scoring of network involvement can itself be organised in such a way as to in-

crease the likelihood of accurately reflecting behavioural reality (if, that is, you accept that intersubjective agreement provides evidence of behavioural reality).

Rather than get bogged down here, Appendix 6 contains detailed examination of the subsample whose answers it is possible to cross-check with one another, and a fuller account of the way in which this suggests that an index should be constructed. It is adequate at this stage to present this analysis in outline.

From the data on how informants reported social association with one another, it emerges that there is an overall agreement rate of 80% - informants agreed with one another in 930 statements about who encountered whom in which setting, and in 223 they didn't.

It will be recollected that in constructing indices of interactional involvement, not all settings will be considered: seven settings will not be allocated to any of the four domains on conceptual grounds and for reasons of poor wording. In fact, three of these settings make a disproportionate contribution to lowering the inter-informant agreement rate ('friends' parties' with a 55% agreement rate, 'daytrips and outings' with 50% and 'going shopping' with an agreement rate of only 37.5%), and by removing these and the others from consideration, the ratio of intersubjectively ratified to non-ratified statements improves.

The second step towards increasing this ratio again entails reference to the model of domains proposed above, and it requires changing the guiding question from

'do X and Y agree that they meet in setting Z?' to

'do X and Y agree that they meet in domain Z?'

In asking this question we find that though informants may not agree with one another with regard to one setting (e.g. the club), they may concur with regard to another (e.g. the park) which belongs in the same domain. Thus, while they may not agree with regard to every particular, if they do with regard

to some (at least one), they will be taken to be in broad agreement that they do co-participate in that domain.

Non-agreement in certain details can be overlooked at a more abstract level, and with this rephrasing, we find that 420 statements about domain co-participation are ratified intersubjectively, and only 43 are not - the agreement rate has increased to 90%.

So by inspecting a subsample of the data on which it is possible to cross-check what informants say, ways of analysing the ISM information emerge which can give us more confidence that the indices we construct reflect behavioural - or at least intersubjective - reality.

Of course this inspection was only carried out on 16% of all the ISM statements about who sees whom where. How far can the same degree of reliability be ensured with regard to ISM responses concerned with the remaining 531 peer- and 256 adult-related entities that can't be cross-checked? The first step of removing seven settings from consideration in terms of domain can be enacted quite simply. The second stage is however more difficult. With the verifiable subsample data, this stage entailed collecting several settings into one domain, which meant that though there were often some settings containing non-agreements, other settings did contain intersubjectively verified co-participation and on that basis, the amount of overall agreement about (domain) co-participation improved. The benefit derived from informants having several opportunities to express their co-participation in a domain: they did make idiosyncratic statements with regard to some settings, but in the light of agreements in others, these could be overlooked.

What this suggests for the non-verifiable majority of ISM responses is that before we accept statements about co-participation, we should sometimes require informants to say that they see X in at least two of the settings allocated to a domain. On

the basis of the subsample, we know that some settings produce more consistent responses than others, and for settings with regard to which there is generally a high degree of agreement (such as the park, or school in free-time), one response may be adequate as evidence. However, with regard to others which are less reliable (but which we would nevertheless not want to exclude altogether), the evidence of our analysis of the subsample suggests that a person should only be scored as co-participating in a domain if the informant reports seeing him in at least two of the settings comprising it.

Which are these settings, on which informants appear to report less reliably and which we will only count in the evidence on domain co-participation with an individual if contact is reported in at least one other relevant setting in addition? In the subsample it appeared that settings in the home and adult community domains generally produced less inter-informant agreement,<sup>1</sup> and so with regard to the rest of the ISM data (i.e. the data which can't be cross-checked), we will adopt the strategy of normally<sup>2</sup> only accepting that an informant really co-participates in either home or adult community domains with a particular person if the informant reports encountering him in at least two of the settings classed as within the domain in question.

If we now turn back to the cross-checkable subsample and use it to try out this two-setting qualification - if we apply this procedure to the subsample using intersubjective agreement as our yardstick of 'truth' - we find that in the home domain there is an 81% correspondence between 'reality' as intersubjectively attested and the picture of domain co-participation that emerges if we only count reported encounters in two or more settings as our evidence. This correspondence is less in relation to the adult community domain - there it is 72%. So we have to admit that the two setting measure proposed for the rest of the ISM data - the non-cross-checkable parts - isn't awfully reliable when it is tested out on reality as defined by inter-informant agreements.

What this means is that we cannot eliminate the possibility of reports on social (and, public) behaviour in fact being influenced by private and idiosyncratic aspirations and perceptions, and we are forced to ask: are informants really only using the ISM matrix as a kind of ISA questionnaire, merely reporting whom they would like to see in particular domains rather than whom they really do interact with?

Obviously with regard to the subsample, this possibility can and will be countered by accepting only intersubjectively ratified association; with regard to the larger uncheckable group, two things need to be said. Firstly, using the two-setting criterion at least looks as though it is likely to be three-quarters and four-fifths accurate. Secondly, the direction of this inaccuracy, from an analysis of its use in the subsample (see Appendix 6), seems to be towards under-estimating the amount of interactional associations that people have: standing on its own, this seems to be a conservative measure. Taken in conjunction with the empirical ISA analysis below, the fact that it probably underestimates co-participation maybe means that it is more unlikely to replicate the measures of idealistic and current identification used below. Certainly there is an ineliminable area of inaccuracy in which informants' private aspirations doubtless have free play, but the conservative approach adopted here is perhaps likely to counteract the exaggerated accounts of social association that informants might be inclined to give<sup>3</sup> in relation to those with whom they have strongly idealistic (or current) identification. At least when simultaneously considering positive identification, a sceptical approach to interactional involvement such as this, is more likely to ensure that network measures do more than merely replicate the psychological ones. (In fact the position becomes potentially rather more complex than this in relation to aversive identification - for a discussion of this, see Appendix 6.)

Such then is the normal strategy that will be employed to try and increase the reliability of the information on who en-



counters whom where: priority will be given to intersubjectively verifiable data, but where this is unavailable and where settings seem more likely to accompany unreliable reports (as these are indicated in our analysis of the subsample), an informant will only be counted as co-participating with a named individual in a domain if he mentions seeing him or her in at least two of the settings comprising it. In practice, giving priority to inter-informant ratification means that even if informant X says he sees informant Y in only one of the home domain settings, this will be accepted if informant Y concurs. Conversely, if he reports seeing Y in both home domain settings (thus satisfying the two-setting criterion), this will not be accepted if, despite having the opportunity to do so, Y does not confirm it.

Where the data cannot be cross-checked, the (less reliable) settings to which the two-setting criterion will usually<sup>4</sup> be applied will be as follows:

- evidence of home domain co-participation will normally only be accepted if X reports seeing Z both 'at home' and 'visiting their house on my own, or with other kids';
- for adult community domain co-participation, must report seeing Y at at least two from the following occasions: 'visiting their house with my mum, dad or adults from my family', 'at the Gurdwara/Mosque/Church', 'at classes outside schooltime' or 'at family parties and weddings (also sometimes 'at parties' (see Appendix 5);
- within the peer-group recreation domain, reference to encounters with a person will only be accepted in tandem with at least one other setting in the cases of 'in the cricket team (not the school one)', 'at the church club', 'at evening club', 'at Asian Youth Training', 'at Amusement Arcades', 'at the town library', 'swimming' and other specialised recreational pursuits such as 'tennis' (in contrast, a single reference to seeing someone 'in the park, street and round the place' or 'at junior club' will suffice);
- in the school domain, reference to encountering someone

'at school in lessons' will need to be accompanied by 'at school in free-time' (though the converse will not apply).

One final slightly different point needs to be made with regard to the elicitation of information on domain co-participation. Efforts were made to ensure that these domain co-participations were relatively frequent and recent. With regard to frequency, setting co-participations mentioned during the ISM elicitation were not counted if informants described them as 'occasional' or 'once or twice a year' (though 'sometimes' and 'a bit' were accepted). With regard to recency, if an informant said he 'used to' see Y in a particular setting, this setting co-participation was not counted if the time period which had lapsed was not specified. If, however, informants had had regular encounters with somebody which had lapsed in a particular setting within the last four to seven months, this was counted as a setting/domain co-participation.<sup>5</sup>

The focus here on recency and frequency with regard to domain co-participation is not motivated by intentions to introduce into the network measure frequency of interaction per se as a factor in linguistic convergence - encounters seven months previously, or four or five times a year could hardly be counted in this regard, and indeed when it comes to a direct consideration of frequency of contact, a much stricter minimum limit of at least once a week will be set. The reason for insisting that domain co-participations are relatively recent and frequent is firmly related to the notion of multiplexity with which we began. The argument is that the domains which I have isolated are socio-culturally distinct from one another in important ways, and that the more domains a person experiences with another the greater their (mutually recognised) shared knowledge (though not necessarily joint endorsement) of people and values, and the more likely they are to feel that they know each other well, that their lives are overlapping and that there are strong social ties existing between them (see 7.4.1 below). Attending to the recentness and

frequency of domain co-participations is a way of trying to ensure that the ones I count have a reasonable chance of being meaningful to informants in so far as they are neither so occasional as to be marginal, nor so ancient as to be outdated or outgrown.

All in all, the approach here towards increasing the reliability of reports on who sees whom where can't be regarded as developing a completely watertight and easily replicable method for identifying patterns of social association: it has been fairly commonsensical and pragmatic. Whether this consequently disqualifies it as an approach that might be adopted in a larger study more systematically designed from the outset to try to identify the differential impacts on language of psychosocial identification vs interactional involvement, is a matter that can be discussed at a later stage (see Chapter 15).

#### 7.4.1 Constructing the Indices of Interactional Association Themselves

So far, I have (a) given a theoretical and empirical rationale for the model of domains I am proposing; (b) I have explained the allocation of settings to domains (Chapter 6); and (c) considered the reliability of informants' reports on whom they see where, together with ways of trying to ensure that the emerging picture concurs with behavioural reality at least to some degree. In addition I mentioned the recency and frequency criteria which were designed to ensure that interactional associations in different domains might really be active elements in people's sense of their social relatedness to those around them (= multiplexity). Having in this way clarified the basic data on which they will be founded, we can now start to define the quantitative indices of interactional involvement which will be employed here.

I have already indicated that my indices will only include those interactants in a person's network who are reporting as

being encountered at least 'about once a week'. In the main, they will focus on people with whom informants say they talk 'a lot everyday or most days', 'a bit every day or most days' or 'a few times a week' (cf. the account of LTT). I have also indicated that non-kin will be only included if they are regarded as 'quite a good friend' or better. I have not however properly emphasised that my focus will be on the peer-group networks in which my informants are involved, or explained the reason for this decision which is made in spite of the ISM data also containing information on adult interactants.

There are several fairly practical reasons for preferring to study the peer-group (for a more detailed account of them see footnote)<sup>6</sup>. They can be summarised simply in terms of my knowledge of peer-group life being much more extensive than my understanding of informants' associations with adults. Given this, I am generally less likely to make major errors if I restrict myself to the 5-20 age range. Beyond this, there is also a theoretical reason for choosing to analyse interactional involvement with peers rather than adults and this relates to the concern here with the relationship of social networks to English.

In their interactional involvement with adults, there is a high probability (supported by self-report data on bilingual code selection) that many informants use mostly Punjabi. This being the case, questions about language and social network should first of all focus on Punjabi, not English. Of course, close involvement with adults and a high degree of Punjabi use (a relationship which itself would require rather complicated empirical examination) could result in Punjabi ethnic marking in English, but it certainly need not and the whole issue of code separation and interpenetration raises complex socio-linguistic (and other) questions (about, for example, domain compartmentalisation and language shift (cf. Fishman 1972:105)) which it is not the intention to examine here. For this reason, rather than study interactional involvement with largely Punjabi

speaking adults, it is much simpler to look at peer associates, with whom the language most used is English. Adopting this tack means that correlations between English and social network data could be explained in terms of accommodation to local peer-group norms, which in comparison with the kind of theorisation required by the alternative approach, is fairly straightforward.<sup>7</sup>

So in drawing up indices of network involvement I shall only attend to those who my informants (and I) estimate as being between the ages of 5 and 20 (I shall also exclude people under 20 who are married). Cultural groupings do of course differ systematically in the ways in which they segment the life span (see e.g. James 1974) but I am reasonably confident that between these ages, my informants would agree that people could be approximately called 'kids'. In practice the vast majority of my informants' peer associates are aged between 10 and 15: it is normally only siblings and cousins who are mentioned as being younger or older than that.

With these young, regular and family or friendly associates counted as comprising the basic stuff of each informant's social peer terrain, the next step will entail classifying each in terms of their ethnic extraction. The sources used in this task of classification will be my informants, who categorised many of these associates themselves, and my own inferences, often generalising from what I had previously learnt. The categorisations here are therefore the mixed product of local and analyst's perceptions: there are no grounds however for considering them extensively at odds. The conception of ethnicity here is a predominantly static one, concerned with an amalgam of parental country of origins, skin colour and religion. Ultimately all of these are relative and flexible, but in practice there is a good deal of local peer consensus about who is an Indian Sikh, who is a Pakistani Muslim, who is 'West Indian' and who is 'English'. Precisely how typical of their ethnic category different associates seem to these informants is an important matter which will not be addressed: it is enough for the present pur-

poses that the initial ethnic classifications are reasonably reliable. This leaves one more question: precisely how will multiplexity be introduced? And what will its particular operationalisation allow us to say that this multiplexity really means?

In the first instance I shall use the data on domain co-participation to provide a certain level only above which I shall then consider the proportion of ethnically Indian, Pakistani, Afro-Caribbean and Anglo people comprising the personal networks which are defined/delimited in this way. More precisely, I shall only attend to those contacts in an informant's personal network with whom they co-participate in at least three domains: for each informant, I shall only analyse the distribution of ethnic groups amongst those of their network relationships which are three- or four-stranded. This seems the best way of introducing multiplexity into the quantification of interactional involvement for several reasons.

Analysing the extent to which informants have multiplex relations with people from different ethnic groups is in the first instance less satisfactorily achieved if we focus on two- or four-stranded ties (i.e. those people with whom informants co-participate in two, or alternatively four domains). Out of a total of 668 regular peer associations, only 74 (11%) are single-stranded (i.e. occur in only one domain). In this light, introducing multiplexity into the measure of interactional involvement by focusing only on relationships comprising two or more strands, would produce pretty much the same results that would emerge if one was to ignore multiplexity completely. Delimiting the networks to be analysed by only considering four-stranded relationships (i.e. those occurring in all four domains) would however be dysfunctional as far as an examination of the interethnic mixture amongst multiplex ties is concerned. Only five informants have any ethnic outgroup associates amongst their four-stranded peer-group relationships.<sup>8</sup> These may be important, but this approach rather restricts the number of in-

formants whom it is possible to consider in terms of multiplexity and ethnic outgroups. In contrast, setting a limit of three strands/domain co-participations, extends the number of people with at least one ethnic outgroup member amongst their (thus defined) 'multiplex' relations to 15 and this is a much better basis for analysis. So in terms of producing a measure that is neither over- nor under-discriminating, the three-domain-co-participation criterion looks the best.

In fact, considering the ethnicity of those contacts which are three- or more-stranded also, as it turns out, makes quite good theoretical sense when we recollect the nature of the domains model which was proposed above. There the analysis of domains concluded with the proposition that home and adult-community could be united as broadly being more sensitive to ethnic ingroup perceptions and values, while peer-recreational and school domains were more likely to entail greater exposure to social and cultural diversity.

This has implications particularly for cross-ethnic relationships. By focusing on peers with whom there are a minimum of three domain co-participations, we will in fact attend to outgroup associates who have been admitted to the ingroup meta-domain. If we glance at two-stranded relationships with outgroup peers, we find that the vast majority (202 out of 204) comprise co-participation in peer-group and school domains: in other words, virtually all the intergroup relationships which have just two strands occur exclusively in the more culturally open and mixed arena of the inter-ethnic meta-domain. By concentrating on three-stranded relationship as the minimum, we necessarily focus on people who move across both realms (since there are only four domains in all). As a result, we do not simply have to define the meaning of our index of interactional involvement as 'reflecting multiplexity': we can say more substantively that we are indicating interactional associations that extend beyond the spheres in which either intra-ethnic or interethnic values predominate, to encompass both.

We can even suggest the nature of the shared knowledge which in principle we must posit as increasing in some way or other with added multiplexity. In the current context we can propose that as interactional involvement extends from one value-realm to the other, the understanding between actors tangibly increases to encompass joint recognition of two broadly distinguishable value systems/socio-cultural orientations. Almost by definition for co-ethnic adolescent peers, this joint awareness of intra- and interethnic realms is fairly routine (maybe early schooling is when a child first enters the inter-ethnic sphere and starts to share at first hand the awareness of it already possessed by older siblings and cousins). However, in inter-ethnic relationships this shared awareness of what for each person would in effect be a third realm (intra-own group, intergroup and then intra-other group), may often not occur at all. Indeed, maybe because of its essential non-routineness, we can suppose that in looking at inter-ethnic associations across meta-spheres, greater multiplexity as defined here is more likely to significantly increase a person's sense of knowing (about) another than it would in co-ethnic relationships.

So in investigating the ethnic composition of those network associations which entail at least three domain co-participation, we will be talking about admission to ingroup realms when we attend to interethnic links. Out of an overall total of 295 two-stranded relationships, only 21 intra-ethnic associations bridge the meta-domains, and so here too, while there are grounds for viewing these co-ethnic associations as probably being rather different subjectively, we can broadly say that in focusing on three-stranded relationships rather than two-stranded ones, we are also generally covering relationships which cover both inter- and intra-ethnic fields of activity. The three-domain co-participation criterion looks productive for both types of relationship.

All of this theoretical discussion applies to all ethnic groups<sup>9</sup> and making its critical delimitation in the way it does,



the three-domain criterion largely mitigates the dangers of attempting to theorise generally across diverse cultural groupings. A measure of multiplexity which, for example, gave separate points for home co-participation, school co-participation etc. would run a great risk of losing its emic potentiality, since the cultural weighting and distinctiveness of a domain within one group might well not be equivalent in another. By focusing centrally on the intra-ethnic vs interethnic axis, the approach taken here hopes to achieve an operationalisation of multiplexity with cross-ethnic validity.

With this three-domain criterion clarified, it is worth now presenting the scores for individual informants. Table 7.1 presents for each informant the proportion of his three<sup>+</sup> domain (henceforth multiplex) interactional associations which are with ethnically Afro-Caribbean, Mixed, Anglo, Indian and Pakistani peers. It also unites ethnically Indian and Pakistani associates under the heading Punjabi-bilingual/Asian.

One drawback with this three-domain criterion is its stringency with regard to cross-ethnic association with ethnically Anglo, Afro-Caribbean and Mixed informants: the majority of informants have no 'multiplex' relationships with peers in these categories, and this could present problems if, for example, one wanted to try to correlate the use of clear [l] with interactional association with ethnically Afro-Caribbean kids across all informants. The measure here simply produces too restricted a range of scores to make that kind of associational analysis worthwhile.<sup>10</sup>

In spite of this, we will proceed with this measure.

TABLE 7.1 % TO WHICH PEERS OF DIFFERENT ETHNIC BACKGROUNDS ARE REPRESENTED AMONGST THOSE WITH WHOM EACH INFORMANT ASSOCIATES IN THREE OR MORE DOMAINS\*

	Total no. of peers encountered in three or more domains	Ethnicity of Associates					
		Afro-Caribbean	Mixed	Anglo	Indian	Pakistani	Asian/Punjabi bilingual
A1	8	0 (0)	0	12.5 (1)	75 (6)	12.5 (1)	87.5 (7)
Bi	12	0 (0)	0	0	83.3 (10)	16.7 (2)	100 (12)
Ci	6	0 (0)	0	0	100 (6)	0	100 (6)
Di	20	0 (0)	0	0	80 (16)	20 (4)	100 (20)
E1	18	0 (0)	0	0	94.4 (17)	5.5 (1)	100 (18)
F1	20	0 (0)	0	0	100 (20)	0	100 (20)
G1	18	5.5 (1)	0	0	94.4 (17)	0	94.4 (17)
Hp	2	0 (0)	0	50 (1)	0	50 (1)	50 (1)
Ip	8	0 (0)	0	0	0	100 (8)	100 (8)
Jp	12	0 (0)	0	0	0	100 (12)	100 (12)
Kp	18	0 (0)	0	0	11.1 (2)	88.9 (16)	100 (18)
Lp	12	0 (0)	0	8.3 (1)	8.3 (1)	83.3 (10)	91.7 (11)
Mp	10	0 (0)	0	0	0	100 (10)	100 (10)
Np	19	5.3 (1)	15.8 (3)	5.3 (1)	21.0 (4)	52.6 (10)	73.7 (14)
Op	22	0 (0)	9.1 (2)	9.1 (2)	4.5 (1)	77.3 (17)	81.8 (18)
Pp	10	0 (0)	0	0	40 (4)	60 (6)	100 (10)
Qp	5	0 (0)	0	0	0	100 (5)	100 (5)
Rw	10	100 (10)	0	0	0	0	0 (0)
Sw	4	50 (2)	0	25 (1)	25 (1)	0	25 (1)
Tm	8	25 (2)	25 (2)	25 (2)	0	25 (2)	25 (2)
Ue	12	0 (0)	0	91.7 (11)	8.3 (1)	0	8.3 (1)
Ve	7	0 (0)	0	100 (7)	0	0	0 (0)
We	13	7.7 (2)	7.7 (1)	46.1 (6)	0	30.8 (4)	30.8 (4)

\* The figures in brackets indicate the actual number of close associates.

#### 7.4.2 Summary Of What These Indices Mean

The network indices in Table 7.1 show what proportion of those young people with whom an informant regularly associates across three or more domains are from different ethnic backgrounds. 'Young people' here includes both kin and non-kin (who will not be differentiated where they are co-ethnic). These are unmarried and in principle aged between 5 and 20 though in practice mostly aged between 10 and 15. Where there is no real or fictive kinship relation, these peers are considered the informant's friends. 'Regularly' means at least once a week (though it's usually more frequent than this) and in the context of cross-ethnic friendships, the indices show that there has been admission into an outgroup's intra-ethnic domains. We may hypothesise from this that the shared knowledge entailed in interactional association is thus extended to encompass an increased joint awareness of different ethno-cultural orientations. These co-participations have been sufficiently frequent and recent for there to be a reasonable chance that this knowledge is neither very marginal nor forgotten.

Unfortunately it will not be possible to generally use these indices in relation to interactional association with peers of Afro-Caribbean parentage.

NOTES

1. In the subsample agreement rates within domains were as follows:
  - home domain - 75.7% agreement (81 ratified statements to 26 non-ratified)
  - adult community - 81.4% (57:13)
  - peer-group recreation - 100% (152:0)
  - school - 97% (130:4)
2. There are important exceptions to this approach - see below.
3. Not necessarily of course, by any means. It is not difficult to think of circumstances in which people under-report interactional involvement with people they would really like to be like.
4. This will be the usual strategy in analysing the ISM data: it is worth stressing the word usual however, since in a number of cases this will be overridden. For example, when informant X says he sees Y only in the 'in my home' setting within the home domain, this will be counted as home domain co-participation if Y is a member of X's immediate family (another instance of this kind of logic concerns the school domain, in which I make the assumption that if kin were at the same school (and separated from informants by only one or two years), they did interact with each other in that domain, even if the informant omits mention of it). Also, where I have knowledge of my own, gathered either from observation (particularly within school and peer-group recreational domains), or from conversations with several informants outside the ISM elicitation context, this will also be used to override the two-setting criterion.
5. This position arose with regard to the school domain in particular, where I counted (sometimes independently from my own knowledge) co-participations which had last occurred at a maximum of seven months previously. This was due to the fact that during my field-work, the oldest age group (with whom field-work was largely concerned before September 1984 - the start of the new school year) moved to the Upper School close to the middle school where they had previously been, and where the rest of my informants remained. Thus when it came to a younger informant reporting on his social associations in November 1984, he naturally omitted school as one of the domains in which he encountered the older boys. I usually included it, since this particular disruption in their interactions was only temporary - the next year, most of them would renew their association as they themselves moved schools; there still existed a lot of shared knowledge about their schooling and if they encountered one another in peer-recreational, adult community or home domains, it seemed a safe bet that they would have

had something to do with one another in free-time at school when the possibility was there.

6. Broadly speaking, there are three practical reasons for preferring to focus on interactional involvement with peers rather than adults. Firstly, by focusing on informants' approximate agemates, a greater proportion of the self-report data can be cross-checked than would be the case if we focused on everybody reported in the ISM procedure: the cross-checkable subsample of statements about setting co-participation represents 16% of all reports, but about 23% of statements made about peers: concentrating on the peer-group allows me therefore to intersubjectively verify about a quarter of all the data. Secondly, it increases the scope for my own observation to corroborate self-report data, since in contrast to my personal association with adults which was virtually zero, I participated or observed peer-group interaction quite extensively. Linked to this, I have a much better first-hand understanding of the major domains for interaction with agemates - school and 'peer-group' - than I do of the domains in which my informants' adult network associates are typically most prominent (home and adult community). Thirdly, focusing on peers made the task of deciding whom to include and whom to exclude from the analysis more easy. From each informant, I obtained quite an extensive list of adult and peer associates on LTT, and to fit on the ISM matrix this list often had to be reduced to about 40. From the listed adults, I automatically included on it parents and a few obviously prominent (= first recorded) adult kin, but where the list became more extensive, my knowledge of the precise kinship relations, and indeed of the kinship systems themselves, made it hard to decide which were most likely to be important and which could be safely excluded. In contrast, informants had clarified their non-kin peers as either 'best friend', 'good friend', 'quite a good friend', 'I like them', 'I don't like them' and this provided a way of counting some in and some out. With this sifting device, it was also safe for me to prompt informants about peers they might have forgotten to mention, which swelled the numbers on the initial list but still enabled me to select peers for the ISM matrix on some rational basis. I was however much less able both to sift out unimportant adults, or indeed to suggest some which informants might have initially overlooked; thus informants' lists of key adult associates was much more likely to have gaps.
7. In addition, focusing on interactional involvement with Punjabi-dominant adults might lure the current enterprise away from sociolinguistics into the more troubled conceptual waters of second language acquisition research, and the orientation there towards code deficiency.

8. (D1 for whom 3 out of 14 are ethnically Pakistani; Pp has 2 ethnically Indian associates out of 5 four-stranded peer ties; Sw's only four-stranded peer relationship is with an ethnically Indian boy; for T 2 out of 4 are of Pakistani parentage; and out of 3 quadruplex links, U has one ethnically Indian one.)
9. Of course, that is a complex question in itself. It is certainly true that typically an ethnically Indian family, for example, will know much more about ethnically Anglo intragroup life than vice versa (e.g. by virtue of mass media and educational curricula), and so the impact of entering into an outgroup's intra-ethnic domains will not be the same for all kids, irrespective of their background. However, in view of the generality of the descriptive level at which my use of network analysis is pitched, perhaps this issue is not critical here.
10. An alternative is to completely drop multiplexity from this measure of interactional association. In consequence, discussion of e.g. cross-ethnic admission to intra-ethnic sphere would no longer be appropriate, and instead we would merely have a measure which showed the extent to which different ethnic groups were represented amongst those with whom an informant interacted frequently (cf. the comments of Ervin Tripp (see 5.5.2 above)). Affect would also figure as far as non-kin peers were concerned - see above p. Individual scores on the extent to which different ethnic groups are represented amongst those friends and kin with whom informants interact at least once a week are shown in Table 7.2.

This new measure produces a greater range of scores for ethnically Afro-Caribbean and Anglo peers than the one including multiplexity. However, especially with regard to Afro-Caribbean associates, the range of scores is again relatively narrow, and the reality which it reflects - the actual numbers of Afro-Caribbean kids regularly encountered - is even narrower than that. Informants of non-Afro-Caribbean parentage report seeing between 0 and 4 West Indian friends, and the trouble with the % score is that it is rather vulnerable to the number of named peers who were entered on the original ISM matrix. At least with the multiplexity measure, the raw total of names counted is quite tightly controlled by the three-domain criterion: here, while the rationale for including some names and excluding others is better than it could be if I was looking at adult networks (see footnote 6. ), the basis for inclusion and exclusion is still not standardised (for example, at the end of field-work I was able to suggest more possibly-overlooked-associates than at the outset). Particularly when the numbers of associates in question is small (as with ethnically Afro-Caribbean peer-group associates), it would be overloading this index to suggest that any real significance could be attached to the differences in % scores that emerge.

TABLE 7.2 % TO WHICH PEERS OF DIFFERENT ETHNIC BACKGROUNDS ARE REPRESENTED AMONGST THOSE FRIENDS  
AND KIN WITH WHOM EACH INFORMANT FREQUENTLY INTERACTS\*

	Total no. of peers seen fre- quently	Ethnicity of Peer Associates								
		Afro- Caribbean	Mixed	Anglo	Indian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Greek	Italian	Other
A	24	8.3 (2)	0	16.7 (4)	37.5 (9)	37.5 (9)	0	0	0	
B	18	0	0	0	66.7 (12)	27.8 (5)	5.5 (1)	0	0	
C	22	4.5 (1)	0	0	68.2 (15)	27.3 (6)	0	0	0	
D	29	6.9 (2)	0	3.4 (1)	68.9 (20)	20.9 (6)	0	0	0	
E	23	0	0	8.7 (2)	78.7 (18)	13.0 (3)	0	0	0	
F	34	5.9 (2)	2.94 (1)	8.8 (3)	67.6 (23)	11.8 (4)	0	2.9 (1)	0	
G	36	5.5 (2)	0	11.1 (4)	63.9 (23)	16.7 (6)	0	2.8 (1)	0	
H	22	9.1 (2)	0	36.4 (6)	13.6 (3)	40.9 (11)	0	0	0	
I	33	0	0	18.2 (6)	15.2 (5)	63.6 (21)	0	0	3.0 (1)	
J	33	6.1 (2)	0	6.1 (2)	24.2 (8)	60.6 (20)	0	3.0 (1)	0	
K	31	6.5 (2)	3.23 (1)	6.5 (2)	12.9 (4)	67.7 (21)	0	3.2 (1)	0	
L	25	8 (2)	0	12 (3)	12 (3)	68 (17)	0	0	0	
M	39	10.3 (4)	0	7.7 (3)	15.4 (6)	64.1 (25)	0	0	0	2.6 (1)
N	40	5.0 (2)	7.5 (3)	5.0 (2)	20 (8)	57.5 (23)	0	0	5.0 (2)	
O	33	3.0 (1)	6.06 (2)	9.1 (3)	15.1 (5)	66.7 (22)	0	0	0	
P	24	4.2 (1)	0	0	20.8 (5)	75 (18)	0	0	0	
Q	23	0	0	13.0 (3)	21.7 (5)	60.9 (14)	4.3 (1)	0	0	
R	27	40.7 (11)	0	14.8 (4)	11.1 (3)	33.3 (9)	0	0	0	
S	29	48.3 (14)	3.45 (1)	6.9 (2)	17.2 (5)	24.1 (7)	0	0	0	
T	27	22.2 (6)	7.41 (2)	40.7 (11)	14.8 (4)	14.8 (4)	0	0	0	
U	31	9.7 (3)	3.23 (1)	51.6 (16)	16.1 (5)	12.9 (4)	0	0	6.4 (2)	
V	30	10 (3)	0	63.3 (19)	10 (3)	10 (3)	3.3 (1)	3.3 (1)	0	
W	35	11.4 (4)	2.86 (1)	54.3 (19)	11.4 (4)	20 (7)	0	0	0	

\* Figures in brackets indicate the actual number of associates.

Neither would the situation be improved if the analyses of association between variables used raw scores rather than percentages, and this again relates to the way in which data on frequent interaction with ethnically Afro-Caribbean peers was elicited. Quite often I myself suggested (on the basis of familiarity with the peer-group) the names of people with whom an informant associated, yet because this wasn't done in a standardised way (cp. Thomas 1984 on the 'roster and rating' technique within sociometry), it isn't certain that the one friend scored in relation to informant X wouldn't also be counted amongst Y's associates, if only I'd supplied the appropriate prompt. When the range of frequent Afro-Caribbean (and Anglo) associates is so small, this unreliability could be critical and as a result these measures of frequent (rather than multiplex) interactional association cannot be used in this way either.

So all in all, we must resign ourselves to being unable to introduce interactional association with ethnically Afro-Caribbean peers into those analyses which cover the range of informants as a whole, though it may be possible to draw this particular variable into individual case-studies. With regard to ethnically Anglo peer associates, we will need to try and do the best we can on the multiplexity measure.



## CHAPTER 8

### 8. METHODS IN IDENTITY STRUCTURE ANALYSIS

The way in which interactional association will be assessed has now been clarified: in the process of defining method, the analytic meaning itself of the network index became clearer. In Identity Structure Analysis, which is a much more standardised procedure, the meaning of the eventual indices is more precisely stated at the outset, and in what follows, particular attention will be to current identification, idealistic identification and contra-identification, all of which have already been defined in some detail (see section 5.4.2, pp. 111-118 above).

However, the value of these indices as a 'truthful' and penetrating indication of a person's feelings of, and aspirations to be, similar or different from the people and groups around them particularly depends on the constructs used in the procedure having personal significance for the respondent. No amount of computational sophistication can salvage the procedure from trivial constructs. Therefore it is necessary to outline the manner in which these constructs were elicited and selected, and also, for example, indicate the safeguards included in the rating procedure itself. At the same time, the elicitation, selection and presentation of entities can be indicated. After that I shall discuss the particular uses to which the output data will be put here, as well as raising an important issue of interpretation. A much fuller account of the ISA empirical procedure is contained in Appendix 7.

#### 8.1 The Elicitation of Personal Constructs and Entities

To recap, constructs are generally the concepts that people use to interpret the world, though here they can be more narrowly defined as the attributes which are perceived in the entities around, and as the terms which are used to evaluate them. Eventually I presented between sixteen and twenty constructs to informants, asking them to use them to rate between twenty-one and

twenty-three entities. These constructs were collected by me from four sources. Two of these were interviews specifically designed for construct elicitation (though they were also intended (and used) in the phonetic transcription of linguistic variables).

The first of these occurred in the first half of the approximately seven to ten sessions I had with each informant - it varied between being the second and sixth sessions, mostly being the third or fourth. This was an interview with me alone, which I introduced by saying that I wanted to ask them a bit about themselves, the things they liked doing, what they wanted to do when they were older, and the things they generally felt were important (I shall refer to it as the ISA Personal interview). These interviews lasted between 20 and 45 minutes, and the themes which I had in mind to cover were as follows:

- you in the future
- you in the past
- you and the present
- you and friends
- you and relatives
- you and your immediate family

This schedule was not rigidly adhered to, and not always followed in the same order. But generally one topic flowed on quite naturally from the one preceding. Within Personal Construct Psychology, the elicitation of constructs often entails 'triadic sorts' (see Appendix 7) as a means of leading informants to be explicit about the contrast pole of a construct. Following Weinreich, I did not follow this method, preferring the semi-structured interview, although within this I must admit to not having always succeeded in obtaining a clear statement of both poles of a construct. So sometimes I supplied the negative pole myself, though I always consulted informants themselves about the aptness of any suggestions I made about these.

The same is true of the data to emerge from the second source from which constructs were derived. Usually this was an

interview later on in my contact with each informant (between the fifth and ninth contact sessions, though with M and N it was the first and second) and informants participated in this in pairs and occasionally in threes (Ci,Mp,Ei; Bi,Np,Qp). They were always with very good friends (and sometimes with much liked cousins). Seven involved informants from a single ethnic background while five involved informants of different ethnicities.<sup>1</sup> The interview (called henceforth 'ISA Groups') was introduced in terms of my wanting to find out what they thought about the community generally, and about life in Bedford. It lasted between half an hour to an hour. The agenda I had for this (which again was not rigidly adhered to) was as follows:

- ° local styles
- ° ethnic groups in Bedford
- ° ethnic relations in Bedford
- ° general local social values

(again see Appendix 7 for a much fuller account).

One major difference between this and the ISA Personal interview is obviously that the earlier session was one to one, while this one involved informants in twos and threes. The presence of peers is perhaps likely to have influenced informants to express views more in line with the shared ideology of the peer-group, and if these had been the only ones on which the ISA analysis had hinged, the extent to which the constructs used were personally relevant might be called in question. However, they are clearly counterbalanced by the ISA Personal elicitation and since much of the research focus is on the peer-group domain, these group elicitations are themselves likely to distinctively contribute constructs which usefully represent peer-group life.

The third source of constructs (not as extensively used as these first two) were other interviews which I had with informants, and the fourth source were people and texts other than informants themselves. Although constructs outlined in ethnographic texts on Indian and Pakistani communities were not extensively introduced into the ISA analysis, one or two were

borne in mind where these appeared to intersect with concerns expressed by informants themselves (e.g. was there any connection between 'shaming up' and 'beizti'). With other constructs, I sometimes referred to those which only some of my informants had explicitly referred to but which I thought might have more general currency and which fitted in with my own research interest (e.g. the construct 'speaks normal English' - 'don't know much English').

These then are the four sources from which constructs (and entities) were drawn, together with a little of the manner of their elicitation. Two further comments are in order, one describing this procedure in general, and one drawing out some implications for the results it finally produces.

Firstly, it was very rare that the ISA interviews focused on social entities that I had never before discussed with informants (the one exception to this being caste groupings). Personal entities (friends and kin) had normally been referred to in the LTT elicitation which preceded the ISA Personal interview, and collective entities (e.g. Italian kids) had been broached in discussions about language. Thus by the time both ISA elicitation interviews took place, I was already familiar with names of individuals and ways of referring to groups: neither interview served as a means of eliciting entities. Instead these interviews might be regarded as a process by which informants learnt of an aspect of my interest in and (for my benefit) focused on issues about which the ISA rating booklet would subsequently ask them in more systematic detail. Thus these interviews could be regarded as a preparatory focusing device, or alternatively the rating booklets could be seen as a summarising of the interviews. Either way, a rating booklet can be seen as having strong roots in specific conversations. It is not some psycho-social instrument wheeled in from nowhere.

A second point needs to be made about the ensuing results, and it very clearly follows on from the first. Even if they are

non-trivial (i.e. embrace meaningful constructs), ISA results only give an account of life as this seems to informants from one vantage point. Inevitably, the data here reveal informants' social perceptions in the context of their relationship with the interviewer: whether or not they have wider significance of course depends on the nature of that relationship. My hope is that they do. A number of steps were taken in the course of the ISA procedure to diminish the interviewer's influence (e.g. the presence of friends, the checking and ego-rating of constructs (see below)), and the researcher's participation in some of the settings entailed within school and peer-group domains established some natural continuity between views expressed in interviews and life outside. But the ISA data is unlikely to tap perceptions that derive from some trans- or a-contextual mental set. The data are transcontextual in the more superficial sense that they relate to informant reflections on life in several domains, but even if they are not shaped merely by the frame of mind activated within interviews, the strongest claim can only be that these perceptions pertain to mental sets active in the interethnic domains of peer-group and school. Had my own contact with informants been around home and the adult community, and/or if the interview language had been other than English, and/or had I not been Anglo, the ISA results would probably be rather different. This does not invalidate the research since the linguistic behaviours analysed here (and in Part III) are held to obtain primarily in interethnic contexts. The context for the ISA data elicitation is broadly consistent with the contexts in which language is studied: there are clear grounds for assuming their relevance to one another. However, it is important to be clear about the limits within which the interpretation of 'attitude' data must be conducted.

With these points established, we may now turn to the selection of constructs and entities for inclusion in the rating booklet.

## 8.2 The Selection of Constructs and Entities for Inclusion in the ISA Rating Booklet<sup>2</sup>

In preparing a rating booklet, one may either use constructs supplied by the researcher (in line with her/his interests), or use informants' own. I used a combination (as has Weinreich).

I originally intended to insert six constructs which particular individuals might not themselves have mentioned in the course of discussions. However, I knew that at least some informants did use them, and these guided their wording. The six constructs which I intended to supply were related to:

1. 'speaks normal English' vs 'don't know much English'
2. 'got a lot of advantages' vs 'haven't got a lot of advantages'
3. 'follow their tradition' vs ' '
4. 'racialist' vs 'not racist'/'friendly'
5. respect
6. 'similar to me' vs 'different from me'.

These were planned either to ensure some kind of cultural depth beyond what the interviews might have achieved (3,5), or to provide a basis for more systematic analysis of themes of interest to me (1,2,3,4). In the event, I only referred to the first one of these constructs for particular analysis (see Chapter 21.2).

There were six constructs: given the constraints of the time available for completing it as well as concentration spans, there was space in the booklet for up to fourteen more (each booklet eventually contained between fifteen and twenty constructs - Weinreich recommends a working maximum of about twenty constructs and twenty entities). How was this remaining majority selected?

I listened to each of the ISA interviews twice and noted down the precise wording of everything that could later be used as a construct. In general, this did not result in a huge surfeit since much of these interviews was often taken up with

narrative and anecdote as opposed to the description and evaluation from which useful constructs are most easily drawn.

With a list constructed in this manner (mainly from both ISA interviews), the next task was to select the most appropriate, and in deciding appropriacy for the rating procedure, several factors had to be borne in mind (see Fransella and Bannister 1977:14). Firstly, constructs needed to be potentially applicable to more than the particular person or group in relation to whom it had been originally expressed (in Kellian terms, constructs need to be 'permeable', and must not have too narrow 'a range of convenience'). Secondly, constructs should be relatively permanent, not just emerging for the first time in the course of the ISA interviews. A third factor to recommend a construct is the clarity of its contrast pole: as I have earlier admitted, I was not always successful in getting these explicit. Two further considerations informed the eventual selection: how closely two constructs resembled one another, and how many other constructs there were which also seemed likely to refer to a particular set of entities. In the case of the former, I sometimes combined constructs when they seemed pretty similar (thus 'posh' and 'shows off' were occasionally joined). As far as the latter was concerned, it seemed likely that the range of constructs applicable to family members might not be the same as those relevant to school mates, and I was eager that not all of the constructs used should be applicable to only one type of entity. The entities to be used fell intuitively into four broad categories - self, the family, friends and ethnic groups: I was particularly conscious that I ran the risk of selecting constructs which might be of little relevance to adult kin. Clearly, in so far as Punjabi language constructs were not included, there probably is a bias here towards those relevant to entities encountered in interethnic domains. In the event however, ego-involvement scores with the entities 'dad', 'mum', 'uncles and aunts' are not consistently lower than ego involvements with peer entities, which is an indication that I succeeded in selecting constructs which did have bearing on adult kin.

These then were the issues I considered in selecting constructs for each person's rating booklet and when it came to deciding on wording, I made one or two minor grammatical modifications in order to encourage consideration of that construct across a wider range of people and groups. I also selected two or three more from each informant's list, to hold in reserve if any of those initially selected should prove meaningless to informants later on. The constructs that each informant finally used in his ratings are given in Appendix 7, together with reserves. Here it is perhaps helpful to try and give a summary of some of the main themes that were covered.

This summary can't indicate what everyone used, since all were to quite a degree idiosyncratic. It also summarises themes at a level of abstraction greater than that actually presented - it unites constructs in a way that may very well reflect only my own construct system, not my informants'. Even so it is helpful to indicate some of the evaluative and descriptive dimensions that inform the final identification indices (even though they can't be said to be representative of them all).

The 'supplied' constructs (together with the number of informants ultimately using them) related to:

± speaking normal English	(21)
± having advantages	(16)
± following tradition	(19)
± being racist	(21)
± respect	(18)
± similarity	(21)

Some of the 'elicited' constructs can be placed in the following very approximative macro-categories:

± cleverness (braininess, intelligence)	(13)
± toughness	(17)
± making trouble	(21)
± being bad (going with bad people, stealing, smoking)	(11)
± messing about	(9)



- ± independence (being told what to do, (11)  
being supervised)
- ± staying in (6)
- ± being posh and showing off (12)
- ± being religious (14)
- ± being solidary (trust, sticking up (15)  
for people)
- ± being decent (sharing, generosity,  
caring, helping, being kind).

That covers the selection of constructs. What about entities? As indicated above (section 5.4.2, pp. 111-118), five entities are mandatory - 'me as I am now', 'me as I'd like to be', 'me as I used to be', 'a person I admire', 'a person I dislike'. The first three are the anchors for the computation of identity indices, the latter two are safeguards in the event of the ideal self being given a zero rating (see below 8.3). There is also a facility for including two situational selves, and this was taken up with ethnically Indian, Pakistani, Afro-Caribbean and Mixed informants in the form of the entities 'me speaking English', and 'me speaking Punjabi/Pakistani/West Indian'.

In fact neither of these two situational selves form any part of the analysis here, nor do a number of the entities still remaining to be outlined. Even so, it is worth briefly outlining those that will remain in the background as well as those that will inform the immediate analysis. Eight 'generic' entities were supplied to virtually all the informants, all of which had been ratified as having local currency in the course of preceding discussions. These were (as presented in alphabetical order):

'Bangladeshi kids'

'English kids'

'Indian kids'

'Italian kids'

'Pakistani kids'

'West Indian kids'

'Teachers'

Ingroup 'adults' ('Pakistani' for Pakistani informants,

'English' for Anglos etc.).

The remaining entities which were selected were more intimately connected with informants. These were:

'Dad'

'Mum'

Favourite brother or sister, or best friend

Other brother(s) and sister(s)

'My main friends'

'My uncles and aunts round Bedford (real ones)'

'My real cousins (round Bedford)'

'My "kind of" cousins (round Bedford)'.

### 8.3 The ISA Rating Procedure Itself

Once a list of constructs and entities thought likely to be meaningful to each informant has been prepared, a rating booklet was compiled for each. This entailed the list of entities down the left-hand side of each page, and one construct with two poles at the top. Each page also contained a set of nine point rating scales besides each entity, on which they would be asked to express the way in which that construct applied to each entity. Overleaf is a typical rating sheet: the order in which entities were presented didn't vary, although the putatively positive pole of a construct could be placed on either the left or right hand side of the scale and this was indeed varied, in order to prevent what I thought were positive poles always being e.g. on the right (this is all as per Weinreich). I myself added the verbal glosses at the top to the rating numbers. Eventually a booklet was prepared with between fifteen and twenty constructs and twenty-one to twenty-three entities for each informant.

These booklets were presented to informants (who normally filled them in when they were on their own with me in the back-ground) with the instructions in Table 8.2:

TABLE 8.1 : A TYPICAL RATING SHEET

	4 very very always all	3 very often a lot	2 quite sometimes some	1 a bit sometimes a few	0 not one thing or the other	1 a bit sometimes a few	2 quite sometimes some	3 very often a lot	4 very very always all	
it's a bit of both / I don't know / it's got nothing to do with it										
thick	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	brainy.
Me as I am now	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	1
Me as I would like to be	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	2
Me as I used to be	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	3
Bangladeshi kids	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	4
English kids	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	5
Indian kids	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	6
Italian kids	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	7
Pakistani kids	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	8
West Indian kids	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	9
Teachers	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	10
Indian adults	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	11
Me speaking English	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	12
Me speaking Punjabi	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	13
A person I dislike	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	14
A person I admire	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	15
Dad	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	16
Mum	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	17
My brother & sisters	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	18
My best friend	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	19
My other main friends	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	20
My uncles & aunts (round Bedford)	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	21
My cousins (round Bedford)	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	22
My 'kind of' cousins (round Bedford)	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	23
	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	24
	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	

TABLE 8.2 : INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE ISA-RATING BOOKLET

WHAT THIS IS:

I'd like to try to sum up and pull together some of the things that we've talked about, and this booklet is a way of doing so. I've listened carefully to some of our recorded conversations and I've made 2 lists of some of the people and things that we talked about.

Can you tell me now if some of the ways you described one person, fit other people as well? For example, maybe you said one person was 'kind' : are there other people who you think are kind as well, and how kind do you think they are? This booklet gives you a quick way of answering.

WHAT TO DO:

- (1) Can you first look at the list of 'qualities'. Is this okay? Shall we change some? Are they the right opposites?
  - (2) Can you please rate these qualities, saying which you think are
 

1. not at all important	2. not important	3. in between
4. important	5. very important	
  - (3) What about the other list?
  - (4) Now look at the practice example to see how the booklet works.
  - (5) Start on the main booklet.
- REMEMBER: : always put a tick somewhere on each line;  
 : don't put more than one tick on each line.  
 (check you've done this when you finish)

Thanks.

Some of the 'What To Do' instructions need to be glossed a little.

The list of 'qualities' under (1) was the list of constructs - I presented these on a separate sheet and went over them with the informant, making sure that they made sense. Some constructs were rejected as a result of this, and some negative poles added or revised.

(2) was in fact carried out after the booklet had been filled in, and it represents what Weinreich calls 'ego-rating'. This is the procedure by means of which informants systematically express the relative importance of the constructs they have used, which is later taken into account in the computation of indices. After they had completed the booklets, I presented informants with all their constructs cut out on strips of paper which I then asked them to place on a large piece of paper marked with the divisions

---

(5) very important

---

(4) important

---

(3) in between

---

(2) not important

---

(1) not at all important

---

I then recorded how constructs had been thus rated (cf. Weinreich 1980:7).

With instruction (3) - which occurred before the booklet was filled in - I presented informants with a list of the entities that they were to rate. I made the following points as we went through this list:

- (a) that I wanted the informant to think about people he knew, and who lived in England;

- (b) that by 'kids' I meant people around his age, maybe a bit older, but under 20 or so. Also I wanted him to think about kids in his own experience;
- (c) that by 'teachers' I wanted him to think about the middle school teachers (with whom the kids who had moved on to Upper School still had recent and most extensive experience);
- (d) that with 'a person I dislike' and 'a person I admire', I wanted them to think about somebody they knew - don't tell me who - and to keep those individuals in their minds throughout.
- (e) I also checked that I had got the name of their home language right in the entity 'me speaking Punjabi/Pakistani/West Indian', and that it was their habitual non-English home language that they should bear in mind here.
- (f) I also checked on the identities of 'real cousins', 'kind of cousins', 'best friend' and 'main friends'.

With (4), I went over the practice example presented in Table 8.3 jointly with the informant, which they very quickly grasped the idea of; and then just before they started, I told them also to use the zero point on the scale if they didn't feel like answering, if they felt I was being nosey. Finally, I stressed that I wanted to know what they from their own experience thought about things.

When informants had finished their ratings, I asked them to check through. And while they were doing the ego-ratings, I double checked the booklets for any gaps, asking them to fill in any omissions before they went.

The whole procedure was completed by twenty-one informants (all those for whom booklets had been prepared). It generally lasted between 40 minutes and an hour. Sometimes one-hour blocks of time were simply not available, so I would do the explanation of what was required during assembly, for example, and then later

when they came to me during RE, they would fill in their responses. On a few occasions, the rating procedure had to be interrupted for e.g. dinner or registration, but it was normally completely within a single day. There were three exceptions to this - Bi,Pp and Qp - who started it on one day and completed it on another. It is perfectly possible that this may have affected their responses, and the frame of mind in which they addressed the rating task may not have been the same on both occasions due to the time difference. However, I nevertheless counted all their responses (i.e. over both occasions): the ISA procedure is not a psychometric experiment and with its roots in the two ISA interviews (as well as others), it already embraces a considerable time span. Clearly these rating conditions were not perfect, but since the focus is on general psycho-social orientation, aspiring to use (relatively) permanent entities and constructs, this gap in time might only make a big difference if some kind of major shift in orientation occurred in the interim. There was no evidence of this occurring.

Once all the rating booklets had been completed in the manner outlined above, the data was processed and fed into the IDEXIDIO and then the IDEXNOMO computer programmes at Ulster University in the manner recommended in Weinreich et al. (1983, 1985).

Whether or not ultimately quantitative indices and paper and pencil elicitations can adequately handle issues of psycho-social identification is a question which I shall not explicitly address.<sup>3</sup> But it should be apparent to the sceptic that within certain limits, the methods being used here are fairly closely tailored to each informant; the entities selected represent people and groupings about whose salience in the local environment we can be reasonably confident; and while there may well be crucial ones which have gone untapped, extensive steps are taken to ensure that senseless constructs are not irrevocably foisted on the informants. It is in these areas that some of ISA's chief claims to validity must lie.

TABLE 8.3 : PRACTICE EXAMPLE PRESENTED IN RATING BOOKLET

4	means	very very ( <u>or</u> always <u>or</u> all)
3	means	very ( <u>or</u> often <u>or</u> a lot)
2	means	quite ( <u>or</u> sometimes <u>or</u> some)
1	means	a bit ( <u>or</u> a few times <u>or</u> a few)
0	means	not one thing or the other <u>or</u> I don't know <u>or</u> it's got nothing to do with it <u>or</u> it's a bit of both

4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4
very very always all	very often a lot	quite sometimes some	a bit a few times a few	not one thing or the other	a bit a few times a few	quite sometimes some	very often a lot	very very always all

it's a bit of both / I don't know / it's got nothing to do with it

RED

BLUE

	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4
the sun	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—
the sea	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—
the sky	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—
walking	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—
the moon	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—
apples	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—
sheep	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—
cars	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—
tomatoes	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—
grass	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—
my house	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—
reading	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—

:



#### 8.4 The Entities and Indices to be Focused on in Relation to Network Association and Language

As has already been indicated (section 5.4.2), the ISA computer programme produces a large number of different indices, a number related to the concerns of social psychology and some without direct relevance to sociolinguistics, at least in its empirical applications if not in its theory. I propose to take only the simplest of Weinreich's measures - current identification, idealistic and contra-identification. Even here, there is a risk of being inundated by a very large data set, since identifications scores along all three of these dimensions are produced for all of individuals and groups included as entities.

In fact, I propose to focus on current, idealistic and contra-identification with just six entities:

    'English kids'  
    'Indian kids'  
    'Pakistani kids'  
    'West Indian kids'  
    Ingroup 'adults'  
and     'Teachers'.

Beyond the need to reduce the ISA data base to a manageable size, there are two major reasons for selecting these in particular, namely their complementarity with the network indices and with the linguistic variables that will be used.

I have already indicated how the network indices will reflect the proportion of ethnically Anglo, Indian, Pakistani (and in the case studies Afro-Caribbean) peers making up each informant's multiplex interactional network. It would be tempting to suggest that identification indices will give a clue as to how these associates might be perceived in their specific capacities as ethnic representatives. However, that formulation is unduly sanguine, since close friends may not be seen as being ethnic at all, or at least as being highly untypical ethnically (in fact,

the JUNE elicitation provides some systematic data on this, but this is no time to draw this in). A more sensible proposition is that the ISA indices will provide us with a chance to juxtapose informants' general identifications with ethnic categories and a picture of their general familiarity. This will enable us to describe something of the relationship between social involvement and psycho-social orientation which will not allow us to say anything about specific relationships but which will still be of some intrinsic interest in addition to having a joint relevance to language.

As far as language is concerned, these six entities will be assumed at least in the first instance to have differential access to different varieties of English. The starting assumption will be that Indian and Pakistani kids are likely to have most contact with Punjabi accented English; West Indian kids probably are more closely connected with Afro-Caribbean Creoles; and without such ready exposure to either of these varieties, 'English kids' (who in the area in question are not in general middle class) can be taken as most intimate with the local white vernacular. Ingroup adults can be seen as using 'purer' versions of each of these varieties, on the fairly safe assumption that they were brought up in environments in which these three varieties were not so mutually attenuating (as a result of contact). Finally, 'Teachers' can be linked more closely with Standard English and Received pronunciation: I know at first hand that few of the teachers in the schools attended by my informants actually spoke posh but neither did they speak in broad vernacular and I imagine that they would be keen to speak in a 'clear' and 'nice' rather than 'rough' accent. With these suggested relationships between entities and language varieties (and the greater shakiness of the proposition about teachers borne in mind), it will be possible to examine the connection between informants' psycho-social identifications and their use of variants contained in these varieties of English.

These then are the reasons for the selection of these six.

In order to get an idea of the importance of these entities to the informants, it is helpful to refer to the ego-involvement scores for each entity. An account of their relative psychological salience as indicated by ego-involvement scores is given in Appendix 8. It shows that at least one of these 'generic' entities (and usually more) elicits a response roughly equal to or stronger than the entity 'siblings', which we can assume to be quite prominent in most informants' mental landscape. This suggests that while the six entities selected here may not be the most significant for informants, neither are they generally the most inconsequential.

#### 8.5 Two Approaches to the Use of ISA Identification Indices

These then were the procedures used in the elicitation of data on psycho-social identification: such were the constructs and entities selected, and the responsiveness of informants to them.

At this point a major conceptual problem needs to be addressed, which ultimately gives rise to two approaches to the interpretation of the identity data.

The first entails the direct use of ISA output data in computational analyses across a range of individuals. In this approach one would decide to look directly at current identification with 'English kids' and compare informant X's score with informant Y's. In relating this identification to language one would then hypothesise that if X's index score was higher than Y's, X would use more of the L variants associated with 'English kids'.

The second approach would in contrast initially compare an individual's score on current identification with 'English kids' with his/her contra- and idealistic identifications with that entity. It would also inspect his/her patterns of identification with other comparable entities. In other words, instead of

moving directly from the ISA output data to inter-individual comparisons, analysis would in the first instance be idiographic, studying each individual's socio-cognitive landscape in some detail before moving on to group analysis. The logic behind this second approach can be related to e.g. Giles and Johnson's 5th proposition (see section 5.4.3 above, p.112): how far a person adopts a particular group variant will be influenced by the extent to which they identify strongly with other social categories (Giles and Johnson 1981:240). A person may identify strongly with 'English kids', but logically they would be more likely to use Anglo variants if that is their only major ethnic category identification than if they also identify strongly with 'Indian kids', 'Pakistani kids' and 'West Indian kids'. For this reason it makes sense to conduct intra-individual analyses first of all.

The theoretical superiority of this latter (integrative and initially ideographic) approach is however offset by several practical considerations.

In the first place it deals with strength of identification much less straightforwardly. In the first approach, where one starts out cross-comparing individuals on one type of identification at a time, one may use numerical indices which directly reflect the strength of each identification. The other approach refers to these indices during the process of studying individual cases, but eventually it loses this numerical representation of identification strengths and results in a statement of each individual's involvement relative to their others. In fact, in the process important distinctions may get lost, as, for example, with Ai and Kp vs Ei and Jp. With each, identifications are fairly evenly distributed across the 'English', 'Indian', 'Pakistani' and 'West Indian kids', but for A and K these are strong (current identifications all above .900) while for E and J they are all low (nearly all their current identifications below .600). This is a difference that on the logic of Giles and Johnson, it would also be wrong to omit.

A second difficulty attendant upon the idiographic approach concerns the psychological interpretation of the data. Precisely what balance of contra, current and idealistic identification scores would entitle one to say that informant X identifies strongly overall with entity A, but only weakly with entity B? Certainly, with entity A, one would expect to find high current and idealistic identification scores, and low contra-identification values. With entity B, one would expect to find this pattern reversed. In reality however, scores can pattern in much less clearly than this, and both indeterminacy and arbitrariness can result.

The third practical difficulty attendant on the initially idiographic approach concerns the classification of informants that results from it. For example, only one or two informants may emerge as identifying with 'English kids', and this gives very little scope for an analysis of the association of this affiliation with say vocalic L usage across the group as a whole. It only leaves scope for individual case-studies whereas in contrast the first approach (which treats every informant's identification with each entity) has a much larger base for cross-sectional analysis: in this example, there would be almost as many indices of current, idealistic and contra-identification with 'English kids' as there are informants.

So, both approaches have advantages. In trying to tie ethnic identities in with a person's choice of linguistic variants, it is theoretically more sensible to try to identify which of the group memberships associated with each variant a person most strongly identifies with. This would favour starting off with the idiographic intra-individual analyses. On the other hand, this is somewhat clumsy empirically, and the alternative (of comparing all identifications across speakers, irrespective of their relative strength within individuals) need not mislead us if we remember that a strong association between language and strength of current identification with regard to one entity does not preclude the possibility of the same linguistic variant

strongly connecting with current identification with another entity as well.

This is a point which needs to be stressed. In contrast to measures of language and interactional involvement, which both express proportions, this direct (and non-idiographic) use of the ISA indices can (and does) produce equal scores for group entities which the current enterprise seeks to contrast and differentiate. For example, to a considerable extent strong identification with 'Indian kids' accompanies strong identification with 'English kids'. This is in itself unproblematic as a reflection of 'reality', but there is a danger in (a) looking at a particular linguistic variant - one influenced by Punjabi, for example - (b) looking at people's identification with 'Indian kids', (c) finding a high degree of association between them and then (d) saying, 'aha, this form reflects strength of identification with Indian kids, it is an ethnic variant'. It may also in fact be strongly associated with identification with 'English kids', and to avoid making this mistake, patterns of association between language variants and identification with a variety of entities will often need to be explored quite extensively. As a prelude to this, some of the correlations amongst identifications with all of the entities here can themselves be examined (see section 8.5.1).

Table 8.4 sets out the scores for each individual, index by index. The data matrix here will form the basis for much of the ensuing analysis, which I shall first undertake by looking at some of the internal correlations. After that, an approximative idiographic characterisation will be outlined for each informant, indicating where his main identifications (and non-identifications) lie, at least within the peer-group.<sup>4</sup> (These will prove useful in the case study analyses with which this empirical exploration will conclude.) This will complete the introduction of the ISA data: later its relationship to the ethnicity and language of informants will be analysed at some length.

TABLE 8.4: ISA SCORES ON PSYCHO-SOCIAL IDENTIFICATION WITH SEVEN ENTITIES

	'ENGLISH KIDS'				'INDIAN KIDS'				'PAKISTANI KIDS'				'WEST INDIAN KIDS'				INGROUP ADULTS				'TEACHERS'				SIBLINGS				
	Contra -id.	Current id.	Ideal id.	Ego -inv.	Contra -id.	Current id.	Ideal id.	Ego -inv.	Contra -id.	Current id.	Ideal id.	Ego -inv.	Contra -id.	Current id.	Ideal id.	Ego -inv.	Contra -id.	Current id.	Ideal id.	Ego -inv.	Contra -id.	Current id.	Ideal id.	Ego -inv.	Contra -id.	Current id.	Ideal id.	Ego -inv.	
Al	.152	1.000	.522	4 41	.152	1.000	.522	4 41	.152	1 000	.522	4 73	.152	1 000	.522	4 55	.109	.935	.522	4 68	.239	.871	.435	4 59	.152	.935	.478	3 83	A
Bl	.163	.853	.628	5 00	.326	.765	.465	4 57	.279	.824	.512	4 74	.372	.471	.419	4 09	.256	.647	.419	4 26	.140	.676	.535	4 35	.093	.853	.581	4 57	B
Cl	.298	.941	.447	3 19	.234	1.000	.511	3 62	.234	1.000	.511	3 62	.383	.471	.362	3 65	.277	.794	.404	3 50	.293	.765	.383	4 31	.234	1 000	.511	4 50	C
El	.455	.590	.291	4 00	.327	.564	.273	2 85	.345	.590	.291	2 80	.527	.615	.182	4 30	.382	.615	.382	4 15	.236	.436	.309	3 30	.164	.385	.473	3 85	E
Fl	.000	.676	.673	3 44	.091	.811	.636	3 68	.145	.892	.582	3 44	.200	.730	.382	2 72	.236	.595	.491	3 88	.145	.432	.436	3 64	.145	.838	.527	3 72	F
Gl	.220	.8 6	.525	3 65	.153	.886	.525	3 23	.153	.886	.525	2 70	.136	.909	.542	3 12	.085	.614	.373	1 88	.085	.568	.339	1 24	.085	.750	.661	3 65	G
Hl	.467	.481	.089	3 21	.467	.704	.156	3 17	.467	.704	.156	3 08	.400	.815	.222	3 97	.244	.111	.156	2 81	.067	.185	.200	2 05	.378	.778	.244	4 11	H
Il	.296	.828	.3 0	3 62	.315	.931	.352	3 42	.259	.931	.407	3 46	.426	.724	.167	2 21	.389	.517	.278	4 29	.204	.759	.315	3 50	.389	.931	.278	3 67	I
Jl	.371	.532	.274	3 40	.323	.489	.403	2 65	.371	.553	.355	3 20	.323	.532	.435	3 13	.113	.723	.516	3 88	.048	.553	.516	3 19	.097	.809	.548	4 05	J
Kl	.183	.952	.517	3 48	.183	.952	.517	3 34	.217	1.000	.483	3 41	.150	.905	.550	3 34	.183	.925	.483	3 86	.267	.833	.433	3 14	.183	.952	.517	3 93	K
Ll	.136	.469	.515	2 71	.258	.469	.470	3 16	.212	.469	.439	3 46	.136	.625	.515	3 95	.136	.313	.379	2 26	.182	.406	.409	2 82	.091	.688	.561	3 53	L
Ml	.403	.773	.387	2 81	.194	.711	.597	2 49	.194	.711	.597	2 46	.274	.711	.532	2 46	.387	.444	.339	2 72	.210	.711	.532	3 74	.323	.467	.484	3 47	M
Ol	.258	.314	.121	2 06	.197	.588	.333	3 23	.333	.412	.197	3 23	.303	.412	.273	3 39	.439	.588	.182	3 94	.197	.549	.303	2 46	.318	.647	.379	4 87	O
Pp	.255	.926	.451	2 99	.176	1 000	.508	3 33	.255	.667	.412	2 25	.118	.519	.392	1 91	.216	.704	.451	4 22	.078	.519	.412	3 19	.078	.778	.569	3 24	P
Qp	.113	.978	.774	4 07	.113	.978	.774	3 81	.113	.978	.774	3 98	.472	.370	.415	3 63	.189	.739	.566	3 63	.094	.761	.585	3 60	.094	1.000	.792	4 04	Q
Rw	.299	.509	.522	3 69	.388	.527	.388	2 69	.299	.364	.403	3 40	.209	.564	.493	3 83	.343	.636	.478	4 08	.060	.218	.194	1 50	.224	.7 9	.597	4 47	R
Sw													.200	.239	.050	0 68	.083	.696	.500	2 21	.133	.391	.217	1 95	.217	.891	.550	5 00	S
Tl	.221	.797	.471	3 04	.397	.763	.368	2 98	.294	.881	.471	3 66	.353	.814	.412	3 60					.397	.864	.412	4 78	.456	.797	.353	3 63	T
Ue	.250	.820	.529	3 13	.294	.500	.353	3 00	.294	.500	.353	2 79	.221	.700	.500	3 03	.118	.740	.588	3 68	.059	.740	.647	4 84	.221	.760	.559	3 29	U
Ve	.262	.500	.190	3 31	.262	.667	.238	2 71	.286	.667	.119	2 46	.333	.417	.167	5 00	.143	.333	.048	0 68	.167	.250	.024	1 78	.333	.333	.048	2 97	V
We													.043	.176	.130	0 99	.000	.324	.348	2 02	.000	.235	.283	1 56	.174	.471	.348	3 40	W

### 8.5.1 Some Correlational Relationships Within the ISA Data

It is certainly not the purpose to devote much time to the ISA data on its own, rich though it may be. However, in order to assist the sociolinguistic analysis, it is necessary to point out that current identification scores on 'Indian kids', 'Pakistani kids', 'English kids', 'Teachers' and Ingroup adults are often very positively correlated with one another. The informants who identify most strongly with one entity are often the strongest identifiers with another entity and the same is often true for those who identify least. Table 8.5 shows the Pearson Product Moment correlation coefficients for all the current identifications being examined here, across all informants:

TABLE 8.5 PEARSON CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS FOR THE ASSOCIATION OF CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH DIFFERENT ENTITIES, ACROSS ALL INFORMANTS

Current identifi- cation with	'English kids'	'Indian kids'	'Pakistani kids'	'West Indian kids'	'Teachers'	Ingroup adults
'English kids'		.8006 (19)	.7827 (19)	.3169 (19)	.7525 (19)	.6362 (18)
'Indian kids'			.8728 (19)	.2327 (19)	.5240 (19)	.4223 (18)
'Paki- stani kids'				.3757 (19)	.6177 (19)	.3754 (18)
'West Indian kids'					.4325 (21)	.1858 (20)
'Teachers'						.7174 (20)
Ingroup adults						

There is a high correlation between current identification scores with:



- Indian and Pakistani kids;
- Indian and English kids;
- Pakistani and English kids;
- English kids and teachers;
- Teachers and ingroup adults.

There is a moderate correlation between current identifications with:

- English kids and ingroup adults;
- Pakistani kids and teachers;
- Indian kids and teachers;
- West Indian kids and teachers;
- Indian kids and ingroup adults.

There is only a low correlation between current identifications with:

- Pakistani kids and West Indian kids;
- Pakistani kids and ingroup adults;
- English kids and West Indian kids;
- Indian kids and West Indian kids.

There is no relationship between current identifications with:

- West Indian kids and ingroup adults.

The intrinsic interest of these patterns will not detain us here: what they do remind us however, is that we must be very thorough before saying that e.g. a strong association between retroflex [ɮ] use and current identification with 'Indian kids' means that [ɮ] is in some sense an ethnically Indian variant. Perhaps on this logic and on the evidence of the data here, one might as easily describe it as connected with Anglo ethnicity.

Having briefly illustrated these traps, all that remains is to switch from this directly cross-sectional approach to the initially idiographic one, and to characterise each individual in terms of his primary identifications.

### 8.5.2 Intra-individual Characterisations of Where Each Informant's Main Peer-group Identifications Lie

In making these individual portraits, there is a risk of getting drawn into the psychologist's heartland, which is again not the purpose here. (I shall not draw in ISA notions such as Identification conflicts, Identity diffusion.) I shall simply look at each informant's idealistic current and contra-identification with 'English', 'Indian', 'Pakistani' and 'West Indian kids', and try to make an overall summary of which they identify with most and which least.

The emerging characterisations are presented verbally in Appendix 9. They are summarised in Tables 8.6 to 8.8 below. Despite this tabular presentation, the approximative nature of these idiographic descriptions should not be forgotten.

Table 8.6 shows which informants have strongest general identifications with which entities:

TABLE 8.6 SUMMARY OF INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISATIONS: WHICH INFORMANTS PRIMARILY IDENTIFY WITH WHICH ENTITIES

General 'positive' identification ...	In the case of informants ...
With all entities fairly equally	Ai Ei Gi Jp Kp Rw (Sw) (We)
Mostly with 'Indian', 'Pakistani' and 'English' kids	Qp
Mostly with 'Indian', 'Pakistani' and 'West Indian kids'	(Mp)
Mostly with 'Pakistani' and 'Indian kids'	Ci Fi Ip (Mp)
Mostly with 'Pakistani kids' and 'West Indian')	(Tm)
Mostly with 'Indian kids'	Op Pp Ve
Mostly with 'English kids'	Bi Ue
Mostly with 'West Indian kids'	Hp Lp

(Brackets indicate difficulty in placement.)

Table 8.7 summarises the entities with which particular informants have generally least positive identification:

TABLE 8.7 SUMMARY OF INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISATIONS: WHICH ENTITIES PARTICULAR INFORMANTS GENERALLY IDENTIFY WITH LEAST

Least identification ...	In the case of informants ...
With 'Pakistani' and 'Indian kids'	Lp Ue
With 'English' and 'West Indian kids'	(F)
With 'Pakistani kids'	R
With 'Indian kids'	T
With 'English kids'	C H O M
With 'West Indian kids'	B C I (F) P Q V

Informants who have strongest identification with just one ethnic (peer) group are in fact in a minority, and the difficulties of trying to use these as a basis for investigating language and identification cross-sectionally should be apparent. It is perhaps worth reintroducing the notion of strength of identification back into this account: this can be done by referring to current identifications and classifying scores of .90 and more as high; and scores of less than .60 as weak.<sup>5</sup>

TABLE 8.8 THE ENTITIES WITH WHICH INDIVIDUALS IDENTIFY MOST, AND THE STRENGTH  
OF THESE IDENTIFICATIONS

Entities with which each individual most strongly identifies								
	All entities	In, Pa En kids	In, Pa, WI kids	Pa, In kids	Pa (and WI) kids	'Indian kids'	'English kids'	'West Indian kids'
(a)	A K	Q		C I		P		
(b)	G		(M)	F (M)	(T)	V	U B	H L
(c)	E J R (S) (W)							

Key: (a) Strong current identification (.90<sup>+</sup>)  
(b) Moderate current identification  
(c) Weak current identification (less than .60)

Only one person has strong identification with the single entity with which he most identifies (P); elsewhere where scores are high, this is with several groups. From this, it looks as though it would be quite demanding to use ISA in a cross-sectional study guided by the tenets of Giles and Johnson concerning the sensitivity of language to the strength and exclusiveness of group identification. ISA is too broad in its scope to allow the easy identification of one subgroup of strong and exclusive group-X-fans and another of weak and diffuse group-X-fans. It would require a very large sample before data emerged which could allow realistic statistical comparison of subgroups of this kind.

#### 8.6 Summary

The proposal here is to use indices of current, idealistic and contra-identification (see section 5.4.2) in relation to language and network analysis. However, the value of these indices rests heavily on the constructs and entities (out of which they emerge and to which they relate) being meaningful to informants. In order to achieve this, two semi-structured interviews were conducted, to which the ISA rating booklet would be organically linked. During the course of these two interviews, it seems possible that some emerging constructs were more personal, while others might be related more to peer-group consensus: this is because one interview was conducted singly and the other in pairs (or threes). The elicitation of contrast poles was not always successful: perhaps it conflicts with the goal of fluent conversation. Other sources were also used in gathering constructs: however, these constructs were always English language bound and thus may have entered only superficially into non-English value systems (to the extent that these exist separately). One great advantage of the ISA procedure is its strong roots in conversation: at the same time, this clearly means that its results only reflect the mental set operative within specific contexts. The hope here is that results indicate the psycho-social identifications accompanying involvement in inter-ethnic domains.

My intention was to supply six constructs in the rating procedure: the rest were to be selected according to a variety of criteria (what was their potential scope of applicability? how permanent did they seem? how clear was the contrast pole? did they overlap with other constructs? and might they relate to entities that might otherwise get neglected?). When lists of constructs and entities had been prepared for each informant, these were presented for rating, though beforehand steps were taken to ensure they all made sense in the informant's view (some were rejected and revised). Afterwards, respondents also rated the constructs in importance.

With the computer output produced by this data, it was decided to focus on just six entities. These were particularly relevant to language and to the peer network indices. Few of these six had elicited the strongest responses from informants, but neither had they been treated as generally inconsequential.

Finally, the indices of identification with these six entities ('English kids', 'Indian kids', 'Pakistani kids', 'West Indian kids', ingroup adults and 'teachers') can be utilised in two ways. The first entails using the unprocessed identification indices in direct cross-sectional comparisons: it allows strengths of identification with a particular entity to be compared across all informants, but doesn't say whether within any given individual, that identification is strong or weak relative to that person's other identifications. However, it is an approach that can be safely used if it is remembered that a marked association between (a) a linguistic variant and (b) identification with group X doesn't preclude a comparable association with group Y. Some of the correlations between different identification index scores were reported in warning. The other way of using this ISA output data is to make an idiographic verbal assessment of each person's primary identification first of all, and only after that, to make inter-individual comparisons. This overcomes the major problem with the first approach, but loses the direct numerical representation of identification

strength, and ultimately restricts the scope for cross-sectional analysis. However, an idiographic portrait of each informant's primary ethnic peer-group identifications was constructed, from which it emerged that only a minority focused their predominant identifications on a single peer entity, and in only one case could this identification be classed as strong.

NOTES

1. The pairings were:

Ci, Mp and Ei (then Ci and E1);  
Bi, Qp, Np;  
Op and Pp;  
Op and Lp;  
Ai and Ip;  
We and Tm;  
Jp and Kp;  
Hp and 2w;  
Rw and Sw;  
Fi and Gi;  
Ue and Ve.

2. Once again a much fuller account of this is given in Appendix 7.
3. Though I am obviously making the assumption that they can.
4. I shall not extend this to 'teachers' and ingroup adults, for several reasons. Firstly, neither are represented in the network indices and an effort to ascertain the respective prominences of identification with each of these is thus not relevant to the network x ISA comparison. Secondly, as 'kids', the entities 'English', 'Pakistani', 'Indian' and 'West Indian kids' intuitively run together as comparable models locally available to informants: ingroup adults and 'teachers' are of course also models, but probably not clustering together in the same way (for a start, neither is as prominent in the peer-recreational domain; both are older etc.). Lastly, a cut off has to be made somewhere - I cannot relate identifications with e.g. 'English kids' to every other identification index produced for each informant (each having about twenty entities). Grouping these 'kids' entities together for the purpose of these idiographic characterisations seems as good a way as any.
5. This is done on the basis of Charts 12.10, 12.13, 12.16, 12.19. These levels seem to generally separate the extremes off from the middle range quite well on this identification index.



CHAPTER 9  
THE LANGUAGE VARIABLES

9.1 The Selection of Linguistic Variables

In view of the amount of social and psychological analysis involved in the current research, it was not possible to analyse as many variables as is usually the case in quantitative sociolinguistic studies, and eventually it was decided to take just two. In fact a large number of linguistic items could have been selected for analysis in relation to ethno-linguistic processes.

A number of texts contain detailed accounts of the use of English by British Asian people at the phonological level (Agnihotri 1979; Rashid 1976; Candlin 1969), at the grammatical (R.T. Bell 1973; Lander (undated)) and at the discursal levels (Gumperz 1982; Simonot 1982). There are also of course detailed studies of English in India itself. Also there are a variety of texts on West Indian English in Britain (e.g. Wells 1973; Edwards 1979; Sutcliffe 1982; Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985) as well of course as a very substantial literature on Creole in the Caribbean. With regard to indigenous varieties of English in England, e.g. Wells (1982), Hughes and Trudgill (1979) are useful general reference texts.

On the basis of this literature and some familiarity with the research site, it was decided to study variants of Standard British English dark L and word-initial (ð). (ʈ) was chosen because it promised to be highly sensitive to ethnic and social difference, subsuming several distinctive variants in an economical way that made it attractive given the present constraints. Word initial (ð) was to ensure that the ethnic differences attended to in analysis of (ʈ) were not given exclusive focus. The confluence and reciprocal affirmation of 'genetically' different but formally similar 'phonological traditions' can also occur in newly polyethnic societies, and word-initial TH might provide a glimpse of these (cp. Lander 1981). Both of these points need to be expanded.

9.1.1 The Dark L Variable: (ɫ) : V [ɫ][ɰ][ɰ]

In RP, velarised /ɫ/ occurs postvocallically in either pre-consonantal or prepausal environments. It also occurs as a syllabic sound following a consonant (Gimson 1970:201; Wells and Colson 1971:77; Wells 1982:258). Four variants of (ɫ) were distinguished here due to differences in their social and regional distribution and the implications of this distribution for ethno-linguistic processes.

The first variant of (ɫ) is represented as V, which stands for vowel and is alternatively referred to as L vocalisation. In L vocalisation, the tongue tip makes no contact with the alveolar ridge and (ɫ) is realised as a vowel, without lateral release. There can be quite a lot of variation in the precise quality of the vowels resulting from this (Wells 1982:258,315), but this is not the subject of examination here.

L vocalisation apparently started in London, but is spreading across the South East of England and the Home Counties (Wells 1982:258; Hughes and Trudgill 1979:40). It also occurs in Bedford (see below).<sup>1</sup> It is reported to be beginning to 'seep' into RP (Wells 1982:258; Gimson 1970:203) but fairly recent studies in London indicate that it is still overtly stigmatised and that its use is related to social class (Hudson and Holloway 1977, reported in Wells 1982:314). It is not reported as a feature of Creole or of Punjabi, Urdu or Indian English, and so in the first instance vocalic L (vocL for short) is to be seen in this study as a non-standard white Anglo variant.

The second variant of (ɫ) is dark [ɫ] itself: a lateral with back vowel resonance. This is the major RP variant, and it typically occurs neither in Urdu and Punjabi nor Creole. So this will be regarded as the 'middle class' standard Anglo variant.

The third variant is clear [l]: a lateral consonant with

a frontish vowel tamber. This occurs in prevocalic environments in both standard and non-standard varieties at least in Southern England (though not in South Wales (Hughes and Trudgill 1979:51) and parts of Scotland (Aitken 1984)), but not before pauses and consonants or syllabically. In contrast, in Caribbean varieties of English both in Britain and the West Indies, /l/ is typically clear in all environments (Wells 1982:5,70; also Sutcliffe 1982: 108; Wells 1973:11,112). Thus [l] can be initially juxtaposed to [ʔ] and Vocalic L as the West Indian variant of (ʔ).

Clear [l] may also be a Pakistani and Indian variant of (ʔ) and it is hard to know in advance how far retroflex [ɭ] (produced with the tip of the tongue retracted to the alveolar ridge or the anterior part of the hard palate (Wells and Colson 1971:88; Gimson 1970:15; O'Connor 1973:45)) might additionally (or alternatively) indicate Asian ethnicity. In Standard Punjabi clear [l] is distinguished from retroflex [ɭ] (Gill and Gleason 1963:10; Shackle 1972:11; O'Connor 1973:227) but in some Punjabi dialects, as well as in Urdu and Hindi, [ɭ] does not exist (Gill and Gleason 1963:10,25; Shackle 1972:11; Bahri 1973:xxiv; Rashid 1976:132; O'Connor 1967:174). As it turns out however, a number of my informants do use [ɭ], and though clear [l] must initially be viewed as ambiguously West Indian and Asian, the retroflex variant of (ʔ) must be viewed as exclusively Indian and Pakistani.

To summarise, RP dark [ʔ] (/l/ in either postvocalic preconsonantal/prepausal or in syllabic environments) is examined in terms of four variants, aprioristically construed as having the following social and ethnic connotations:

- VocL : non-standard white Anglo
- [ʔ] : standard white Anglo
- [l] : West Indian and Asian
- [ɭ] : Asian

Thus, in principle at least, this single variable provides quite an economical focus for looking at the interethnic development, the career-in-contact of formally different ethno- and socio-

linguistic speech habits. In contrast, word initial TH provides a glimpse of ethno-linguistic contact between speech forms representing different linguistic inheritances but bearing quite a high degree of formal similarity.

9.1.2 Word Initial TH: - (θ) : [θ][d] Zero TH

According to Wells (1982:565), the use of the alveolar stop [d] for dental fricative /θ/ occurs throughout the Caribbean, but is always subject to social and stylistic variability, [θ] occurring in high prestige and careful contexts. In Britain too, [d] is reputed as an enduring variant of (θ) amongst people of Caribbean extraction (Wells 1973:87,88; Edwards 1978:18).

In Punjabi, Hindu and Urdu there is no fricative TH (Gill and Gleason 1963:8; Rashid 1976:65,126; O'Connor 1967:174) and in the English used in India itself, apparently the British RP phonemic distinction between /θ/ and /d/ (as in 'then' vs 'den') is generally preserved as /ɗ/ vs /d/ (Wells 1982:629). In Britain however, voiced dental plosive [ɗ] has been reported in variation with [θ] amongst both adult and child Punjabi-English bilinguals (Rashid 1976:67,75; Agnihotri 1979), and amongst children it is reported to be the most enduring feature of 'Indian English' (Agnihotri 1979:245). Indeed, Agnihotri remarks that this stopped variant of (θ) may be the most persistent marker of Indian identity (see also Taylor and Hegarty 1985:207).

Now, to people in Bedford the difference between dentalised [ɗ] and alveolar [d] may be highly salient, but in rapid speech I personally find it hard to confidently distinguish degrees of dentalisation and in the analysis below, I do not attempt to do so and instead focus on the contrast: fricative vs plosive around the general alveolar-dental region. Of course this strategy can be criticised for its lack of emic validation (e.g. via subjective reaction tests), although this can be countered with the reply that claims about emic validity are not ultimately

being made here. However, if the reader feels that such a distinction is easily made (despite the difficulties of phonetic transcription in sociolinguistics noted by e.g. Knowles 1978: 81,82; McEntaggart and Le Page 1982:110; G. Ball personal communication), what follows will be regarded as empirically rather clumsy and as conceptually fairly loose. So be it: if this is a flaw, it is currently irremediable and to some extent discussion will simply have to carry on regardless. Thus, on the basis of the texts cited above, I suggest that voiced word-initial TH stopping in the dental-alveolar region may jointly indicate Afro-Caribbean, Indian and Pakistani extraction despite its separate regional origins.

To this picture, the occurrence of [d] for (θ) in non-standard English can be added. As in the case of (ʔ), loosely supported by glancing forward to the data itself, it is necessary to posit the spreading influence of London Pronunciation (Wells 1982:301) up through Hertfordshire (a Home County) into Bedfordshire (which lies immediately north of it) and then Bedford (which is 50 miles away from London, on the commuter line and exposed to some of the same TV channels). Amongst my Anglo informants, word-initial /θ/ is sometimes realised as [d] and it is not unreasonable to hypothesise that this habit could indicate non-standard white Anglo ethnicity independently of the influence of peers of West Indian and Asian parentage.

One thing that might differentiate Afro-Caribbean and Asian uses of [d] from Anglo ones could be the greater occurrence in Anglo speech of alternative sandhi forms. Wells (1982) outlines the way in which, in post-consonantal environments - particularly post-alveolar ones - coalescences occur in popular London speech, so that 'is that all the ...' may be realised as [ɪz æʔ əv|ə]; 'round the' as [rʌn:ə]; 'got the' as [gɒt̪ ə]; and 'in the' as [ɪnə]. Coalescences of this type are closely related to the rhythm of Anglo English, more specifically to its 'stress-timing', in which 'utterances are broken up into groups of syllables each of which contains one and only one stressed syllable ...

There is rather a strong tendency for the syllables between stresses to be compressed into the same time ... unstressed syllables which precede the stress are said particularly quickly' (O'Connor 1973:198; also Gimson 1970:260). At least among adults, Punjabi English shows the influence of syllable-timing in the substrate language in which 'each syllable receives more or less equal stress and takes the same amount of time to utter' (Rashid 1976:90). Thus 'there is an absence of reduced vowels' and 'auxiliary verbs and personal pronouns are given full marked forms in Punjabi English and prepositions are also given full stress' (ibid.:92). Specifically to the point here, 'Indian English speakers ... pronounce almost all consonants with a higher degree of articulation than native speakers' (Gumperz 1982:121). So, while as a form [d] may occur in the English of people of both Asian and Anglo extraction, it may be hypothesised that its alternation with sandhi forms is more typical of Anglos. Since the rhythm of Creole is also described as comparatively syllable-timed (Wells 1982:572; Sutcliffe 1982:110), this may also distinguish Anglo from Caribbean influenced uses of the (ʔ) variable.

In the transcription below then, three variants of word initial (ʔ) will be distinguished. [ʔ] will be regarded as the standard form;<sup>2</sup> [d] will represent a voiced dental-alveolar plosive considered typical of Caribbean and Asian influenced speech, and also to some extent a non-standard white Anglo form; and finally, ZeroTH will be used to cover all coalescent forms in which there are no audible dental-alveolar fricatives or plosives. This zero realisation of (ʔ) - zeroTH - can be explored for a closer relationship with ethnically Anglo youngsters: in contrast, an examination of the psycho-social correlates of [d] may require analyses that focus less on interethnic differentiation than on shared cross-ethnic interests.

## 9.2 The Selection of Speech Contexts

Having decided on the two linguistic variables to be analysed, the next question is: from which interactional contexts would

speech be selected for transcription.

There were three broad choices. Either I could use data from interviews with me alone, or I could analyse speech elicited in interviews with me and a friend of the informant, or I could use radio-microphone recordings of informants in the playground and Youth Club (in which I would obviously not normally be physically present as an addressee).

Several considerations led to the selection of the interview contexts. Firstly, the major concern here was not with stylistic variability. The extra-linguistic measures that it was intended to use in relation to the phonological variables were not designed to illuminate the ways in which informants construed their addressees in the course of specific transactions (see the remarks on ISA and Giles and Le Page, section 5.4.3, p 125-126 above; also section 5.5.1, p 127 ff in connection with social overview offered by network analysis; also Chapter 15 below on ISA, network analysis and the 'symbolic' meaning of language forms). Both extralinguistic measures were intended to give an idea of the language items that a person might pick up and use over a fairly extended period of time. Therefore, the emphasis was much less on the description/modelling of style shifts (to which the radio-microphone data would have been best suited - see e.g. Coupland (1981)) than on the adequate sampling of informants' repertoires at the time of the ISA and network data elicitations.

In addition, the intention was to make cross-sectional comparisons so the speech contexts needed to be controlled to some degree to ensure inter-informant comparability. One problem with radio-microphone data is that in terms of topic, mood and interlocutor (whom it was often not possible to identify), the interactions recorded are highly varied. In addition, speech is also often very spasmodic, with lots of silences. In contrast, if one detaches it from its troublesome explanatory aspirations (cf. e.g. Wolfson 1976; Gal 1979; Bell 1984; Rampton 1986), the

classical Labovian interview is in essence a handy approach to sampling, keeping extralinguistic context relatively constant across informants and obtaining a good quantity of more easily transcribable talk.

So, having opted for interview speech on these grounds, the next question was: which interviews? With each informant there were at least five taped interviews covering discussions related to interactional association, language and psycho-social identifications (the ISA interviews). More in anticipation of criticism from Labovian stylists than from personal conviction, the language interviews were not used in case talking about language might affect pronunciation. The network interviews were all one-to-one so this left the ISA interviews, one of which was dyadic while the other involved me with pairs or threes (henceforth these latter pair and threesome interviews will be called the 'triadic' or 'group' interviews).

In fact, the dual use of these two interviews (for ISA and for phonetic transcription) had been planned from the start. However, only the triadic ones were eventually used in relation to the network and identification indices. This was because patterns of variability in the use of dark L and word initial TH across these two contexts were very irregular. Appendix 13 gives a detailed description of the manner in which (†) and (%) use were compared in these two interviews, as evidenced in the speech of twelve informants. It also gives an account of the results (see also the Summary: 9.5). Here, however, it is sufficient to consider only the triadic interview in detail.

What kind of elicitation context did it entail? Firstly, the main interviewing concern throughout was with the elicitation of personal constructs - there were no word list or reading elicitations, and the discussions were much more than mere devices to extract pronunciation (see section 8.1 above). No attempt was made to hide the recording equipment, though by the time these interviews took place, informants may have been so used to it as



not to notice it. The staging of these interviews towards the end of the field-work procedure may also have meant that informants were relaxed generally. The presence of a friend is likely to have enhanced this informality, as is the focus of the interview upon life in the peer-group (covering local styles and fashions, social and ethnic groupings and relations and shared peer-group values). The mood of this session wasn't frivolous, but in general it was quite noisy, there were quite a lot of jokes and many inter-informant interruptions (and interruptions of me).

When it came to transcription, not all of this interview was used since initially an effort was made to differentiate it as much as possible from the ISA Personal (= 'dyadic') session (see Appendix 13.1). In the event, external interruptions and discussions of my project were excluded and only those sections of the interview relating to social relations, social groups, common values, styles, shared memories, 'vernacular' themes (thefts, fights, trouble) and local social institutions were transcribed phonetically.

The selection of this interview for phonetic analysis has several important implications for the interpretation of final results.

It has already been stressed that the aim here was not primarily to study style shifting but to sample each informant's repertoire within the constraints of trying to ensure ready transcribability and cross-sectional comparability. In so far as they led to the exclusion of the radio-microphone data, these constraints clearly mean that even in terms of the available data base, these repertoires were not comprehensively sampled. So in talking about the ways in which interactional association and psycho-social identification affect the acquisition of linguistic items, we are still talking about relatively context-specific, not comprehensive evidence (the attempt to broaden this base by analysing two interviews being ultimately fruitless).

A second caveat to be borne in mind concerns cross-comparability itself. The triadic interview was not the same for all informants in terms of addressee ethnicity. For the ethnically Afro-Caribbean, Mixed, Indian and Pakistani informants, all of the interviews were cross-ethnic by virtue of my own presence, whereas for the Anglos they were intra-ethnic (for a tightly controlled experiment on ethnicity and style shifting, see Beebe 1977). Indeed in the triadic interview, informants were also often accompanied by ethnic outgroup friends (five combinations were co-ethnic [Ci + Ei; Op + Lp; Jp + Kp; Rw + Sw; Ue + Ve] and four cross-ethnic [Bi, Qp + Np; Ai + Ip; We + Tm; Hp + 2w]). So as a variable, ethnicity is not properly controlled in these interviews, and the data may be affected in unaccounted (though not necessarily unaccountable) processes of inter- and intra-ethnic accommodation.

Three things can be proposed in defence however. Firstly, as far as the ethnic mixture of partners is concerned, the ethnicity of informants may matter comparatively little in view of their considerable familiarity with one another and also in view of the concomitant fact that interview combinations reflect authentic friendships in the peer-group. Processes of inter- and intra-ethnic peer speech accommodation may be differentially entailed in the triadic interviews, but they are highly likely to occur differentially outside in the peer-group as well. It is, after all, different peer influences on language that this research is investigating, so that the varied but not random combination of partners could be seen as good sampling. Next, with regard to the fact that on the researcher-informant dimension interviews vary in being intra- and interethnic, it can be pointed out that only one triadic interview is completely co-ethnic (with U and E). Finally, this study is avowedly exploratory (and incontrovertibly defective by the canons of experimental design).

### 9.3 The Transcription of (†) and Word Initial (%)

Initially, in view of time constraints, speech data from only

twelve informants in two contexts was analysed. When it became clear that the dyadic ISA Personal interview added little to the sociolinguistic analysis, it was a simple step to include their partners in the triadic sessions, thus bringing the total number of transcribed speakers up to eighteen.

It was decided in principle not to analyse more than about 100 instances of (ʔ), though in the event, this number was often greater (as well as smaller). These 100 or so were counted in from the end of the triadic interview. For (ɹ), all instances were analysed.

On each variable, all eighteen speakers were listened to on at least two separate occasions, the second time coming after all the rest had been heard at least once. So there are grounds for assuming a degree of consistency - on many occasions I compared my analyses of different informants. There were often (to my ears) indeterminate items: with [d] and [ʔ] the clarity of the stop release was taken as the key feature and where strong affrication meant that an item wasn't clearly either [d] or [ʔ], this wasn't counted. On other occasions, it was hard to decide between [d] and [ʔ] and zeroTH. On average, about 6 or 7% of the (ʔ) realisations listened to were excluded from the count due to indeterminacy. With (ɹ), distinguishing vocalic from dark [ɹ] was often very difficult, and so was the question of how velarised a variant was (i.e. was it [ɹ] or [ɹ̠], or indeed [ɹ̠] which is often about midway between them in darkness). In the end, I excluded on average between 10 and 12% of the (ɹ) tokens due to uncertainty about their classification.<sup>3</sup>

On some of the items about which I was least certain, I consulted Ms Ginny Ball, a professional phonetician at the University College London Department of phonetics. On (ʔ), we agreed on the transcription of 30 items, and on 5 I was wrong. On (ɹ) there were 101 agreements, I was wrong on 4, and in 31 cases where I felt unable to decide (and hence would have excluded), Ms Ball was able to classify the sound. Hence it looks

as if with a full-time phonetician, the number of excluded tokens might have been smaller, though it does not now appear that my uncertainty represented a systematic bias against any particular variant.

#### 9.4 Controlling for Lexical Incidence and Phonetic Environment

In view of the fact that the probability of a particular variant occurring in a word may vary according to what that word is, and not on the general phonological or syntactic properties of the word (Hudson 1980:168), it is important when one says informant X uses [ʔ] 60% of the time that this is not based on the evidence of only a few lexical items. For example, 'alright' in my data hardly ever takes an [l], [ʔ] or [ɹ] realisation, yet some people use the word quite a lot. In talking about someone's Vocalic L use, for example, it is thus necessary to make sure one isn't merely reporting their use of 'alright'.

In order to prevent this happening (while without going to the lengths of completely excluding words that in at least some people's grammars are sites for phonological variation), an upper limit needed to be set on the extent to which any word with (ʔ) was allowed to be represented within a speech sample. Within each of the major phonetic environments analysed (see below), a limit of approximately 15% was arbitrarily set, which meant that when it came to ultimately representing overall scores (i.e. which combined environments), no word would generally represent more than about 5% of the data in which (ʔ) occurred.

One problem is, of course, that in advance, one doesn't know which words will contain variable realisations, and which will not, so another criterion was set, this time stipulating that the 15% and 5% maximum levels would only apply when 90% or more of a particular speaker's uses of a word contained only a single variant. There would be little point in excluding words in which (ʔ) appeared to vary quite freely.

When this policy was carried out on the triadic interview with regard to 'alright' and 'always', 2 uses were not counted for A, 5 for C, 4 for H, 5 for J, 2 for O, 1 for L, 2 for K and 12 for U.<sup>4</sup> One use of a name in which Vocalic L occurred word-medially was also excluded for S. In this way we can be confident that scores on (†) are not distorted by the differential use of particular words.

The occurrence of word-initial (ʃ) was restricted to a much smaller number of words (e.g. the, that, this, those, these, they, them, their, there, then, than, though) and so imposing a limit of say 15% per environment would have been an extremely onerous task. In any event, a pilot analysis of three speakers (B,R and U) indicated that these words (especially the most frequent) were sites of considerable variation and so no attempt was made to control for lexical incidence. None of the subsequent analysis suggested that this had been a foolish policy.

The main phonetic environments in which word-initial (ʃ) occurred were after pauses, after word-final vowels, and after word-final dental, alveolar and post-alveolar stops ( /t/ and /d/ ), fricatives ( /s/ and /z/ ) and nasals ( /n/ ). Occurrences were also noted in other environments, but nothing like as frequently (for the classifications used, see the classification grids, Appendix 10). For (†), the environments finally used in analysis were word-medially before a consonant, word-finally before a consonant, and pre-pausally. This applied to both syllabic and non-syllabic (†). In fact, most uses were either post-vocalic in the environments \_C or \_##C (i.e. preconsonantal in word-medial or final positions) with syllabic (†) in the environment \_##C coming third.

When these main environments were analysed, it emerged that with (ʃ), phonetic environment did appear to influence the use of variants and that if overall scores were to be used, steps would need to be taken to prevent the over-representation of particular environments leading to distortion. With (†), en-

vironmental conditioning was not as apparent, though since for some individuals the use of variants might be context sensitive, it was felt a sensible precaution to adjust overall scores to ensure against any undue influence here too (Appendix 11 contains the analysis of (ʃ) and (t) in their main environments).

Of course one alternative to the use of adjusted overall scores would be to compare individuals in terms of their environment-specific usages, and indeed in the case of the hypothesis about Zero TH after dental/alveolar consonants, this was a necessity. However, in general overall scores combining environments were preferable for three main reasons. Firstly, most of the hypotheses formulated on the basis of secondary sources did not extend to detailed matters of environmental conditioning. Secondly, it was often only by combining phonetic contexts that a reasonable number of tokens per informant could be achieved, sufficient to permit sensible comparison. Thirdly, my own interest here is not intrinsically, only instrumentally phonological and environment by environment inter-individual comparisons would be too time and space consuming.

So, there was a need to produce overall % scores for the use of variants of (t) and (ʃ) which would be adjusted to ensure against the over-representation of particular phonological contexts. To achieve this, steps were taken so that with (ʃ), no environment represented more than 21% of all the phonetic contexts used in calculating each person's overall score. With (t), no environment was allowed to contribute more than 40% to the total. Appendix 12 sets out the reasons for imposing these particular limits, as well as explaining in detail the manner in which these adjustments were made.

After the data had been treated in these ways, percentage scores on the use of variants of (t) and (ʃ) were finally ready for comparison with network and identification indices. Table 9.1 sets out the linguistic data for each informant which will inform the rest of the analyses in Part II.

TABLE 9.1 OVERALL % SCORES FOR THE USE OF VARIANTS OF (ɹ) AND (ʒ) IN THE  
GROUP INTERVIEW, AFTER ADJUSTMENTS

	(ɹ)					(ʒ)				Zero TH after den/alv. cons.		
	% Vocalic L	% [ɹ]	% [ɪ]	% [ɪ]	Total no. of (ɹ) tokens *	% [ʒ]	% [d]	% Zero TH	Total no. of (ʒ) tokens *	% Zero TH after den/ alv. cons.**	No. of Zero TH after den/alv. cons.	
A	39.7	31.7	9.5	19.0	63	66.7	21.9	11.2	172 (193)	11.2	10	AI
B	54.5	23.6	3.6	18.2	55	48.8	33.3	16.9	129 (141)	32.7	17	BI
C	10	21.1	8.3	60.5	18 (20)	79.3	5.1	15.4	59 (61)	26.9	7	CI
E	34	28	12	26	15 (30)	47.3	22.4	30.1	94 (159)	56.0	56	EI
H	34	58.2	7.7	0	102 (108)	59.9	7.9	31.5	148 (160)	50.0	39	HP
I	23.8	47.6	9.5	19.0	42	29.6	51.6	18.7	104 (112)	26.1	12	IP
J	13.9	41.7	9.7	34.7	72	78.4	11.9	9.7	124 (125)	13.0	6	JP
K	26.5	20.4	4.1	48.9	49	40.9	33.0	22.7	136 (156)	34.6	28	KP
L	83	13.6	0	3.4	59	30.4	53.8	15.8	170 (173)	38.2	26	LP
O	58.3	10.5	25.5	5.5	18 (19)	26.5	54.8	18.7	48 (53)	22.2	4	OP
Q	36.6	33.4	10	19.5	38 (44)	47.2	29.6	23.1	123 (133)	14.8	8	QP
R	20	56	24	0	25	45	25.2	29.4	50 (67)	72.2	26	RW
S	28	72	0	0	25	78.5	12.8	8.7	39 (53)	25.0	7	SW
T	52.3	30.8	16.9	0	65	49.8	29.6	20.7	137 (153)	38.7	29	TM
U	39.6	58.5	1.9	0	53	56.6	4.7	38.6	160 (174)	56.0	42	UE
V	76.9	15.4	7.7	0	13 (15)	57.3	9.0	33.3	30 (32)	53.8	7	VE
W	48.3	37.1	13.5	1.1	89	45.6	44.8	9.6	130 (132)	16.9	11	WE
2	26	35.5	38.5	0	20 (23)	28.3	48.3	23.1	35 (48)	17.9	5	2W

\* In brackets, the number of tokens prior to adjustment are given (see Appendix 11).

\*\* For this variant, no adjustments were necessary.

## 9.5 Summary

[In this summary, it is helpful to allude also to the analysis conducted in Appendix 13 (on style shifting)] Two linguistic variables were selected for analysis, (↑) and word initial (ʔ). Information from secondary sources suggested the following social and ethnic distribution of their variants:

Variable	Variant	Social/ethnic Type
(↑)	Vocalic L	Non-standard white Anglo
	Dark [↑]	Standard white Anglo
	Clear [l]	Afro-Caribbean, Indian, Pakistani
	Retroflex [ɭ]	Pakistani and Indian
Word initial (ʔ)	Fricative [ʃ]	Standard
	Plosive [d]	Indian and Pakistani, non-standard Anglo and Afro-Caribbean
	Zero TH overall	Non-standard white Anglo
	Zero TH after dental/alveolar consonants	

The aim in selecting these variables was not to study stylistic variation, and it was important that the speech data was sufficiently controlled in its elicitation context to permit inter-individual cross-comparability. However, a bigger rather than smaller sample of each informant's linguistic repertoire would still be useful, and thus it initially was decided to use data from the two main ISA construct elicitation interviews. On the grounds that one of these covered personal/family themes, took place with informants singly and occurred relatively early during field contact with each informant, while the other covered the peer-group and locality and took place in twos or threes towards



the end of field contact, it was thought that the dyadic and group styles might respectively elicit more and less formal speech styles (though it had to be admitted that the evidence on cross-situational variation would still be relatively restricted, in addition to failing to meet the strict standards of experimental design). The speech of twelve informants was phonetically transcribed from these two interviews (together with six more in the group session) and controls were imposed to prevent lexical incidence and phonetic environment from unduly influencing the overall scores on which most of the succeeding investigation would focus. In fact, the results of the cross-situational analysis revealed indeterminate patterning, both in terms of the amount and direction of shift in the use of variants of (†) and (‡) in the two interviews. It could not be decided whether this was because (†) and (‡) weren't Labovian markers, or whether the two elicitation contexts had just been too similar. However, in view of the lack of evidence on any clear stylistic patterning, it was decided that only the group interview would be used as the source of linguistic data in the ensuing explorations.

# NOTES

1. This is despite Bedfordshire being reported in the Linguistic Atlas of England (Orton et al. 1978) as being a predominantly dark [ɫ] using area in syllabic, post-vocalic preconsonantal and word final environments. Several things need to be said of this however: (a) these findings relate to relatively rural villages outside Bedford itself; (b) they are based on data collected from elderly informants in the late 1950s; (c) the methods of elicitation were those standard to dialect geography and face very well-established criticisms (cf. Trudgill and Chambers 1980: Ch.2).
2. A standard with influence in the Caribbean as well as in Britain (Wells 1982:565).
3. Table 9.2 shows approximately what percentage of ( ɫ ) and ( ɫ ) tokens were not counted for each informant (in brackets the actual number of exclusions is given). This table refers to both the dyadic and the triadic interviews.

TABLE 9.2 THE APPROXIMATE % OF ( ɫ ) AND ( ɫ ) TOKENS WHICH WERE EXCLUDED FROM THE FINAL ANALYSIS DUE TO INDETERMINACY (AND RAW NUMBER OF EXCLUSIONS), BY INFORMANT

	( ɫ )		( ɫ )	
	Dyadic Interview	Triadic Interview	Dyadic Interview	Triadic Interview
A1	9% (5)	11% (23)	13% (3)	13% (12)
Bi	6 (6)	3 (4)	14 (20)	12 (12)
Ci	4 (2)	8 (5)	11 (3)	14 (5)
Ei	6 (14)	8 (13)	11 (10)	18 (8)
Hp	6 (4)	6 (10)	5 (3)	10 (15)
Ip	11 (16)	11 (14)	13 (13)	12 (8)
Jp	7 (6)	3 (4)	10 (9)	12 (13)
Kp		5 (8)		12 (9)
Lp		5 (10)		12 (11)
Op	7 (8)	4 (2)	12 (9)	8 (2)
Qp		5 (7)		9 (6)
Rw	11 (8)	8 (6)	8 (3)	26 (10)
Sw	8 (10)	9 (5)	14 (9)	9 (3)
Tm		5 (8)		4 (4)
Ue	8 (7)	8 (16)	6 (4)	13 (15)
Ve		3 (1)		13 (4)
We	6 (8)	5 (7)	9 (15)	7 (8)
2w		8 (4)		12 (4)
Approx Mean	7%	6%	10%	12%

4. In the dyadic ISA Personal interviews, this policy led to the exclusion of 'alright' and 'always' 3 times in C's speech data, 4 in E's, once in H's, 4 times in I's, once in J's, 3 in O's, once in R's, once in S's and 2 in U's.

CHAPTER 10  
THREE WAYS OF CLASSIFYING INFORMANTS  
TO BE USED IN EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

The objective is then to explore the social and ethnic distribution of word initial (ʃ) and (t). This immediately raises the question of how informants will be classified for the purposes of analysis, and despite the extensive theoretical discussion of classificatory approaches above, it is necessary in the present empirical context to lay out clearly the strategies to be adopted. In fact, all three of the methods of categorisation discussed in Chapter 5.1 will be employed. Firstly, I will classify informants in terms of conventional ethnic categories: this rather traditional strategy is necessary in the light of certain clear limitations in my use of ISA and network analysis. The gist of much of the preceding discussion has been away from this 'bio-ethnic' approach, but it is necessary here as an empirical failsafe. The second and third approaches will use less aprioristic classifications. My starting assumption will be that all informants are part of a single peer-group, and I will then proceed via network analysis and ISA, to try to establish empirically the extent to which individuals are or are not interactionally and psycho-socially affiliated with a variety of ethnic categories. All of these approaches to classification require more explanation in the light of the current empirical context.

10.1 Analysing Ethnic Group Membership as Fixed at Birth

Grouping all Sikh informants together, all Muslims, all Anglos etc. (and then comparing group means) is in line with the traditional 'secular linguistic' methods whose flaws were outlined in 5.1 above. This approach treats ethnicity as pregiven and fixed at birth and it uses categories that are relational at only a very abstract level. It is, however, necessary to resort to it since it cannot be claimed that the use of NA and ISA here gives a comprehensive picture of what ethnic group membership might mean for my informants.

Certainly NA suggests something of their interactional involvements, and ISA expresses something about psycho-social identifications: indeed both can and will be used to describe attitudes and activity across and within ethnic categories. However, their limitations also have to be recognised, and 'pregiven' ethnic categorisations need to be used as a kind of precaution. The limitations of ISA and NA have already been given some outline in 5.5.1 and 5.6.3 above. To these rather essential difficulties, others need to be mentioned which are attendant on the particular use of ISA and Network Analysis here.

Most obviously, the network scores being used here only reflect involvement with age-mates, and not with adults. Also they are locally based, excluding the social ties in other parts of Britain and the world that may form a very important aspect of ethnic experience. In ISA only a restricted set of constructs inform the analysis, and many of considerable importance have doubtless been omitted. Both ISA and NA offer in essence snapshots of the present. Admittedly 'me-as-I-used-to-be' serves as an entity in ISA, but this does not give an indication of the accumulation of subtle influences that build up in the course of a person's life, it only throws light on how people currently construe/reconstrue their personal histories.

Network Analysis generally reveals patterns of association which it is fairly safe to assume have been built up over a rather longer period than ISA reflects, and the majority of contacts referred to have at least been available to informants during their middle-school years (in the case of friends) and indeed usually much longer (in the case of kin). However, particular configurations of interactional involvement can obviously change, as can the psycho-social significance of these relationships which network analyses implies without itemising. So even within the scope of what each purports to examine, crucial influences on a person's past (and present) life may escape notice.

Finally, while one may certainly hope that NA and ISA might pick up on some of these factors, there are clearly major social

processes and experiences associated with ethnic group membership which it would be reductionist to claim they adequately/fully reflected. Religious socialisation is obviously one factor which is likely to constitute a significant difference between all the ethnic categories represented amongst my informants; amongst children of overseas parentage, factors associated with migration (e.g. such as its recency) may well have systematically different effects; and finally racism as a powerful social influence will affect all ethnic categories in at least partly different ways (see DES 1985:Ch.2).

All these reservations do not invalidate the use of NA and ISA, which at the very least can helpfully describe some of the things that ethnic category membership entails, and to identify substantive differences between ethnic representatives. However, they do mean that it is necessary to be circumspect when it comes to investigating linguistic patterns across the peer group as a whole. NA and ISA scores are not necessarily the key independent variables influencing the social distribution of linguistic items, and could merely be subordinate reflections of much more complex and inflexible features of ethnic group membership. If one were simply to assume that a person's ethnicity was their ISA and NA scores, one would run the risk of exaggerating the malleability and negotiability of ethnic group membership. So, for example, if one were to ignore preset categories as a way of differentiating informants and if one were to proceed with an inspection of the correlation between interactional involvement with peers of ethnicity X and linguistic variant y, any patterns clearly emerging could easily be misconstrued if, for example, members of ethnic group X both had lots of X members as their peer-group associates and used lots of variants y, while ethnically Z youngsters had few X friends and used hardly any y. This 'combining of Groups' (cf. Shavelson 1981:212ff.) could produce a high correlation coefficient which it would be misleading to interpret as a reflection of the fact that what counted in variant y usage was interactional involvement with X peers over and above fixed ethnicity: in reality, this latter could be the key variable.

This is not to abandon a more flexible approach to group membership but to recognise some of the constraints of the tools with which the current research is operating. With these in mind, methods of classification and grouping appropriate to more fluid and dynamic conceptions of group membership can be outlined, as these are to be utilised in the empirical setting here.

#### 10.2 Defining Ethnicity in Terms of Interactional Association and Psycho-social Identification Within a Single Polyethnic Peer-group

The motivation behind these second and third approaches is tied to the view that group membership and identification are fluid, dynamic and emergent, and that ethnic boundaries are negotiable: they respond to the view that immediately ascribing informants to ethnic subcategories and using these as the first and only basis of analysis distorts the reality of interethnic contact. The reader is by now well acquainted with this line of argument, and it needs no further exposition. However, something further needs to be said about the way in which analysis will start off with the assumption that informants are all part of a single polyethnic peer-group. In the ISA and NA approaches, analysis initially treats informants only as individuals and in effect compares youngsters with peers both from their own ethnic background and from others. The *prima facie* empirical validity and the practical necessity of this need to be underlined.

In the first place, it is not the researcher's idealisation to talk of the informants forming a single polyethnic peer-group: the analytic comparison of each with each is warranted by the familiarity most of them have with one another. While informants differ in the intra-ethnic and cross-ethnic mixture of their closest associations, an examination of reciprocally recognised friendship and kinship ties revealed a great number of potential and actual connections between informants. There are plenty of

opportunities for values and behaviours to spread across the group as a whole through friends of friends, friends of kin, and kin of friends in those cases where there are not direct links reported (see Chapter 2.3). There are also plenty of chances for interactional contact at school, in the neighbourhood and at the youth club, so that probably all the informants know each other by sight if not by name. Certainly, in some sectors some individuals are more closely connected than in others, but a consequence of using social networks as a means of informant recruitment means that there is from the start some empirical justification for treating them as parts of some unitary whole.

The second reason for treating informants as part of a single polyethnic peer-group can be initially described in terms of practical necessity. 'Bio-ethnic' subgroups are not all equally or adequately represented amongst my informants: there are only two (sometimes three) youngsters of Afro-Caribbean parentage amongst them so that no detailed within group analyses are possible there. Similarly, the three children of white Anglo parentage form an imperfect basis for such analyses, and research committed to getting ethnic subgroups of equal sizes would simply have to exclude children of mixed parentage such as T.

To some extent I may be faulted for not having recruited (and transcribed speech data on) equal subgroups of say six informants; it would have been impossible however to recruit six children of mixed parentage, and difficult perhaps to 'enrol' six ethnically Afro-Caribbean youngsters (who represented roughly 9% of the middle school's population, see Ch.2.2). Beyond the differential availability of informants (a practical consideration), a stronger justification both for the under-representation of certain groups and for the treatment of all informants as part of a single peer-group relates to the tension between naturalness and the amenability of data for statistical analysis and generalisation. Interactive peer-groups do not consist of all ethnic subgroups in equal proportions, and if recruitment follows through kinship and friendship contacts, one may sacrifice the



capacity to generalise across subgroups statistically. But by the same token, one may be more confident that relationships emerging from the data reflect genuine relationships in reality, and in this way the scope for ecologically valid case-study analyses increases (cf. Ch.9.2 and Ch.14; also Part III).

To summarise then, while the conceptual thrust of the current work is to view ethnic group membership as 'achieved', certain limitations in the empirical tools being used to describe people's group membership, mean that some of the analysis will rest on the ascription of informants to preset ethnic categories, and that parts of it will focus on group means. However, there are also clear empirical and practical (as well as theoretical) grounds for treating them all as part of a single polyethnic peer-group, and this too will be the subject of examination.

Mention has been made of the statistical limitations of this approach: these need to be underlined.

CHAPTER 11

STATISTICAL LIMITATIONS AND  
QUANTITATIVE METHODS OF COMPARISON

The gist of the discussion above is that three independent variables will be examined in relation to between seventeen and twenty-three informants, these variables being fixed ethnicity (with five levels), interactional involvement and psycho-social identification (each with an unspecified number of levels). None of these variables is completely separate from the others: they operate on different conceptual planes but on some occasions they may be regarded as illuminating the same phenomenon - a particular group membership.

A proper statistical analysis of the respective effects of each of these types of group involvement on language would require a careful three-way factorial design and a great many more informants than the present study encompasses: the current study provides no scope for a systematic examination either of their differential influences or of their interactions. It is not possible here to rigorously test Le Page's hypothesis and riders, for example. I shall not be able to conclude that network involvement effects language behaviour more than psychological identification since in examining the relation of the former to the dependent variable, I will not be able to control simultaneously for the effect of the latter.

Secondly, I won't often be able to generalise seriously about wider populations on the basis of my ethnic subgroups. The first reason for this is sample size (again) - I have only one, two or three informants in some of them. Next, sampling was not conducted in such a way as to guarantee their representativeness - for example, my ethnically Anglo informants may be untypical amongst Bedford Anglos in the amount of interethnic contact they experience (which indeed led to their recruitment into the research in the first place). Lastly, the question

arises: precisely what population would I want to generalise about anyway? The theme of the current study is language and ethnicity, but its whole theoretical impetus has been to question the notion of pregiven ethnicity that would be easiest to use in a (conventional) study of mean ethnic differences. With a large scale factorial study, generalisation in terms of the language behaviour of e.g. high identifying, low interacting informants of fixed ethnicity X might be consistent with the theoretical framework here, but this is clearly out of the question at present.

Summarising the empirical tone of what follows, it must be admitted that the quantitative analyses below do not test hypotheses and that the study will not try to achieve validation through the use of inferential statistics. Even though its findings sometimes seem to lean tentatively towards wider generality, this study is best regarded as the (theoretically supported, methodologically suggestive) description of a particular polyethnic peer-group.

The question then remains, what methods of quantitative analysis will be used? Some of the time I shall refer to subgroup means (when the independent variable is nominal - i.e. fixed ethnicity), but when it consists of interval data as with the network, ISA and linguistic variables, my main recourse will be to 'median splits' and to scatterplots. Generally, it will not be appropriate to use correlation coefficients for several reasons.

Firstly, the data is rather diverse in shape and would require rather a lot of clumsy switching between different correlational tests: sometimes the distribution of scores seems fairly normal, sometimes it doesn't; the relationship between variables is on occasions apparently linear, on others curvilinear; on some measures there are a great many tied scores (which, if the two previous features suggested Spearman above Pearson, could be a problem with the former).

Secondly, a correlation coefficient reckons with only two variables at a time whereas a scatterplot can represent three. In this way the danger of 'combining groups' which can produce misleading correlation coefficients, is avoided (cf. Shavelson 1981:212-21). In the data here (especially on interactional association) a correlation coefficient is also likely to be vulnerable to the problem of 'extreme groups' (Shavelson 1981:211-212), and with a 'sample' size as small as mine, 'outliers' are also particularly likely to result in deceptive coefficients (ibid. 1981:214-215).

So one of the main methods of investigation will be through the use of scattergrams, in which I shall be looking at the slope of the imaginary line between the points on a plot, and the extent to which these points are clustered tightly about it (Shavelson 1981:188-190). If the slope of this line is either horizontal or vertical, then the association will be zero: an increase in the value on one variable does not relate to performance on another. If it is not horizontal or vertical, the more closely points are arranged along this line the greater the degree of association.

Scatterplots can show a great deal of information but they are not easy to fit in with prose description and make rather tiring reading. In the present context a fairly safe and simple way of summarising the association between two variables will be the use of 'median splits' (recommended to me by Dr Marianne Jaeger). This method entails first finding the median on both variables. Then a basic four-cell table is created. After that the number of informants who score above both medians is placed in one cell; those who score below on both are placed diagonally opposite; and those scoring above and below are placed in the two remaining. For example, if there are four informants with the following scores on x and y

	<u>x</u>	<u>y</u>
A :	2	2
B :	8	4
C :	6	6
D :	4	8

this would result in a table like Table 11.1 (the percentage scores indicate what proportion in each column falls in each cell).

TABLE 11.1 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND THE MEDIANS  
FOR x AND y

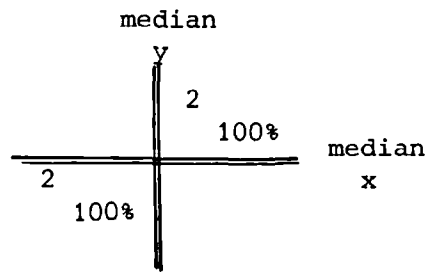
	median for y		
	below	above	
median for x	1 50%	1 50%	a b o v e r m e d i a n f o r x (=5)
	1 50%	1 50%	
	100%	100%	
	median for y (=5)		

A table like this indicates that there is no association between x and y. If, on the other hand, there emerged a pattern like this:

	median y		
2 100%			
		2 100%	median x

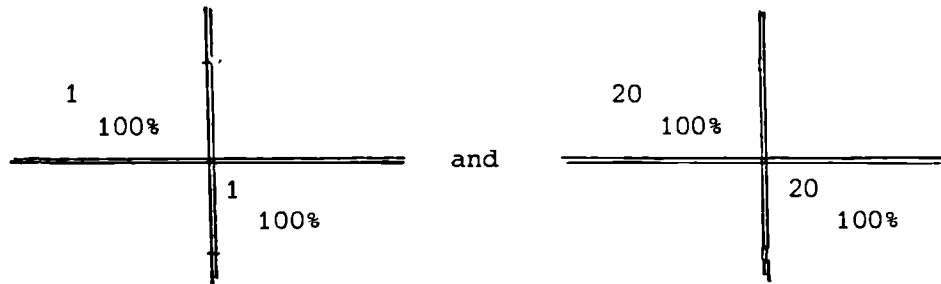
there might well be an association, with everyone scoring above the median on x also scoring below the median on y, and vice versa. This would suggest a negative association (the more x

the less y), whereas the pattern

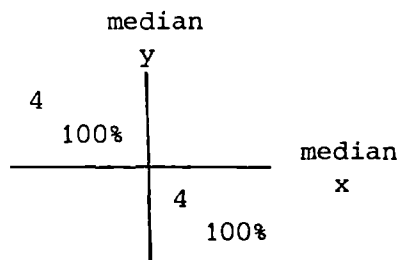


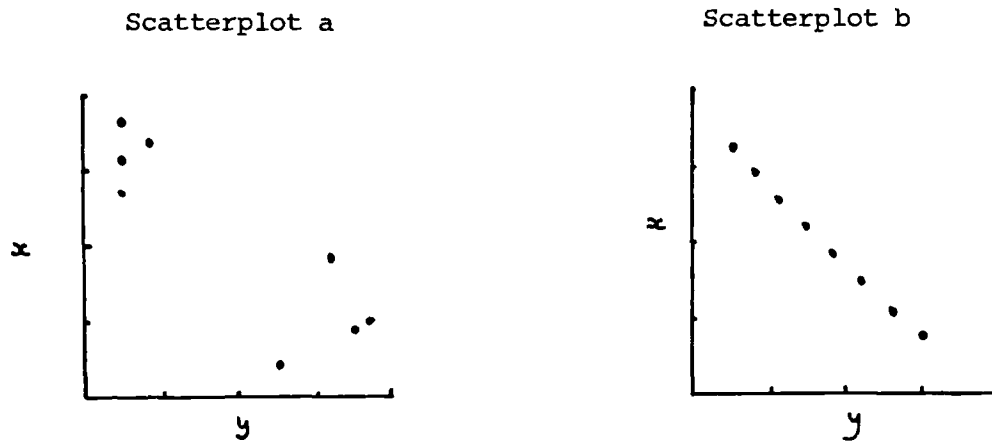
would imply a positive association.<sup>1</sup>

This is the basic way in which median splits can be used to display associations, though at least two additional points need to be made. Firstly, it is essential to look at the frequency score in the top left hand corner of each cell and not just at the percentage: there is a big difference between



This is particularly important below, where I sometimes introduce fixed ethnicity subdivisions into these median split tables so that the number of informants is not always constant. Secondly, while these tables are quite handy in showing no associations, they cannot on their own be relied on to attest genuine associations. For example, both of the scatterplots below (a and b) would be summarised as:





Yet there is clearly a large difference between them, the association between  $x$  and  $y$  being much stronger in scatterplot b. So in the course of using median splits as a display device, it will often be necessary to refer to scattergrams as well.

The preceding chapter (Chapter 10) set out the ways in which the field context and data set affect the operationalisation of the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter 5. This chapter has clarified the study's empirical aspirations and indicated the ways in which the quantitative information will be analysed.

It is at last now possible to turn to the data itself. I shall first discuss the emerging empirical relationships (a) between 'fixed' ethnicity and patterns of interactional involvement, (b) between fixed ethnicity and psycho-social identifications, and then (c) between interactional involvement and ISA identification. After that I shall draw language into the account. To begin with, I shall analyse data at the group level. A perspective on individuals will run alongside this however, and this will become the most dominant perspective in the main socio-linguistic analyses.

NOTES

1. Obviously with a larger sample one might get a pattern such as

1 20%	4 80%
4 80%	1 20%

which would also suggest a positive association.



CHAPTER 12

LOCAL GROUP AFFILIATIONS FROM THREE ANGLES:

EMPIRICAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN FIXED  
ETHNICITIES, INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATIONS  
AND PSYCHO-SOCIAL IDENTIFICATIONS

12.1 Fixed Ethnicity and Interactional Involvement with  
Peers from Different Ethnic Backgrounds

What are the ethnically defined patterns of interactional association for informants of Indian, Pakistani, Afro-Caribbean, Anglo and Mixed Anglo-Afro-Caribbean parentage respectively? To investigate this, we must refer to our main measure of interactional involvement, which takes multiplexity into account and indicates the differing extents to which various ethnic groups are represented amongst those peers with whom informants co-participate in three or more domains.

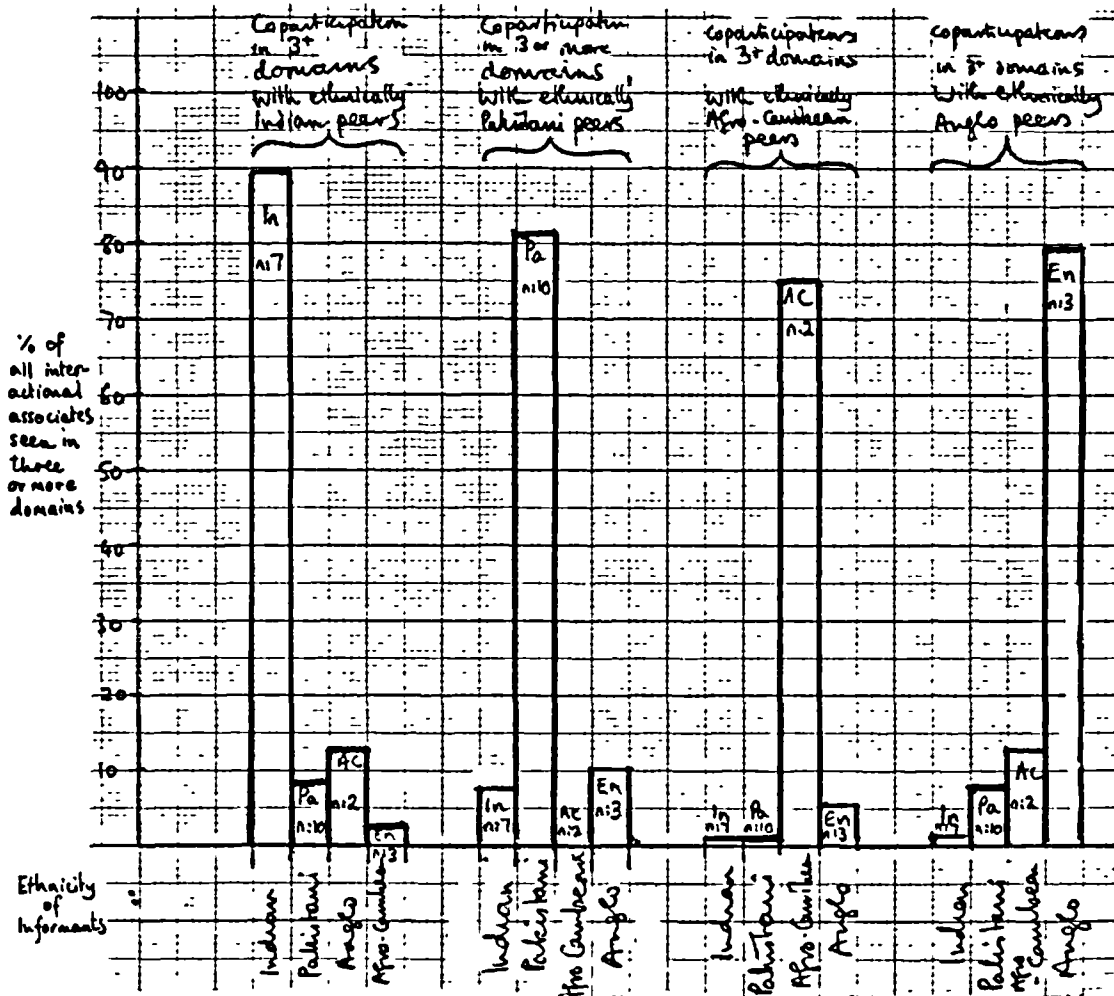
Table 12.1 groups informants together by ethnic background and shows in mean % terms the ethnic distribution of their three or more stranded peer relationships. It is based on the data presented in Table 7.1 (p.206).

TABLE 12.1 MEAN % INTERACTIONAL INVOLVEMENT IN THREE OR MORE DOMAINS WITH PEERS  
OF DIFFERENT ETHNIC BACKGROUNDS, BY INFORMANTS' ETHNIC SUBGROUP

Interactional involvement in three or more domains with peers who are ethnically	Informants of Indian Parentage (n=7)		Informants of Pakistani Parentage (n=10)		Informants of Afro-Caribbean Parentage (n=2)		Informants of Anglo Parentage (n=3)		Informants of Mixed Parentage (n=1)	
	$\bar{x}$	$\sigma$	$\bar{x}$	$\sigma$	$\bar{x}$	$\sigma$	$\bar{x}$	$\sigma$	$\bar{x}$	$\sigma$
Indian	89.6	9.3	8.50	12.4	12.5	12.5	2.8	3.9	( 0 )	( / )
Pakistani	7.8	7.9	81.2	19.3	0	0	10.3	14.5	(25)	( / )
Afro-Caribbean	0.8	1.9	0.5	1.6	75	25	5.1	7.2	(25)	( / )
Anglo	1.8	4.4	7.3	14.7	12.5	12.5	79.3	23.7	(25)	( / )

This is presented in bar-graph form in Chart 12.1.

CHART 12.1 MEAN % INTERACTIONAL INVOLVEMENT IN THREE OR MORE  
DOMAINS WITH PEERS OF DIFFERENT ETHNIC BACKGROUNDS,  
BY INFORMANTS' ETHNIC SUBGROUP



Several things emerge from this analysis. Firstly, most of the relationships which cover three or more domains are intra-ethnic. This chart does not tell us how far these intra-ethnic three stranded network ties comprise members of each informant's kinship group, and we cannot say from this data (a) whether the patterns here reflect informants meeting co-ethnic peers at school and taking them home, or (b) whether they reflect relationships formed initially in the home and adult ethnic community being carried over into interethnic domains (it would be departing too far from the ultimately socio-linguistic objectives of the present enterprise to investigate this here). However, we can infer from the picture here that

there is not on the whole a great proportion of interethnic relationships which entail the admission of ethnic outgroup members into essentially intra-group arenas (see the discussion in 7.4.1 and 7.4.2 above). Looking at peer-group associations spanning both intra- and intergroup realms as a whole, we can say that relatively few cross ethnic boundaries and that it is relatively rare to share knowledge with an outgroup peer of either one's own or the other's essentially intra-ethnic domains.

Admittedly, there are differences in this regard. Informants of Indian parentage appear on average to have least three-stranded cross-ethnic interactional associations;<sup>1</sup> also there is less variation within this subgroup than amongst the ethnically Pakistani peers. But at group level, it looks as though the ethnic extraction of informants is closely connected with the ethnicity of their close peer associates.

Given the inclusion of intra-ethnic domains in the measure of multiplexity this is hardly surprising.<sup>2</sup> It means, however, that in an analysis of language behaviour which put informants together according to their ethnic background and studied mean scores at the (ethnic) group level, group membership defined in terms of interactional association would not be easily distinguishable from 'bio-ethnicity'. In so far as a large scale survey (with e.g. a three way factorial design) might seek to differentiate these two variables, another less stringent measure of network association might be more appropriate.

In terms of identifying individuals who do not conform to the pattern set by the rest of their ethnic group, the current measure of interactional association is however rather useful, and it is worth now looking at individual variation within ethnic categories. Charts 12.2 to 12.5 display in % terms the extent to which various ethnic groups are represented amongst the peers with whom each informant co-participates in three or more domains.

Chart 12.2: interactional involvement with ethnically Indian peers in three or more domains, for each informant (by ethnicity)

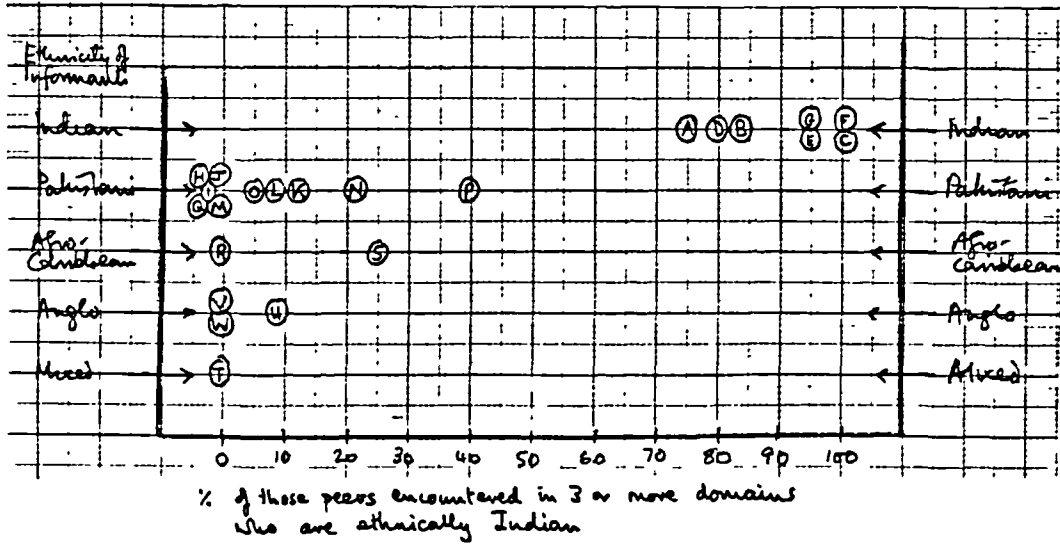


Chart 12.3: interactional involvement with ethnically Pakistani peers in 3 or more domains, for each informant (by ethnicity)

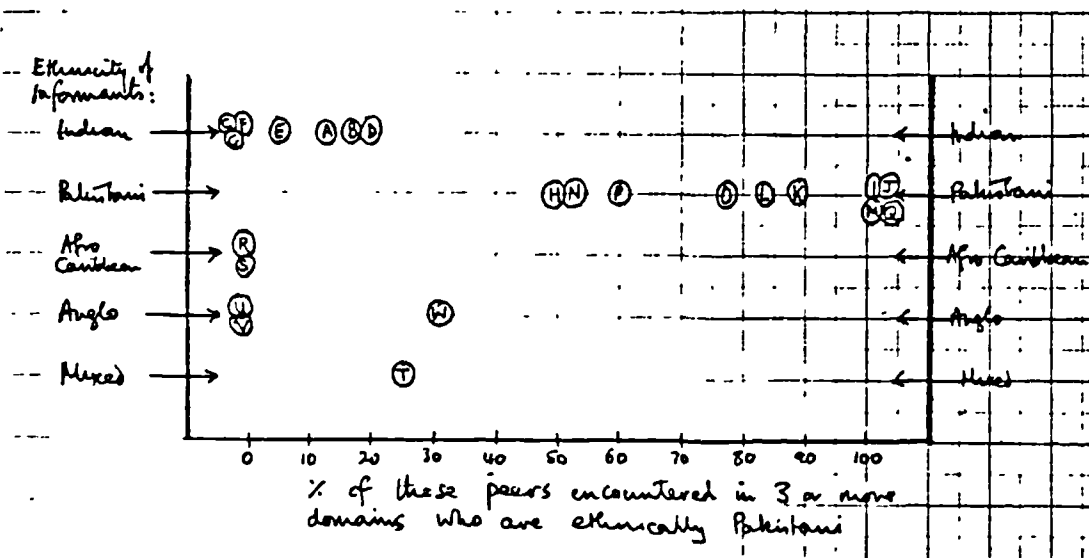


Chart 12.4: interactional involvement with ethnically Afro-Caribbean peers in 3 or more domains, for each informant (by ethnicity)

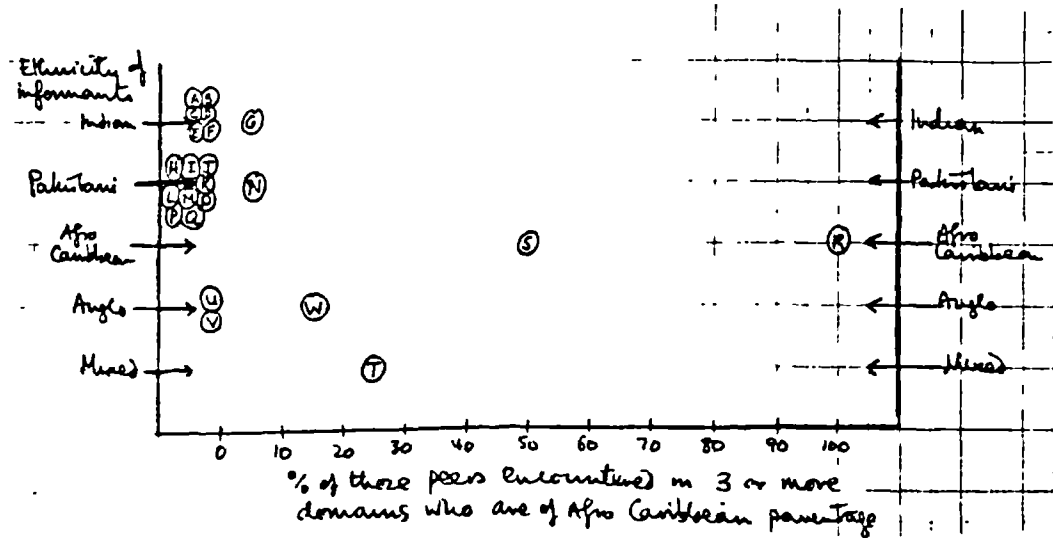
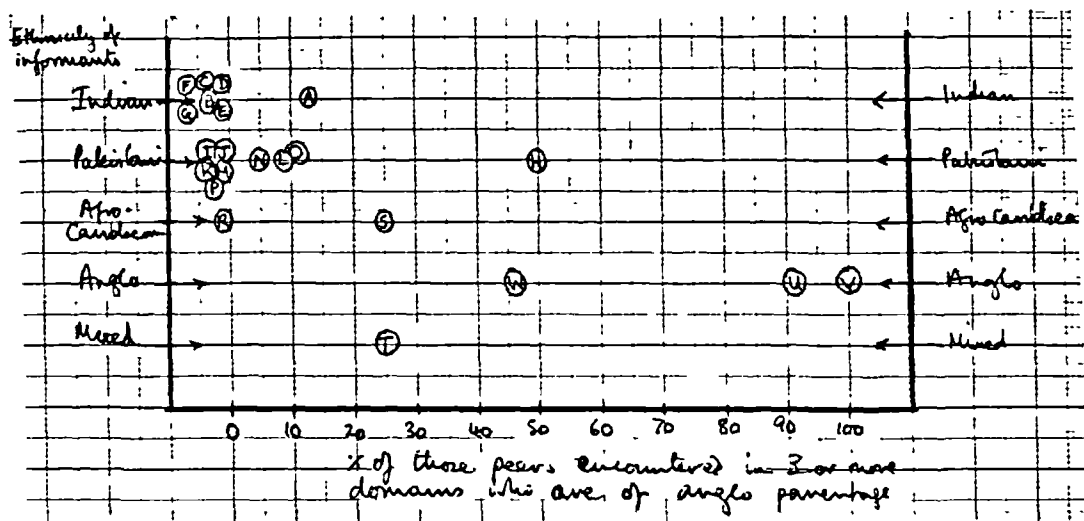


Chart 12.5: interactional involvement with ethnically Anglo peers in three or more domains, for each informant (by ethnicity)



From these charts it is possible to identify individuals who differ from others from the same ethnic group, so that we can, for example, name Ai, Di and Bi as having a marginally greater proportion of interethnic close associations than the other ethnically Indian boys (see Chart 12.2). In Chart 12.3, H,N and P differ quite strikingly from the other Pakistani boys; in 12.4 Sw has a much larger proportion of ethnic close associations than Rw, and W has much less exclusively Anglo ties (Chart 12.5). Finally, these individuating charts bring T into the analysis, whose multiplex peer ties seem evenly distributed across several categories.

In considering the relationship between ascribed ethnicity and interactional association with different ethnic groups, it is not possible to generalise to any great extent (or to say how typical or not the sub-group patterns might be of British schoolchildren generally). However, within the limits of this study, the portrait above of subgroup means is useful in so far as it gives us a picture of local norms with reference to which individual non-conformists can be identified. In due course we will return to several of these and draw both ISA and language data into their description. In the meantime, it is necessary to turn now to a consideration of ascribed ethnicity in relation to patterns of psycho-social identification.

## 12.2 Fixed Ethnicity and Socio-psychological Identification with Ethnic Groups

How strongly do informants from varying ethnic backgrounds currently, idealistically or aversively identify with their own and other ethnic groups around them?

Table 12.3 presents ethnic subgroup means on the strength of current identification with 'English kids', 'Indian kids', 'Pakistani kids', 'West Indian kids', Ingroup adults (i.e. 'Indian adults' for ethnically Indian kids, 'Pakistani adults' for ethnically Pakistani kids etc.) and 'Teachers'. It also

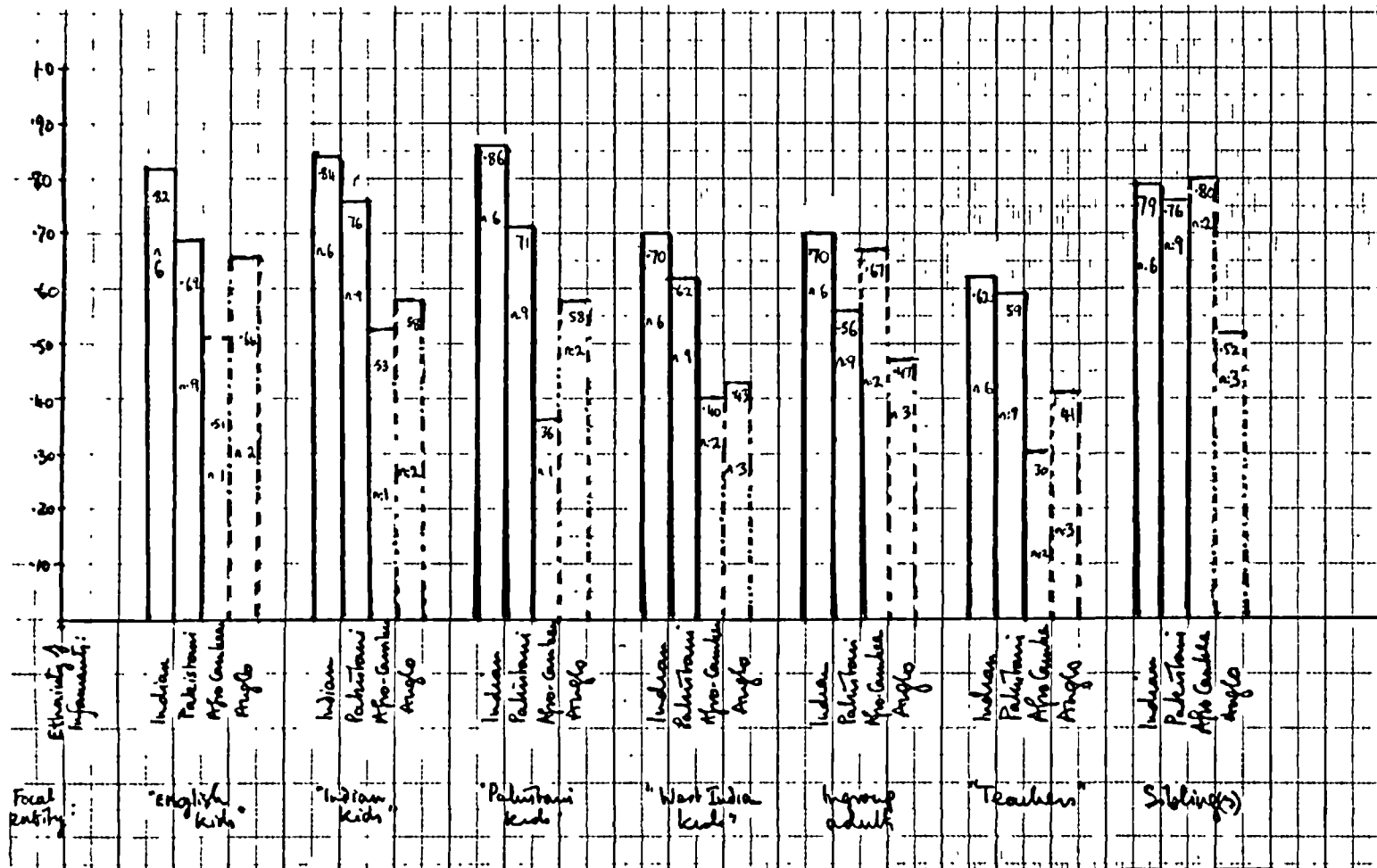
TABLE 12.3 MEAN CURRENT IDENTIFICATION SCORES, BY ETHNIC SUBGROUP

Current identification with	Informants of Indian Parentage (n=6)		Informants of Pakistani Parentage (n=9)		Informants of Afro-Caribbean Parentage (n=2(1))		Informants of Anglo Parentage (n=2,3)		Informants of Mixed Parentage (n=1)	
	$\bar{x}$	$\sigma$	$\bar{x}$	$\sigma$	$\bar{x}$	$\sigma$	$\bar{x}$	$\sigma$	$\bar{x}$	
'English kids'	0.82	.14	.69	.23	(0.51)		.66	.16	(.80)	
'Indian kids'	.84	.15	.76	.20	(.53)		.58	.08	(.76)	
'Pakistani kids'	.86	.14	.71	.20	(.36)		.58	.08	(.88)	
'West Indian kids'	.70	.20	.62	.17	.40	.16	.43	.21	(.81)	
Ingroup adults	.70	.12	.56	.23	.67	.03	.47	.19		
'Teachers'	.62	.16	.59	.19	.30	.07	.41	.23	(.86)	
Sibling(s)	.79	.20	.78	.16	.80	.09	.52	.18	(.80)	

Chart 12.7 presents these in bar-graph form (excluding the informant of mixed parentage).



CHART 12.7: MEAN SCORES ON CURRENT IDENTIFICATIONS, BY INFORMANTS' ETHNIC SUBGROUPS AND FOCAL ENTITIES



presents data on current identification with siblings, so that identification with ethnic group entities can be seen in the slightly wider context of identification with entities that are essentially less generic and more individualised.

In terms of ethnic extraction, there is obviously nothing that one can sensibly say about Anglo and Afro-Caribbean groups since these sometimes comprise only two, even one respondent. But with regard to ethnically Indian and Pakistani informants, the former on average have stronger current identification with all the collective entities than the latter. Indeed in some cases, this is a bit stronger than their current identification with the more specific, sometimes singular entity sibling(s).

Another point to emerge from this data is the extent to which informants regard themselves as currently similar to ethnic outgroups. Indeed apart from the two Anglos, none of the ethnic subgroups currently identify most strongly with their ingroup. Admittedly, ethnically Indian informants' mean current identification with 'Pakistani kids' is only marginally greater than with 'Indian kids', and the same is true of informants of Pakistani extraction in relation to those same entities (in reverse, of course). But clearly the strong polarisation detected in relation to interactional association is not replicated in patterns of psycho-social identification: occupying multiplex networks that are predominantly co-ethnic does not mean that 'empathy' is exclusively with the ingroup. Indeed, cross-ethnic current identification does not only occur in relation to Asian entities: for informants of both Indian and Pakistani parentage, current identification with 'English kids' is nearly as strong as it is with 'Pakistani' and 'Indian kids'.

With regard to 'West Indian kids', both ethnically Indian and Pakistani informants appear on average to have less current identification than with the other 'kids' entities; both subgroups also appear to see themselves as less similar to ingroup adults than to the kids with whom they identify most strongly.

'Teachers' as an entity elicits marginally more current identification from Pakistani informants than ingroup adults, though this position is reversed for informants of Indian parentage.

Shifting the focus away from entities whom informants regard as similar to them as they are now, towards idealistic identifications - towards entities and their relation to 'me-as-I-would-like-to-be', Table 12.4 presents mean scores for 'bio-ethnic' subgroups, which are in turn presented graphically in Chart 12.8.

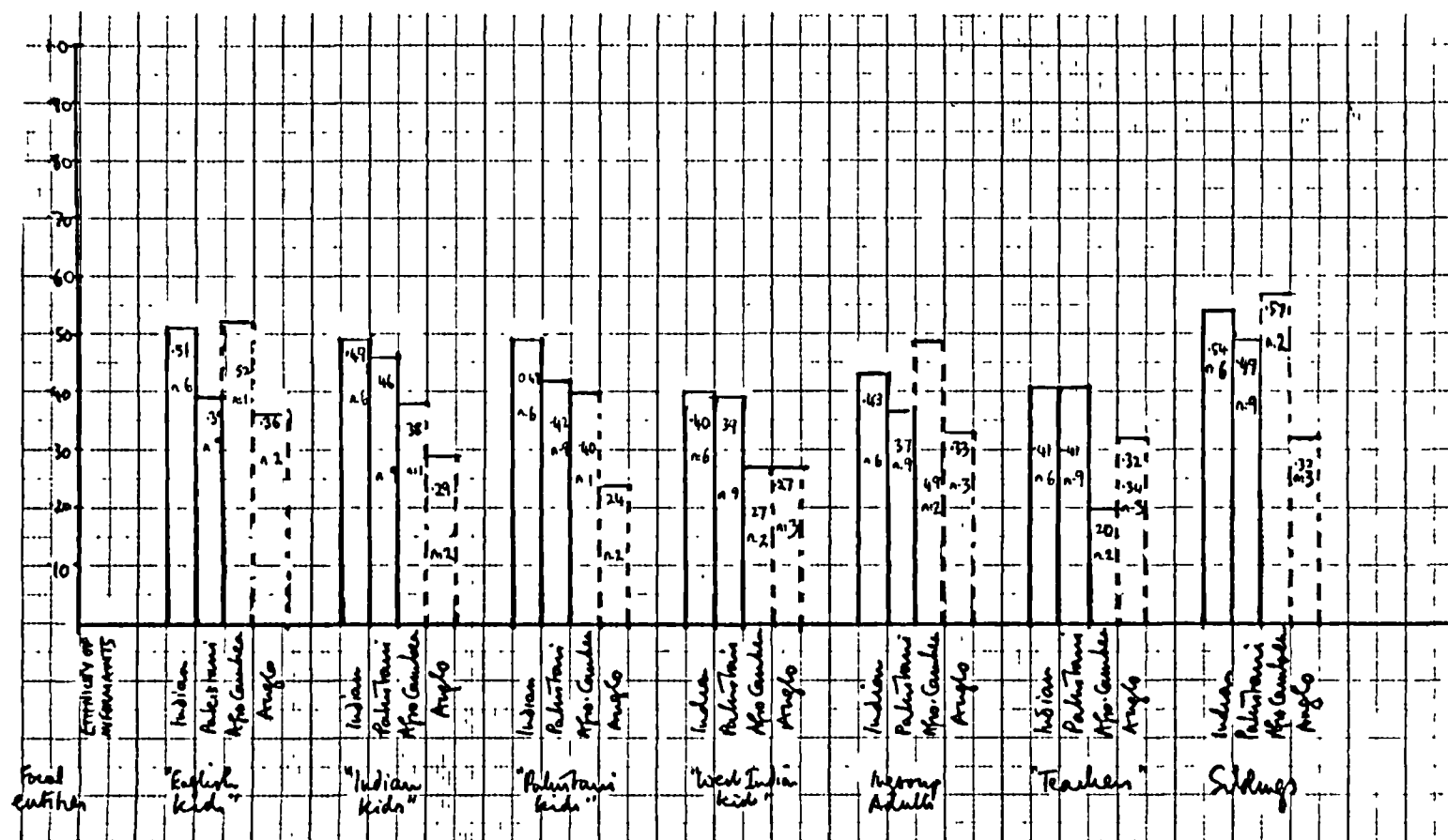
The most striking thing here is that idealistic identifications are virtually always much weaker than current ones. As the histograms show, informants generally perceive there to be much more overlap between entities and their current selves, than between entities and their ideal selves. Borrowing Weinreich's definition of the distinction between on the one hand 'membership groups', which are those entities which overlap a good deal with 'me-as-I-am-now', and on the other 'reference groups', which are those closely associated with the ideal self, we could say that informants relate to these collective entities much more strongly in a 'membership' than a 'reference' capacity: they aspire to similarity much less than they actually feel it now. Indeed, this pattern is in fact replicated throughout the data, and does not merely occur with regard to the entities listed here. 'Siblings' also elicits weaker idealistic identification than current, and it is fairly representative of the more personalised entities in this regard. Whether this consistent difference reflects an enduring psycho-social orientation amongst my informants (so that rather than in terms of aspiration, their perception of the people and groups around them are much more strongly influenced by a sense of existing comparability), or whether this is an artifact of the interview and elicitation procedures is hard to establish.

With regard to the patterns of idealistic identification themselves, again there is little to say about Anglo and Afro-

TABLE 12.4 MEAN IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION SCORE, BY ETHNIC SUBGROUP

Idealistic Identification with	Informants of Indian Parentage		Informants of Pakistani Parentage		Informants of Afro-Caribbean Parentage (n=2(1))		Informants of Anglo Parentage		Informants of Mixed Parentage (n=1)	
	$\bar{x}$	$\sigma$	$\bar{x}$	$\sigma$	$\bar{x}$	$\sigma$	$\bar{x}$	$\sigma$	$\bar{x}$	$\sigma$
'English kids'	.51	.12	.39	.20	(.52)		.36	.17	(.47)	
'Indian kids'	.49	.11	.46	.17	(.38)		.29	.06	(.37)	
'Pakistani kids'	.49	.09	.42	.18	(.40)		.24	.12	(.47)	
'West Indian kids'	.40	.12	.39	.13	.27	.22	.27	.17	(.41)	
Ingroup adults	.43	.05	.37	.14	.49	.01	.33	.22		
'Teachers'	.41	.07	.41	.12	.20	.01	.32	.25	(.41)	
Siblings	.54	.06	.49	.16	.57	.02	.32	.21	.35	

CHART 12.8: MEAN SCORES ON IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATIONS, BY ETHNIC SUBGROUP OF INFORMANTS & FOCAL ENTITIES



Caribbean ethnic outgroups, except that consideration of these must be deferred for case studies of individuals. The ethnically Indian informants however again generally have stronger idealistic identifications than those of Pakistani parentage, and as in the case of current identification, the strongest collective idealistic identifications are with 'English kids', 'Indian kids' and 'Pakistani kids'. Aspirations to be similar are however more strongly related to the entity 'Siblings' than to these collective entities, and this is also the case for ethnically Pakistani informants. Otherwise the latter do not differentiate much between any of the 'kid' and 'adult' entities, with the possible exception of 'Indian kids' with whom idealistic identification is marginally greater.

Table 12.5 and Chart 12.9 set out the data on contra-identification.

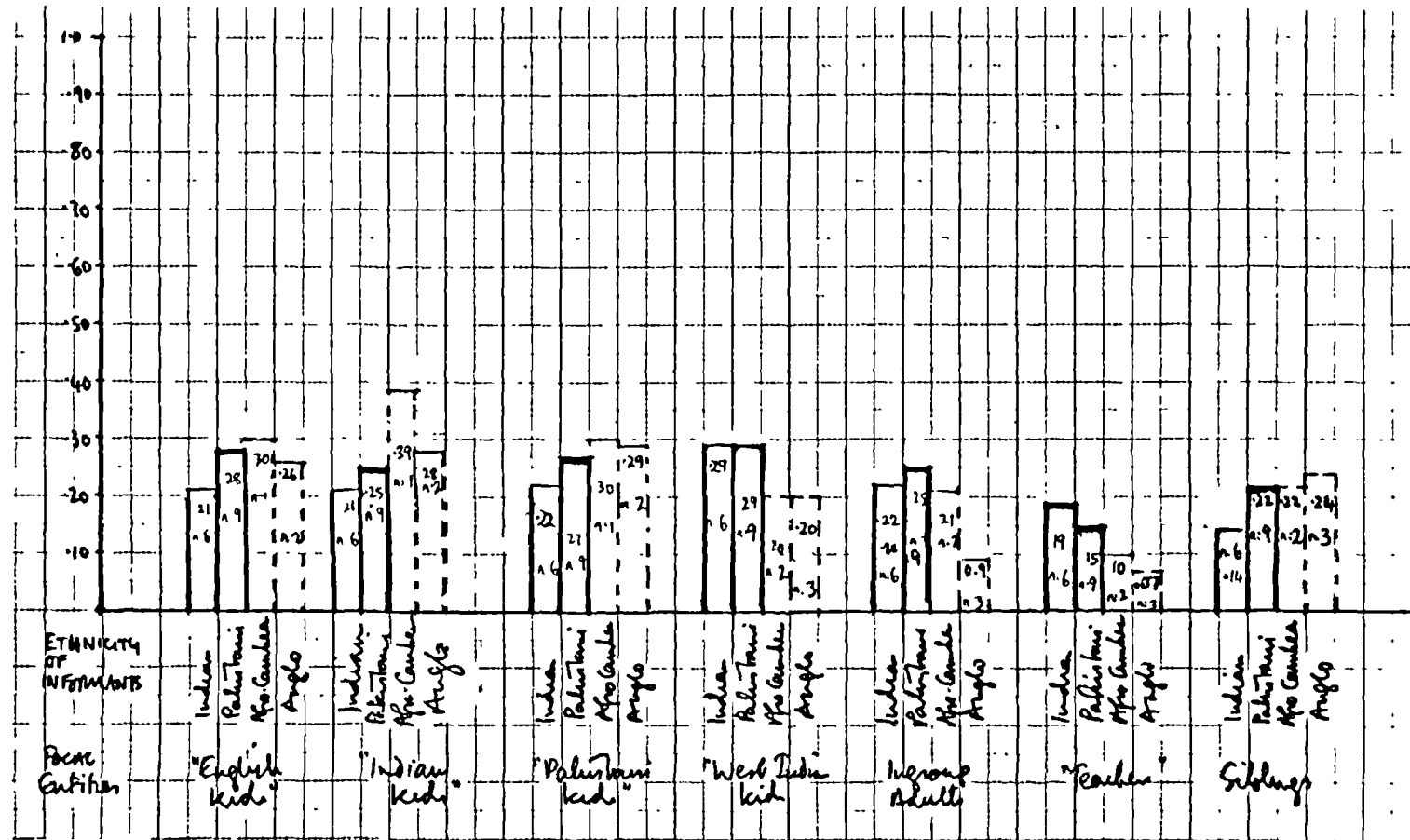
Idealistic identifications were weaker than current identifications: contra-identifications - the desire not to be similar to particular people and groups - are weaker than both. With regard to mean differences between ethnically Indian and Pakistani informants, the latter usually score higher on contra-identifications than the former - this reverses (and confirms) the pattern with regard to idealistic identifications. An exception to this concerns the entity 'West Indian kids', where the mean contra-identification of ethnically Indian informants is fairly high relative to their other contra-identifications. Even here though, 'West Indian kids' hardly stand out as a strong 'negative reference group' (cp. e.g. Weinreich 1979a:167; 1980:14).

To summarise the main gist of this account in terms of ethnic subgroup means, it is simply necessary to reiterate the fact that in contrast to multiplex network associations, patterns of psycho-social identification do not show strong ingroup bias and clear ethnic exclusivity.

TABLE 12.5 MEAN CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION SCORES, BY ETHNIC SUBGROUP

Contra- Identification with	Informants of Indian Parentage		Informants of Pakistani Parentage		Informants of Afro-Caribbean Parentage (n=2(1))		Informants of Anglo Parentage		Informants of Mixed Parentage (n=1)	
	$\bar{x}$	$\sigma$	$\bar{x}$	$\sigma$	$\bar{x}$	$\sigma$	$\bar{x}$	$\sigma$	$\bar{x}$	$\sigma$
'English kids'	.21	.14	.28	.11	(.30)		.26	.00	(.22)	
'Indian kids'	.21	.09	.25	.10	(.39)		.28	.02	(.40)	
'Pakistani kids'	.22	.07	.27	.10	(.30)		.29	.00	(.29)	
'West Indian kids'	.29	.14	.29	.12	.20	.00	.20	.12	(.35)	
Ingroup adults	.22	.10	.25	.11	.21	.13	.09	.06		
'Teachers'	.19	.07	.15	.07	.10	.04	.07	.07	(.40)	
Siblings	.14	.05	.22	.13	.22	.00	.24	.07	(.46)	

CHART 12.9: MEAN SCORES ON CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION, BY INFORMANTS' ETHNIC SUBGROUP AND FOCAL ENTITIES





Translating this into sociolinguistic terms, we may hypothesise that while cohesive interactional relations may involve informants in sustained processes of interpersonal accommodation likely to favour the acquisition and use of linguistic variants that may happen to be ethnically distinctive, it would be incorrect to automatically assume (as might Milroy perhaps?) that such variants reflected a continuing commitment to differentiate oneself as a member of one ethnic group from the others around. The data suggests that in general the informants here are not cognitively set in such a way that when encountering a language item with a distinctive ethnic provenance, they would only filter in and reproduce those marking the ethnic ingroup. In general, the ISA data suggest a psycho-social orientation to quite liberal intergroup exchange amongst peers.

Such then appears to be the position with regard to (ascribed) ethnic groups and psycho-social identification analysed in terms of group means. When examining the relationship between identification and language (and identification and network), the individual speaker will enter as a more important unit, and so it is useful to set out how individuals of different ethnic extraction perform on these measures of identification. Referring back to the discussion in section 8.5, there are two ways of doing this: firstly, one may display everyone's index score with regard to each type of identification with each of the relevant entities. The second approach initially gives a general characterisation to each individual in terms of which entity/entities he/she identifies with most and least: inter-individual comparisons come later (see section 8.5.2).

Charts 12.10 to 12.27 set out the data in a way appropriate to the first approach. Individual strengths of identification are shown for all the (relevant) identification indices, and informants' ethnicities are also indicated. Apart from noting the much greater spread of scores within ethnic subgroups than occurred in relation to interactional involvement (such that individuals who do not conform to the rest of the subgroup are much

CHART 12.10: CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH 'ENGLISH KIDS'

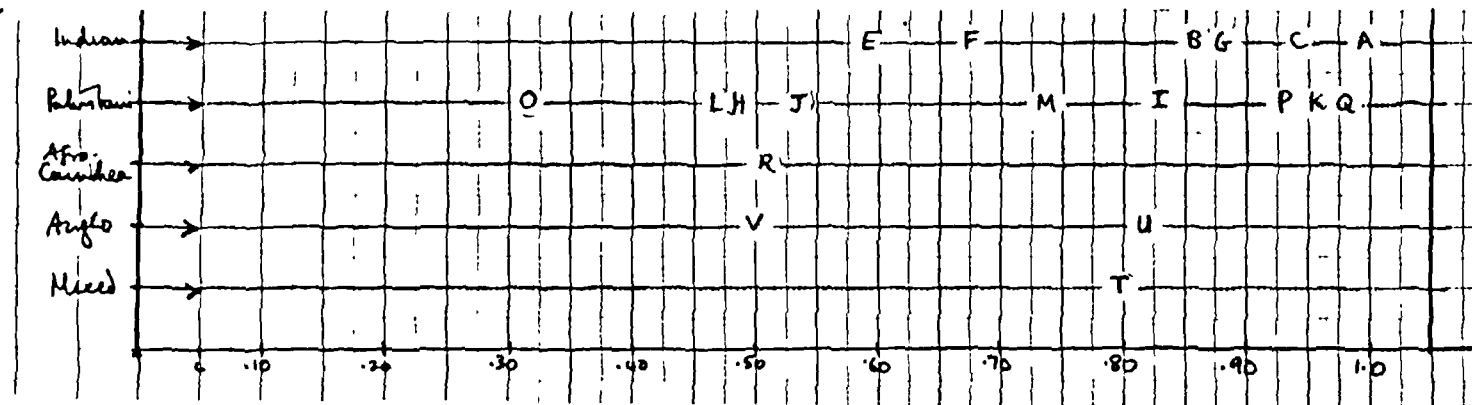


CHART 12.11: IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH 'ENGLISH KIDS'

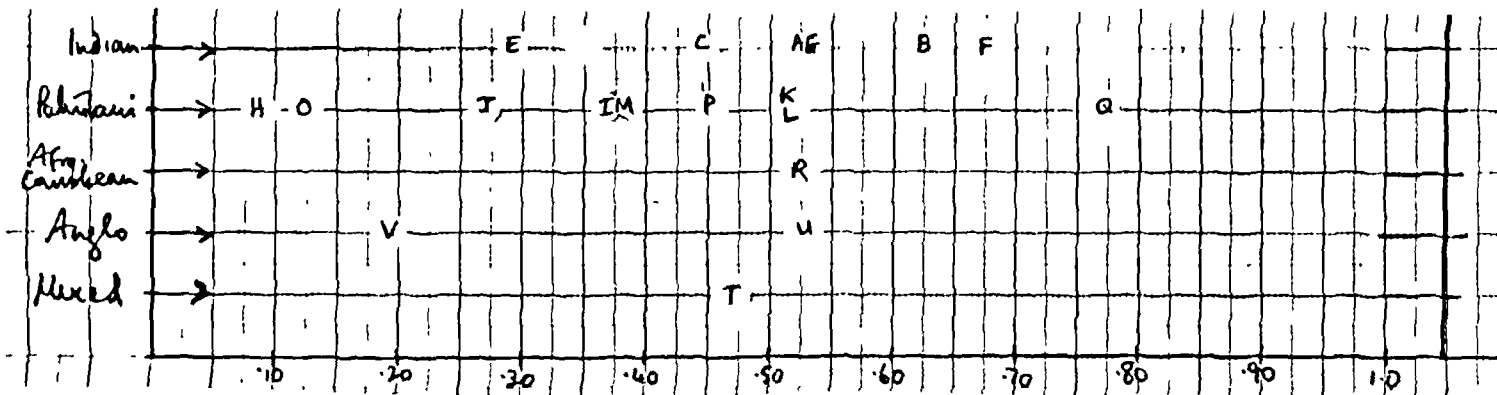


CHART 12.12: CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION WITH 'ENGLISH KIDS'

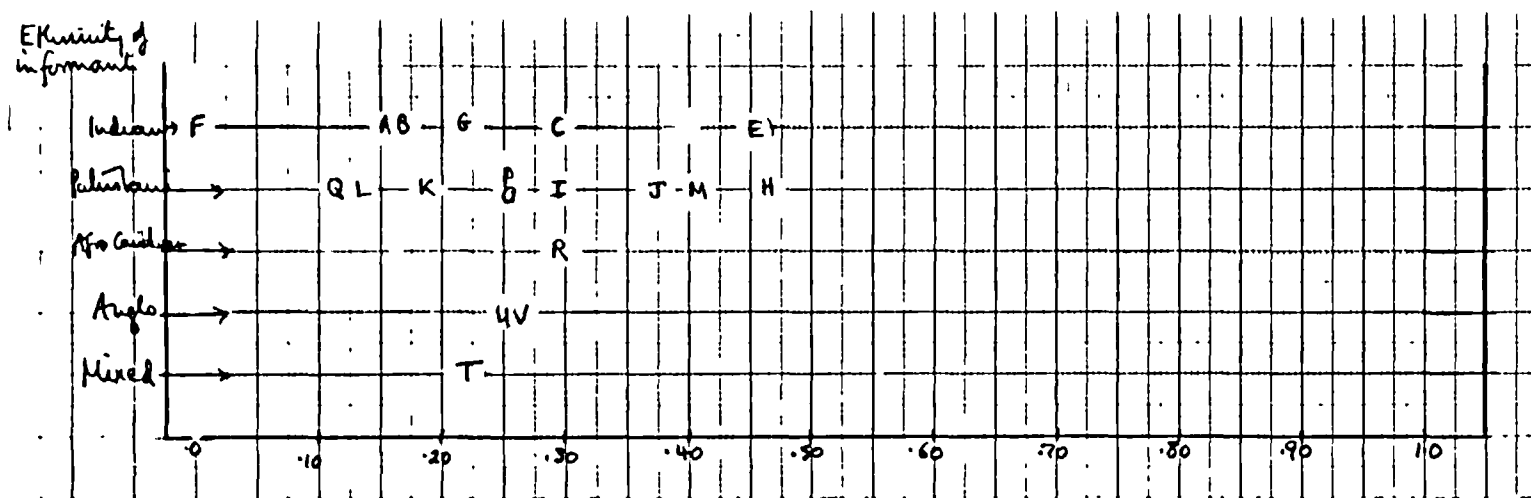


CHART 12.13: CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH 'INDIAN KIDS'

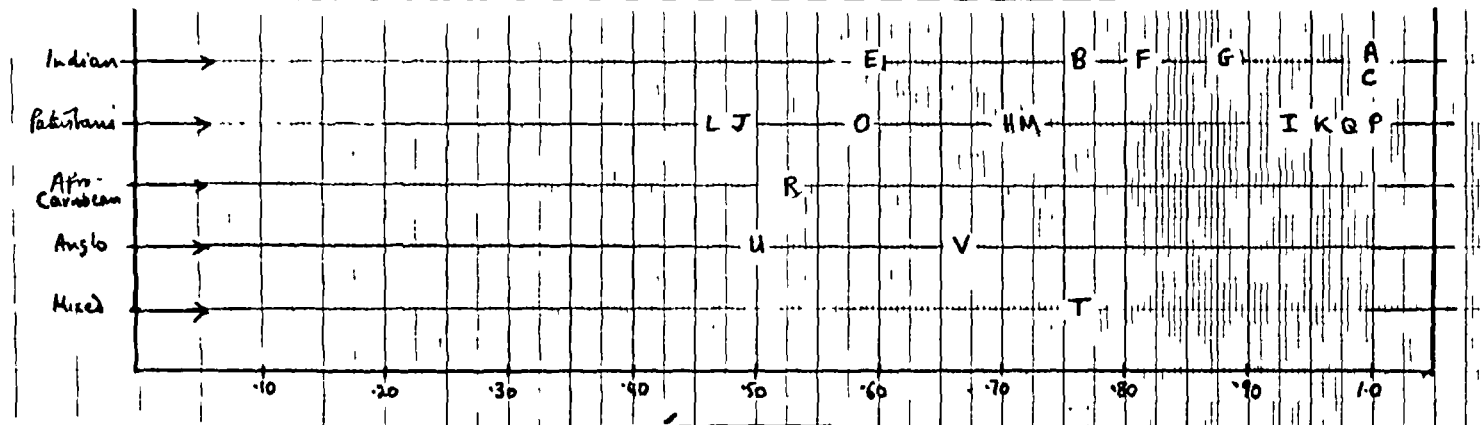


CHART 12.14: IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH 'INDIAN KIDS'

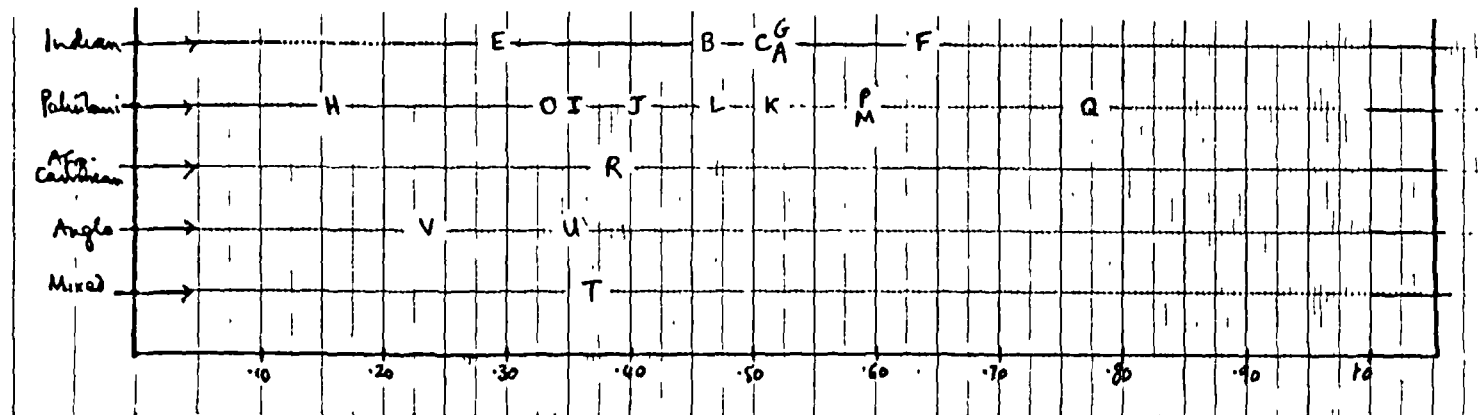


CHART 12.15: CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION WITH 'INDIAN KIDS'

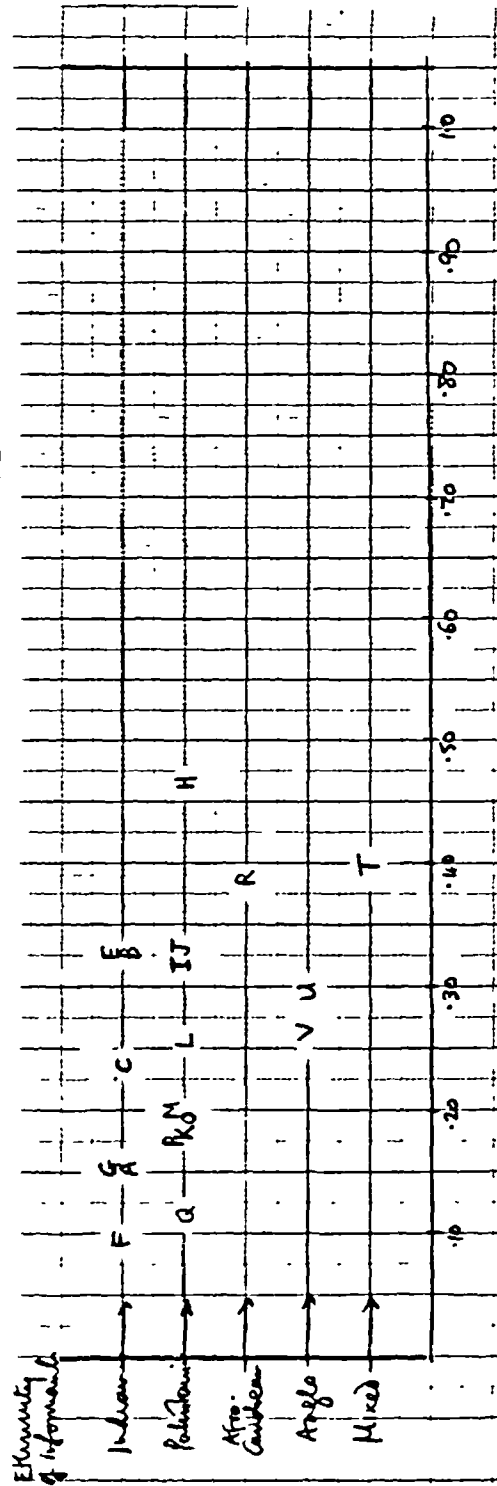


CHART 12.16: CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH 'PAKISTANI KIDS'

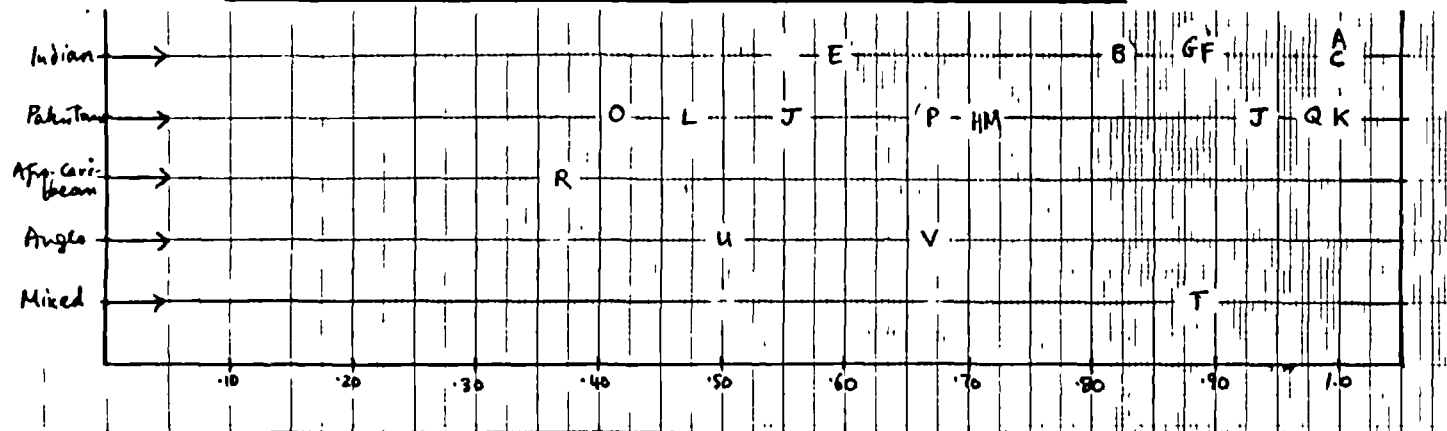
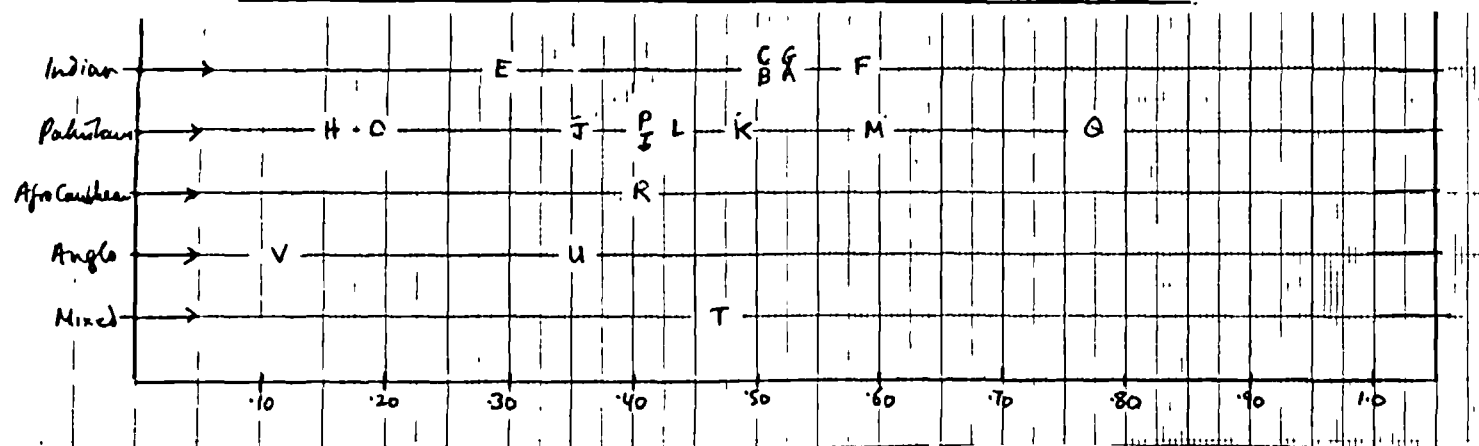


CHART 12.17: IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH 'PAKISTANI KIDS'



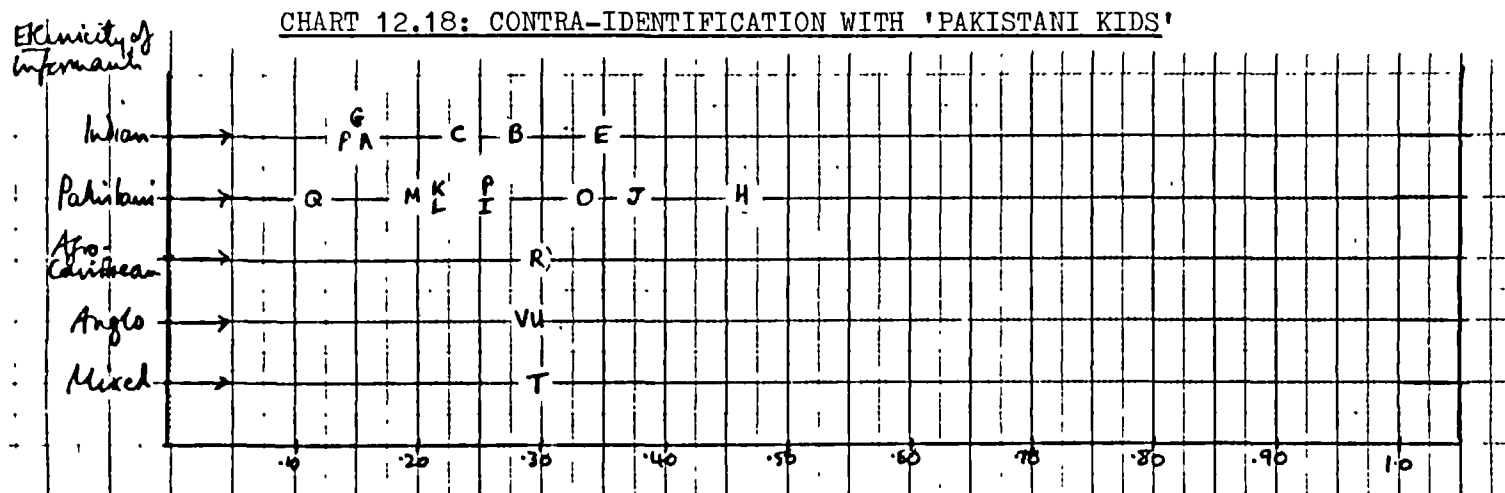


CHART 12.19: CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH 'WEST INDIAN KIDS'

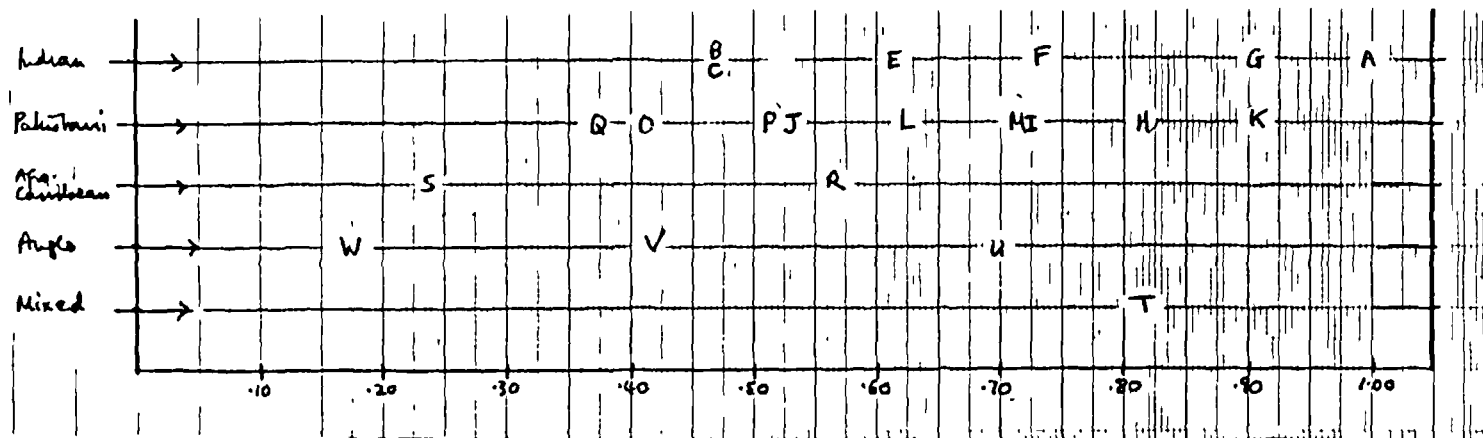


CHART 12.20: IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH 'WEST INDIAN KIDS'

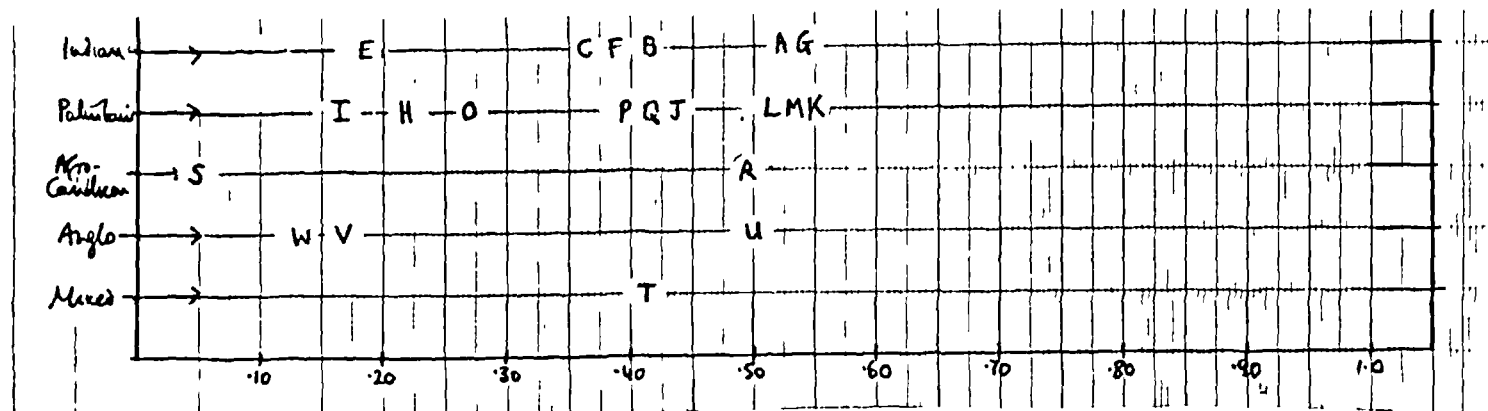




CHART 12.21: CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION WITH 'WEST INDIAN KIDS'

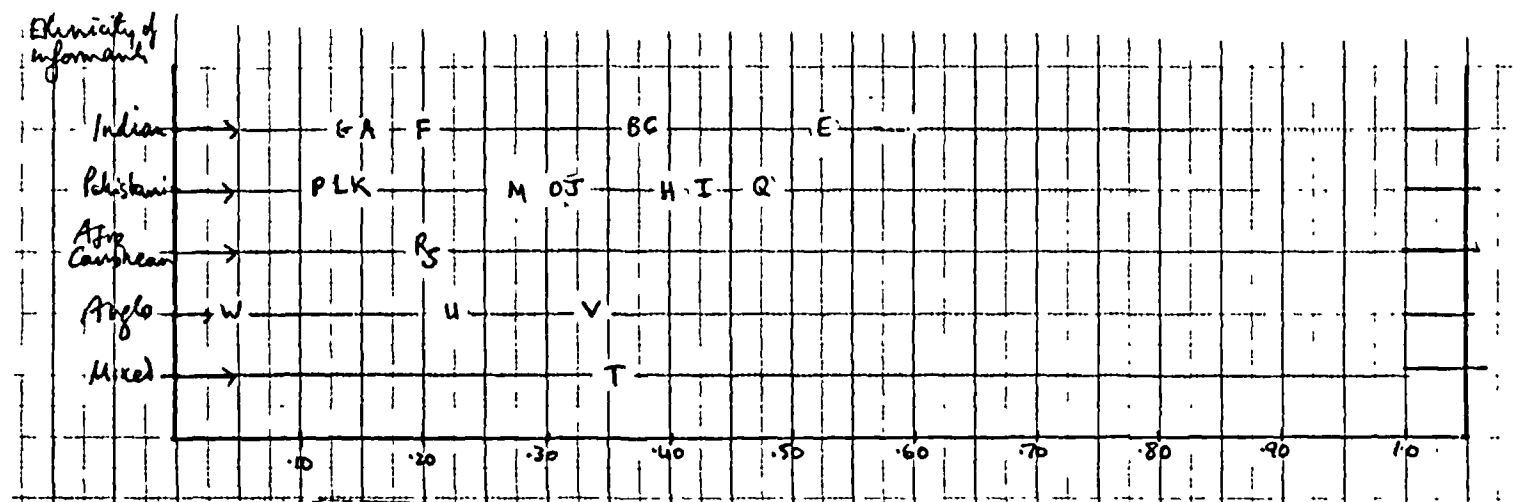


CHART 12.22: CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH INGROUP ADULTS

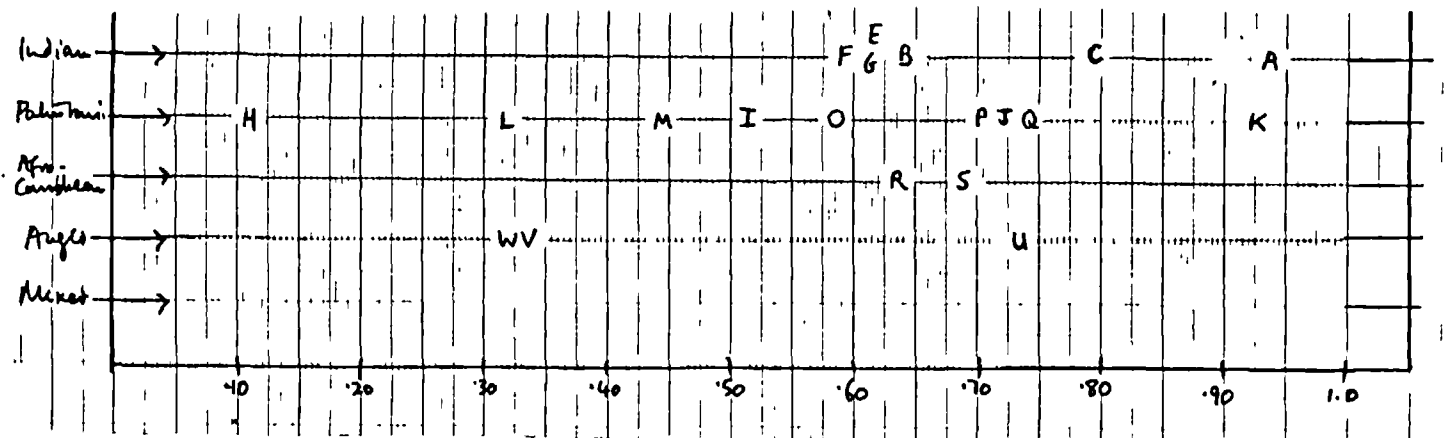


CHART 12.23: IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH INGROUP ADULTS

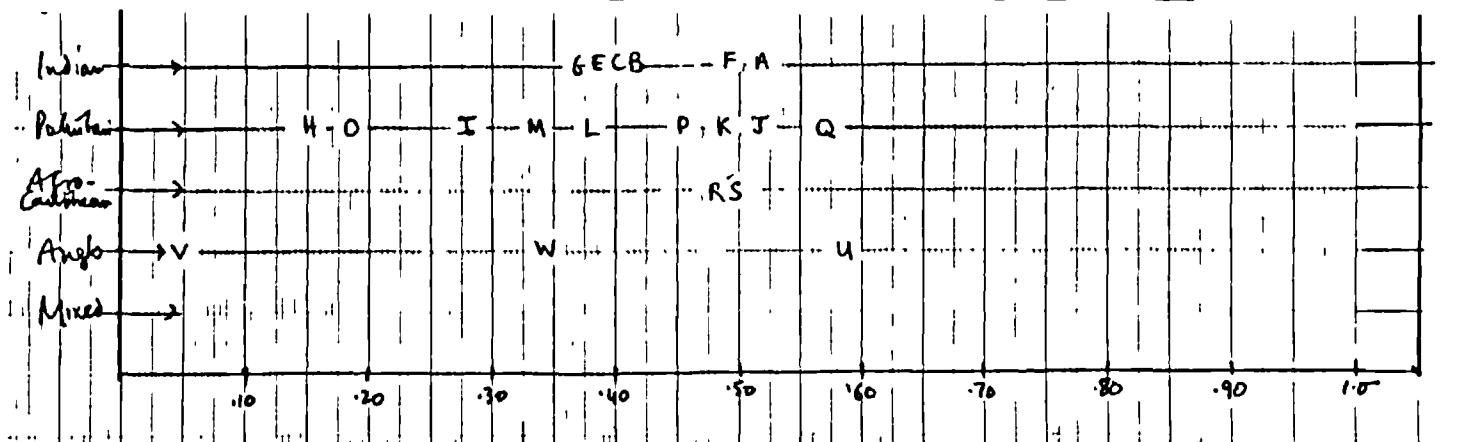


CHART 12.24: CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION WITH INGROUP ADULTS

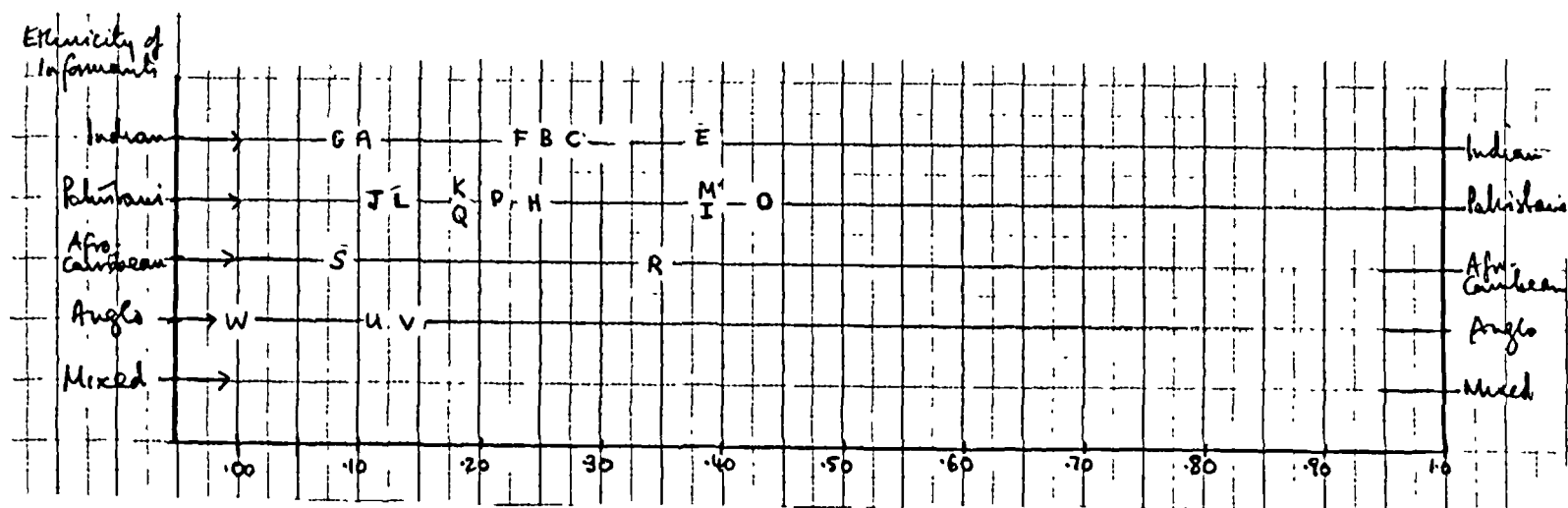


CHART 12.25: CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH 'TEACHERS'

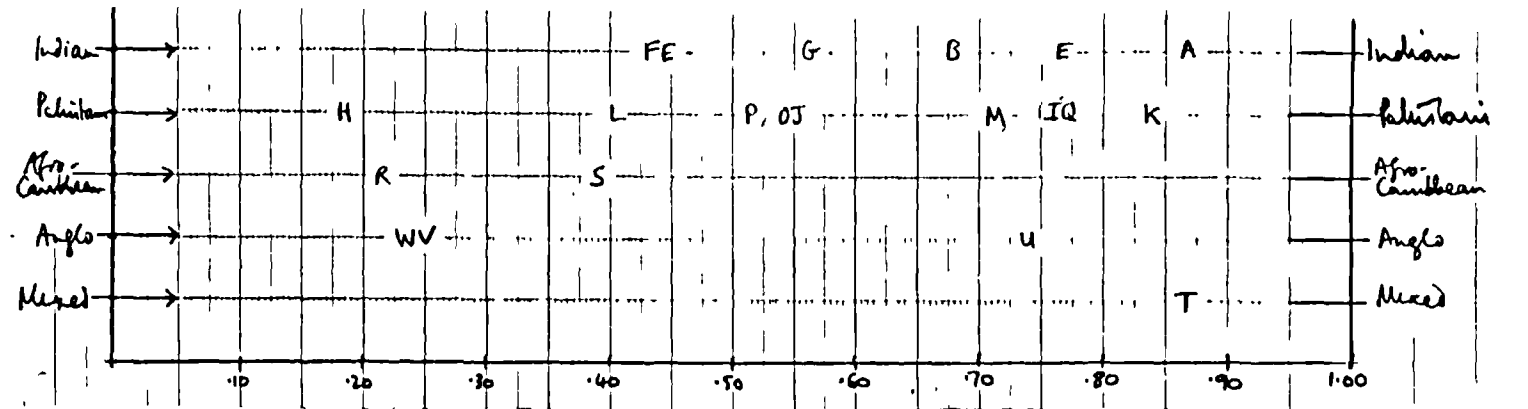


CHART 12.26: IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH 'TEACHERS'

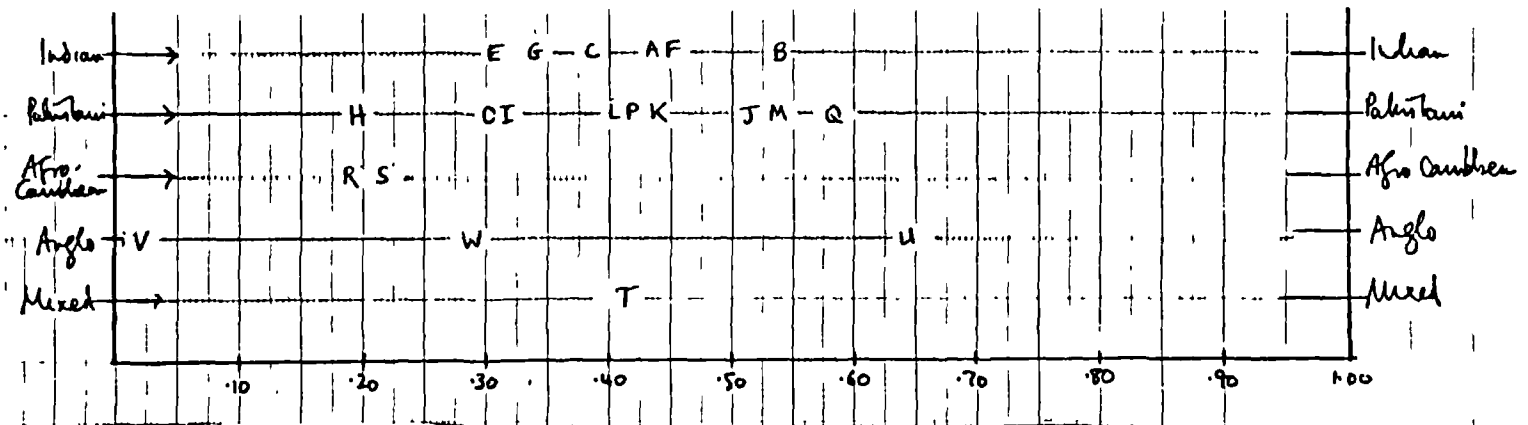
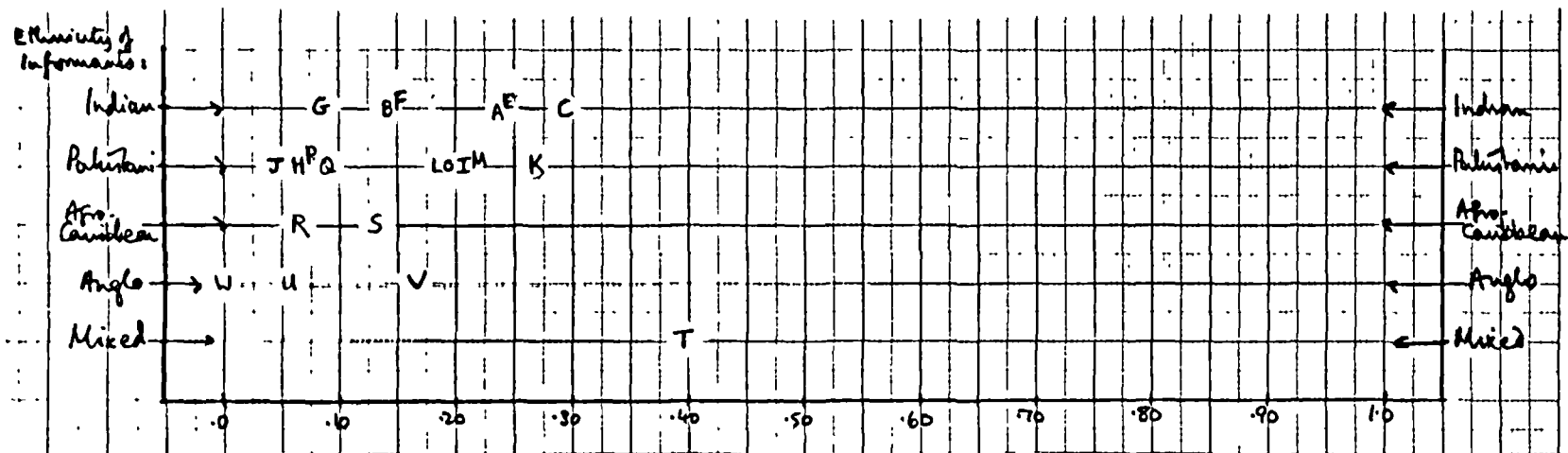


CHART 12.27: CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION WITH 'TEACHERS'



less easily spotted), we can pass over these without comment at present.

Table 12.6 shows a number of informants within each fixed ethnic category whose strongest identification is with e.g. 'Indian kids', 'Pakistani kids' or a combination (this is in line with the second approach). It also shows who the individuals in each cell are, and the diacritics 's' and 'w' indicate whether this predominant identification is strong or weak (see Table 8.8 above).

At an individual level, this confirms the picture to emerge from the analysis in terms of group means: only one informant (Ue) has predominant identification exclusively with his own ethnic category. The majority have predominant identifications with outgroup entities in addition to their ingroup, and in quite a large number of cases (six or seven), the ethnic ingroup is not amongst those entities with which informants identify most (B,O,P,H,L,V and possibly T).

### 12.3 The Relation Between Patterns of Interactional Association and Psycho-social Identification

Some comments have been made about the relationship between network and ISA scores in terms of group means. It is worth now looking more closely at the connection between interaction and identification as this affects individuals: for example, do those individuals who have the greatest proportion of ethnically Anglo kids amongst their closest associates, also have the strongest current identification with 'English kids'? Do those with the smallest proportion of multiplex Anglo ties have the weakest current identification? Framed in this way, investigation will entail taking each individual's idealistic, current and contra-identification scores separately and matching up each in turn with the relevant network measures. The method readily yields itself to cross-sectional analysis and can make extensive use of scatterplots. An alternative strategy works

TABLE 12.6 HOW MANY AND WHICH INFORMANTS IN EACH ETHNIC CATEGORY PREDOMINANTLY IDENTIFY  
WITH WHICH PEER ENTITIES

The ' — ' entities with which there is predominant identification:

Ethnicity of Informants	All entities equally	'In., Pa., En. kids'	'In., Pa., WI kids'	'Pa. and Indian kids'	'English kids'	'Indian kids'	'Pakistani (and WI kids)'	'West Indian kids'
Indian	3 [A <sup>S</sup> E <sup>W</sup> G]			2 [C <sup>S</sup> F]	1 [B]			
Pakistani	2 [J <sup>W</sup> K <sup>S</sup> ]	1 [Q <sup>S</sup> ]	(1) [M]	1 (2) [I <sup>S</sup> (M)]		2 [O <sup>W</sup> P <sup>S</sup> ]		2 [H L]
Afro- Caribbean	1 (2) [R <sup>W</sup> (S) <sup>W</sup> ]							
Anglo	(1) [W <sup>W</sup> ]				1 [U]	1 [V]		
Mixed							1 [T]	

( ) = uncertainty in placement





TABLE 12.7 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND THE MEDIANS FOR INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION AND  
CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH ETHNICALLY INDIAN PEERS (BY FIXED ETHNICITY)

Current identification with Indian kids										
MEDIAN										
Multiplex interactional association with Indian peers	In.	Pa.	AC.	En.	Mi.	In.	Pa.	AC.	En.	Mi.
	1 100	1 20				5 100	2 50			
		4 80	1 (100)	2 100*			2 50			1 (100)**
	lower				MEDIAN (=.763)	higher				

a  
b  
o  
v  
e  
r  
b  
e  
l  
o  
w

MEDIAN  
(=8.3)

- \* Includes informant with score on the horizontal median, where placing was decided on the toss of a coin
- \*\* Includes informant with score on the vertical median, where placing was decided on the toss of a coin

below on both. This is in fact evident in Table 12.7 though it is helpful also to look at scatterplot 12.1. We cannot say that within either the Indian or Pakistani subgroups there is systematic association between these two variables, and the polarisation of ethnically Indians versus the rest is such that we cannot legitimately talk about an association across the polyethnic peer-group as a whole. Table 12.8 really only tells us what we already know from analysis in terms of subgroup means: on average ethnically Indian informants identify more strongly with 'Indian kids' than other informants, and their interactional ties are far greater. In sum, we cannot say that all things being equal, the more contact an informant has with Indian kids the stronger their current identification with them will be.

Table 12.9 looks at the relationship between multiplex interactional association with ethnically Indian peers and idealistic identification.

Again, were we to ignore ethnicity, we would produce a pattern that suggested quite a strong association between interactional association and idealistic identification with 'Indian kids', but exactly the same caveats apply and the effect would be equally deceptive (see scatterplot 12.2). We must conclude that again there is no systematic association worthy of note. The same is the case with regard to contra-identification with 'Indian kids'; see Table 12.10 and scatterplot 12.3.

What about the association between psycho-social identification and multiplex interactional ties with ethnically Pakistani peers? Table 12.11 sets out the relationship between multiplex interactional association and current identification.

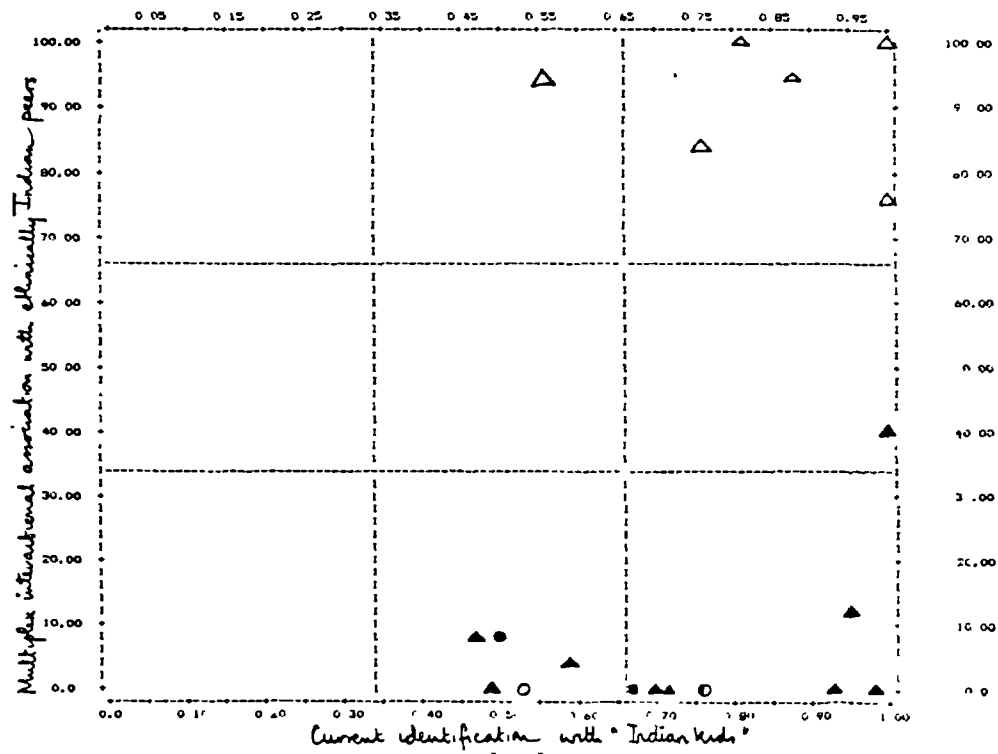
TABLE 12.9 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND THE MEDIANS FOR MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION  
AND IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH ETHNICALLY INDIAN PEERS (BY FIXED ETHNICITY)

Idealistic identification with 'Indian kids'											
MEDIAN											
	In.	Pa.	AC.	En.	Mi.	In.	Pa.	AC.	En.	Mi.	
Multiplex interactional association with ethnically Indian peers	2					4	3				a b o v e
	100*					100	60				MEDIAN (=8.3)
		4	1	2	1		2				b e l o w
		100	(100)	100**	(100)		40				
	lower					MEDIAN (=.465)		higher			

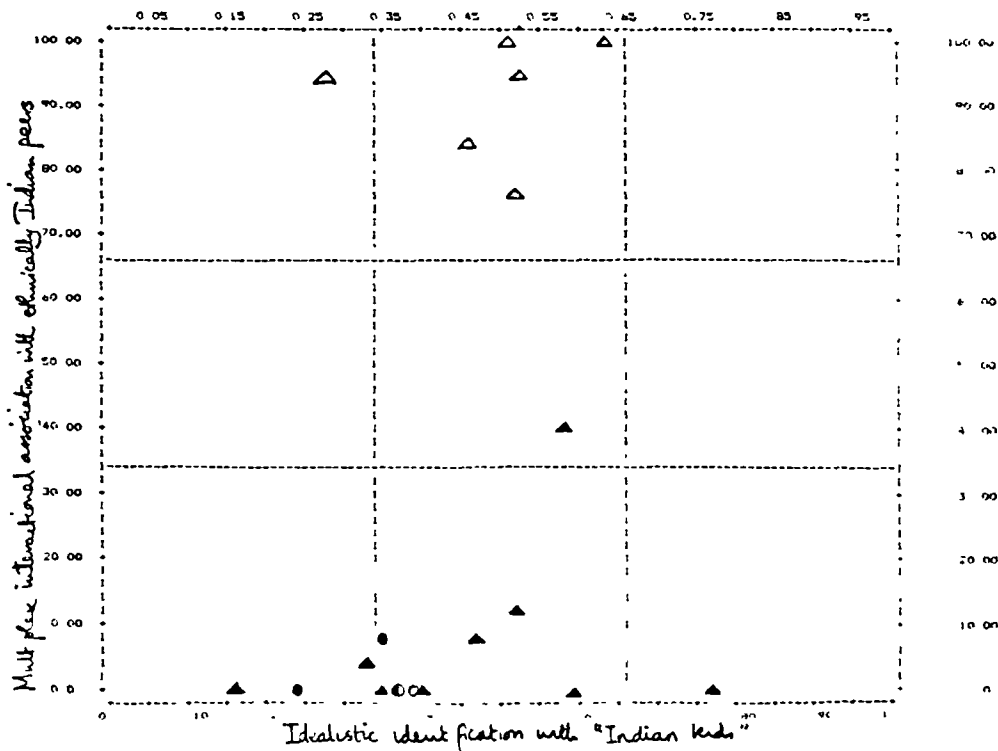
\* Includes informant with score on the vertical median, whose classification was decided on the toss of a coin

\*\* Includes informant with score on the horizontal median, whose classification was decided on the toss of a coin

SCATTERPLOT 12.1: MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION X CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH INDIAN PEERS

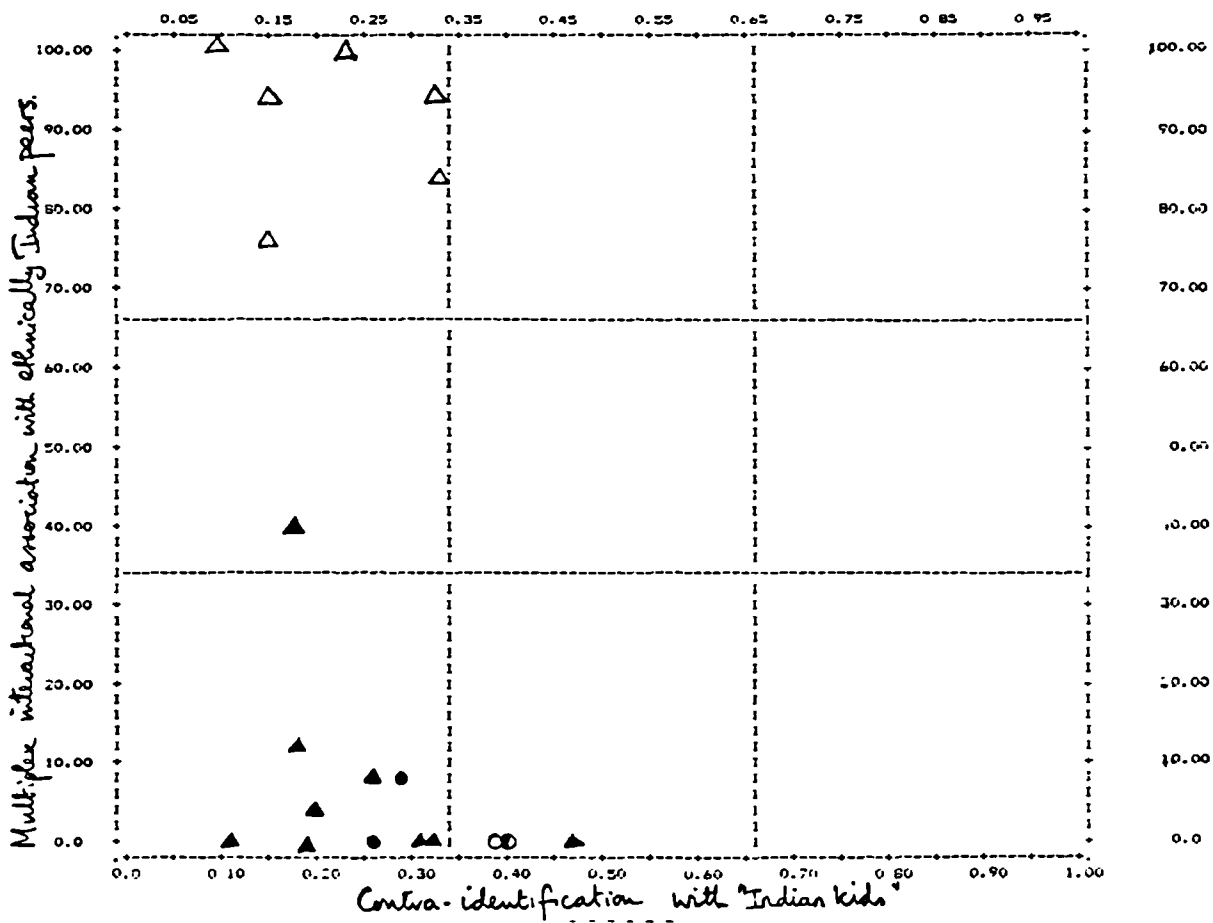


SCATTERPLOT 12.2: MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION X IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH INDIAN PEERS



Key  
 △ : informant of Indian parentage  
 ▲ : informant of Pakistani parentage  
 ○ : informant of Afro-Caribbean parentage  
 ● : informant of Anglo parentage  
 ● : informant of mixed parentage

SCATTERPLOT 12.3: MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION X  
CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION WITH INDIAN PEERS



Key: △ : informants of Indian parentage  
▲ : informants of Pakistani parentage  
○ : informants of Afro-Caribbean parentage  
● : informants of Anglo parentage  
◐ : informant of Mixed parentage

TABLE 12.10 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND THE MEDIANS FOR MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION  
AND CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION WITH ETHNICALLY INDIAN PEERS (BY FIXED ETHNICITY)

Contra-identification with 'Indian kids'										
Multiplex interactional association with Indian peers	MEDIAN									
	In.	Pa.	AC.	En.	Mi.	In.	Pa.	AC.	En.	Mi.
	4	2				2	1			
	100	40				100	25*			
		3				3	1	2	1	
		60				75	(100)	100**	(100)	
	lower					higher				
	MEDIAN (=.258)									
	a b o v e r M E D I A N (=8.3) b e l o w									

\* Includes informant with score on vertical median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

\*\* Includes informant with score on horizontal median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

TABLE 12.11 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND THE MEDIAN FOR MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION  
AND CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH ETHNICALLY PAKISTANI PEERS (BY FIXED ETHNICITY)

Current identification with 'Pakistani kids'										
Multiplex interactional association with ethnically Pakistani peers	MEDIAN									
	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.
		6 100*					3 100			1 (100)**
	1 100		1 (100)	2 100		5 100				
	lower					higher				
	MEDIAN (=.711)									

a  
b  
o  
v  
e

MEDIAN  
(=25)

b  
e  
l  
o  
w

\* includes informant with score on vertical median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

\*\* includes informant with score on horizontal median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

Within subgroups (or rather within the ethnically Pakistani and Indian ones which are just big enough for consideration in this light) we do not have scores distributed diagonally across the median lines which could suggest an association between these two variables intra-ethnically. Neither is there any association across the polyethnic peer-group as a whole - see Table 12.12 and scatterplot 12.4.

TABLE 12.12 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND THE MEDIAN  
FOR MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION  
AND CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH ETHNICALLY  
PAKISTANI PEERS (IGNORING FIXED ETHNICITY)

		Current identification		
Multiplex inter- actional association	below	6 60	4 45	a b o v e
	above	4 40	5 55	b e l o w
		(Median = .711)		Median (=25)

Table 12.13 shows the relationship between interactional association and idealistic identification.

Like Table 12.11 before it, this suggests that there is no systematic association between interactional association and idealistic identification with Pakistani kids. Table 12.14 shows the data for contra-identification and roughly the same picture of no association emerges.



TABLE 12.13 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND THE MEDIAN FOR MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION  
AND IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH ETHNICALLY PAKISTANI PEERS (BY FIXED ETHNICITY)

Idealistic identification with 'Pakistani kids'											
Multiplex interactional association with ethnically Pakistani kids	MEDIAN										
	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	
		5					4				a
		100					100*				b
											o
	1		1	2		5				1	e
	100		(100)	100		100				(100)*	b
											e
											w
	lower					higher					
	MEDIAN (=.439)										

- \* Includes informant with score on vertical median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin
- \*\* Includes informant with score on horizontal median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

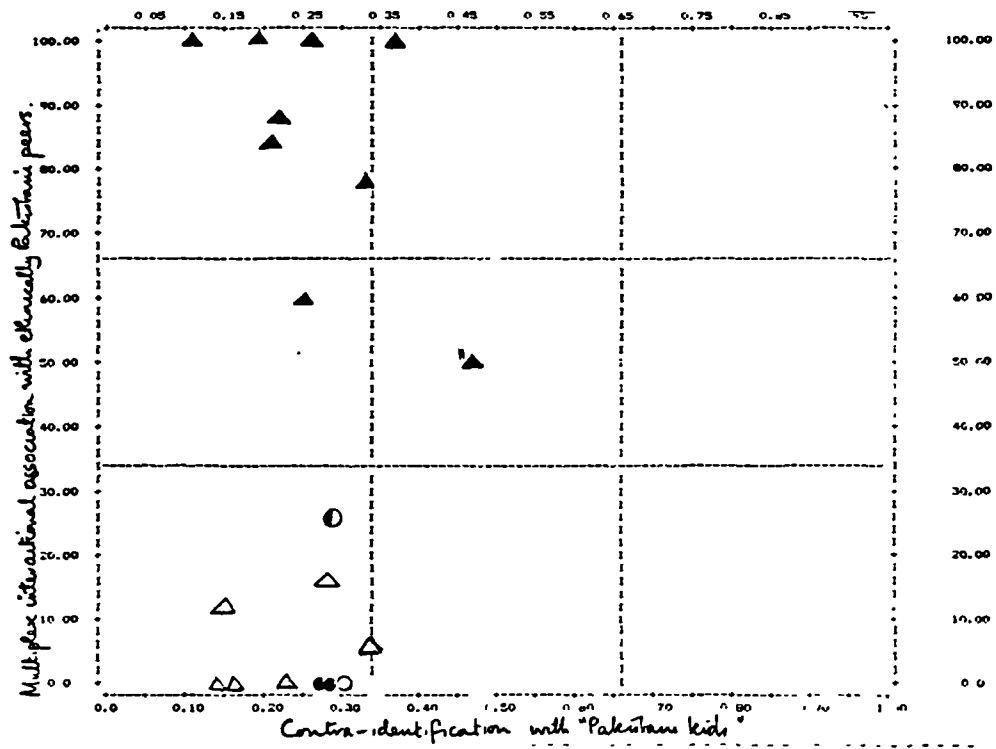
SCATTERPLOT 12.4: MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION X CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH PAKISTANI PEERS

SCATTERPLOT 12.5: MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION X IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH PAKISTANI PEERS

Key:  $\Delta$  : informants of Indian parentage  
 $\blacktriangle$  : informants of Pakistani parentage  
 $\bigcirc$  : informants of Afro-Caribbean parentage  
 $\bullet$  : informants of Anglo parentage

$\odot$  : informant of mixed parentage

SCATTERPLOT 12.6: MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION X CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION WITH PAKISTANI PEERS



Key.  $\Delta$  : informants of Indian parentage  
 $\blacktriangle$  : informants of Pakistani parentage  
 $\circ$  : informants of Afro-Caribbean parentage  
 $\bullet$  : informants of Anglo parentage  
 $\bullet$  : informant of Mixed parentage

TABLE 12.14 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND THE MEDIANS FOR MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION  
AND CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION WITH ETHNICALLY PAKISTANI PEERS (BY FIXED ETHNICITY)

Contra-identification with 'Pakistani kids'											
Multiplex interactional association with ethnically Pakistani peers	MEDIAN										
	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	
		6					3			1	a
		100*					100			(100)**	b
											o
	4					2		1	2		v
	100					100		(100)	100		e
	lower					higher					MEDIAN
											(=25)
	MEDIAN										
	(=.259)										

\* Includes informant with score on vertical median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

\*\* Includes informant with score on horizontal median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

Can we conclude therefore that there is no systematic association between informants' multiplex ties and their psychosocial identifications with kids of Pakistani parentage? In fact, median splits as a way of inspecting associations do lose some information and again it is well to check against the relevant scatterplots, where if we focus upon ethnically Pakistani informants in Scatterplots 12.5 and 12.6, some kinds of association are detectable. In plot 12.6 focusing on the relationship between contra-identification and network association, informant H perhaps acts rather as an 'outlier': if H is removed from consideration the drift downwards from the left hand side to the right (which suggests that the greater the proportion of co-ethnic peers in the Pakistani informants' multiplex peer networks, the less they are likely to counter-identify with the entity 'Pakistani kids') - this drift looks weaker. In plot 12.5 however, focusing on idealistic ingroup identification, there is a drift in the opposite direction which is less dependent on H's contribution. The Pearson product moment correlation coefficient for this indicates a 'moderate correlation and substantial relationship' between these two variables, the  $r$  value being 0.6417. For ethnically Pakistani informants, it does seem that there is some link between multiplex interactional association and psychosocial identification with ethnic peers.

In view of the number of informants with no interactional co-participation in three or more domains with peers of Anglo and Afro-Caribbean parentage, there is little point in tabulating frequency distributions around the medians for network associations and ISA identifications. Scatterplots A.14.1 to A.14.6 in Appendix 14 make it clear that these two (sets of) variables are not systematically associated when it comes to ethnically Anglo and Afro-Caribbean peers.

To sum up, while there appears to be some systematic association amongst ethnically Pakistani informants with regard to co-ethnic peers, generally multiplex interactional associations are here not closely linked to patterns of psycho-social identifi-

cation. The network and ISA measures used here do not appear to be assessing the same thing, as it was feared they might (see Chapter 7.1). Both the associational investigation here and the analyses of group means above indicate that these two different conceptualisations of group membership are empirically distinguishable. Beyond that it suggests that in this peer-group as a whole, the ethnic composition of one's multiplex interactional network is not systematically connected with the strength with which one identifies with the ethnic groups either inside or outside it. Having relatively few ethnically Anglo or Indian multiplex peer associates, for example, will not mean that one identifies only weakly with the entities 'English' and 'Indian kids'.

That is a statement about network and identification strengths: it does not address the question of ethnic preference - more precisely, it does not indicate whether people with exclusively co-ethnic multiplex interactional ties also focus their strongest identifications on that ingroup to the exclusion of others. To answer that question, we must refer to the evidence on intra-individually predominant identifications; Table 12.15 below reproduces Table 8.6 which displayed the conclusions of the verbal analysis of each informant in Appendix 9 (see also Chapter 8.5.2).

To examine the relationship of this data to multiplex interactional association, it is useful to make a three way classification of the network data: we can call multiplex networks exclusively co-ethnic when all peer associates are from the ingroup (and informants score 100%); we can designate them relatively diverse when informants' ingroup association scores are less than 80%; and we can consider ingroup scores of between 81 and 99% as representing the middle range (inspection of charts 12.2 to 12.5, pp.281,282, section 12.1 suggests this to be a reasonable trichotomisation). With this as the horizontal axis, we can construct a vertical axis consisting of three parts, the first concerned with primary identifications exclusively focused

TABLE 12.15 SUMMARY OF INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISATIONS: WHICH  
INFORMANTS PRIMARILY IDENTIFY WITH WHICH ENTITIES

General 'positive' identification ...	In the case of informants ...
With all entities fairly equally	Ai Ei Gi Jp Kp Rw (Sw) (We)
Mostly with 'Indian', 'Pakistani' and 'English kids'	Qp
Mostly with 'Indian', 'Pakistani' and 'West Indian kids'	(Mp)
Mostly with 'Pakistani' and 'Indian kids'	Ci Fi Ip (Mp)
Mostly with 'Pakistani kids' (and 'West Indian kids')	(Tm )
Mostly with 'Indian kids'	Op Pp Ve
Mostly with 'English kids'	Bi Ue
Mostly with 'West Indian kids'	Hp Lp

on the ethnic ingroup, the second attending to primary identifications which focus on one or more ethnic outgroups in addition to the ingroup, and the third for individuals whose strongest identification(s) are with one or more ethnic outgroups exclusively (i.e. individuals who identify more with outgroup kids than co-ethnic kids). This results in a matrix, in which informants can be located (see Table 12.16).

Informants with exclusively co-ethnic multiplex associations do not identify more strongly with their ingroup than with outgroups. Perhaps one might suggest that diverse multiplex peer networks favour primary identification exclusively with outgroups more than totally co-ethnic networks (see the sequence of cells 9, 8 & 7) and that conversely totally co-ethnic networks are more likely to co-occur with primary identifications which encompass the ingroup (compare cells 6,5 and 4). I will later return to

TABLE 12.16 HOW FAR DOES THE ETHNIC EXCLUSIVENESS OF AN INFORMANT'S MULTIPLEX PEER NETWORK RELATE TO ETHNIC EXCLUSIVENESS IN HIS STRONGEST GROUP IDENTIFICATION(S)

<u>Multiplex Interactional Associations</u>		Exclusively (100%) co-ethnic	Fairly exclusive (81 to 99% co-ethnic)	Relatively ethnically diverse (ingroup comprises less than 80%)
Identifi- cations with differ- ent peer entities	Strongest identifi- cation focused on ingroup kids	(1)	(2) Ue	(3)
	Strongest identifi- cation focused on ingroup and out- group kids	(4) Ci Fi Ip Jp (Mp) Qp Rw	(5) Ei Gi Kp	(6) A1 (Sw) (We)
	Strongest identifi- cation focused on outgroup kids	(7) Ve	(8) Bi Lp	(9) Hp Op Pp

[excluded Di, Np, Tm]

one aspect of this possibility (Chapter 14). At this stage anyway, it looks as though generally the relationship between network exclusivity and the exclusiveness of primary identifications is not strongly patterned.



#### 12.4 Summary

This chapter presents a snapshot of some of the dynamics of ethnicity within this peer-group. It has described the empirical relationships between fixed ethnicity, interactional association with peers from different backgrounds, and patterns of ethnic identification.

In general, multiplex peer-group ties are very co-ethnic. Not many outgroup friends cross ethnic boundaries and enter into intra-ethnic domains, and by this criterion at least, we can hypothesise that it is fairly rare for inter-ethnic friends to have much shared awareness of the particular ethno-cultural patterns operating within their respective homes. There are however quite a few exceptions to this pattern and in general this is not to say that 'friendship groups' more loosely defined are only intra-ethnic. Analysis of frequent as opposed to multiplex peer associations shows much more mixing.

Data on psycho-social identification suggests that informants generally do not identify strongly with ingroup peers to the exclusion of others. On average they also identify a good deal with outgroup kids as well.

Mean scores for ethnically Indian kids indicate that their idealistic and current identifications are stronger than those of other subgroups. Indian and Pakistani informants on average appear to currently identify more strongly with ingroup peers than adults. Also, mean scores suggest that they see themselves as more similar to ethnically Asian and Anglo peers than they do to Afro-Caribbean kids (though for Pakistani informants neither of these statements transfers straightforwardly to the context of idealistic identification). There are too few Anglo and Afro-Caribbean informants in the sample to warrant sensible group-level commentary as their identifications. There is, of course, a lot of individual variation in strengths of identification with different targets.

There does not seem to be any consistent connection between multiplex network ties and patterns of identification, and it looks as though we have been successful in locating research instruments which examine different things.

There is a suggestion that with ethnically Pakistani informants, multiplex co-ethnic association connects positively with ingroup identification, though the evidence is not strong (and it does not show up in the current identification indices). It could also be that ethnically diverse network ties are linked with primary identifications focused exclusively on outgroup kids, while ingroups figure amongst primary identifications where multiplex associations are totally co-ethnic. But again, there certainly isn't firm evidence on this.

In the next chapter, language will be systematically examined in connection with these three senses of group-affiliation, but this chapter has some degree of independent merit as a characterisation of the general interethnic climate within this peergroup (cf. Jeffcoate and Mayor, cited in Chapter 2.1 above, p.45-46).

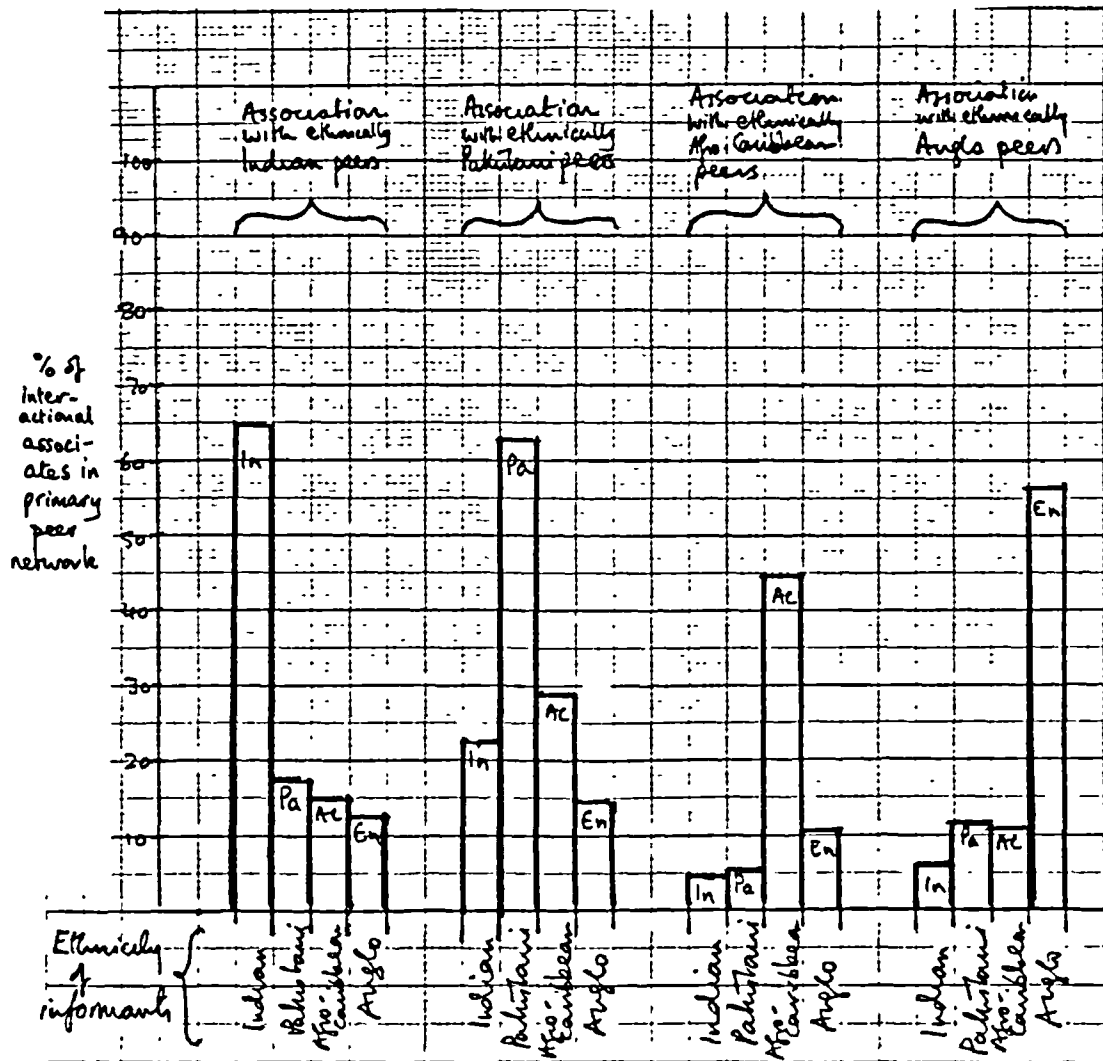
NOTES

1. Comparing the mean % of ingroup associates for ethnically Indian informants with the ingroup % mean for the ethnically Pakistani ones, a t-test indicates that the difference is not statistically significant (t obs 1.193; df 15; p = ns).
2. When this multiplexity criterion is omitted, and the focus is simply upon the ethnicity of the peers whom informants like (in the case of non-kin) and have frequent interactional contact with - i.e. when we assess the ethnic composition of informants' primary peer networks without giving any consideration to the number and types of domain co-participation these entail - the extent to which ethnic outgroups members are on average represented increases quite considerably. This is indicated in Table 12.2, which shows the extent to which different ethnicities are represented amongst the different ethnic subgroups into which my informants can be clustered (this table derives from the data in Table 7.2, p.211). Chart 12.6 displays much of the same information in histogram form. (See Table 12.2 on p.328 and Chart 12.6 on p.329.)

TABLE 12.2 IN MEAN % TERMS, THE EXTENT TO WHICH VARIOUS ETHNIC GROUPS ARE REPRESENTED  
IN INFORMANTS' PRIMARY PEER NETWORKS (WITHOUT REGARD TO MULTIPLEXITY)

Involvement with peer interactional associates who are ethnically	Informants of Indian Parentage (n=7)		Informants of Pakistani Parentage (n=10)		Informants of Afro-Caribbean Parentage (n=2)		Informants of Anglo Parentage (n=3)		Informants of Mixed Parentage (n=1)	
	$\bar{x}$	$\sigma$	$\bar{x}$	$\sigma$	$\bar{x}$	$\sigma$	$\bar{x}$	$\sigma$	$\bar{x}$	$\sigma$
Indian	64.4	11.7	17.1	4.0	14.2	3.1	12.5	2.6	(14.8)	( )
Pakistani	22.1	8.6	62.5	8.6	28.7	4.6	14.3	4.2	(14.8)	( )
Afro-Caribbean	4.5	3.0	5.2	3.3	44.5	3.8	10.4	0.8	(22.2)	( )
Anglo	6.9	5.7	11.4	9.6	10.8	3.9	56.4	5.0	(40.7)	( )

CHART 12.6: IN MEAN % TERMS, THE EXTENT TO WHICH VARIOUS ETHNIC ARE REPRESENTED IN INFORMANTS' PRIMARY NETWORKS



CHAPTER 13

(ʔ), (ɸ) AND ETHNIC GROUP AFFILIATION

13.1 Word Initial (ɸ), (ʔ) and Ethnicity Fixed at Birth

13.1.1 Introduction

We can now proceed to the first stage of the sociolinguistic analysis, which will consist of an examination of word-initial (ɸ) and (ʔ) in terms of 'bio-ethnic' subgroups.

Perhaps it is worth briefly recapping on the social and ethnic distribution of linguistic variants which a brief survey of relevant literature led us to expect:

<u>Variable</u>	: <u>variant</u>	<u>Social/ethnic Type</u>
(ʔ)	Vocalic L	non-standard white Anglo
	[ʔ]	standard white Anglo
	[   ]	Afro-Caribbean, Pakistani and Indian
	[ \ ]	Pakistani and Indian
Word initial (ɸ)	[ɸ]	standard
	[ d ]	Indian and Pakistani, non-standard Anglo and Afro-Caribbean
	: Zero TH	non-standard white Anglo

These relationships represent hypotheses which we will not be able to 'test': they do however provide lines which can guide us in the preliminary exploration of how linguistic variants are distributed across this peer-group.

13.1.2 Analysis

Taking each in turn, let us commence with Vocalic L and the attendant hypothesis that

HYPOTHESIS FOR VocL: Vocalic L will be used more by ethnically Anglo informants than by the others (see 9.1.1 above).

Table 13.1 displays mean uses of VocL by ethnic subgroup. This is calculated on the basis of the individual percentage scores shown in Table 9.1 (p. 259).<sup>1</sup>

TABLE 13.1 MEAN % USE OF Vocalic (ɹ) BY ETHNIC SUBGROUP

	Mean % VocL	$\sigma$ n	n
Informants of Indian extraction	34.5	16.0	4
Informants of Pakistani extraction	39.4	21.9	7
Informants of Afro-Caribbean extraction	24.7	3.4	3
Informants of Anglo extraction	54.9	15.9	3

Chart 13.1 shows subgroup means by ethnic subgroup.

CHART 13.1 MEAN % USES OF Vocalic L, BY ETHNIC SUBGROUP

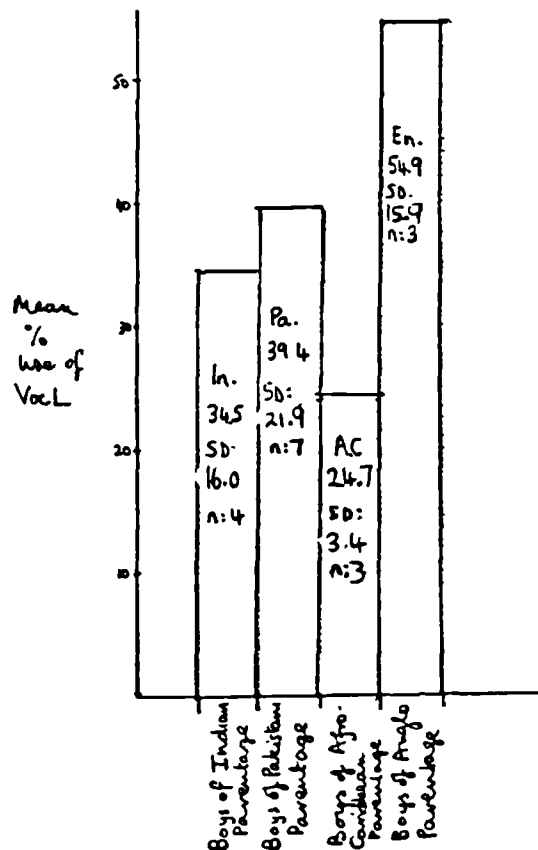
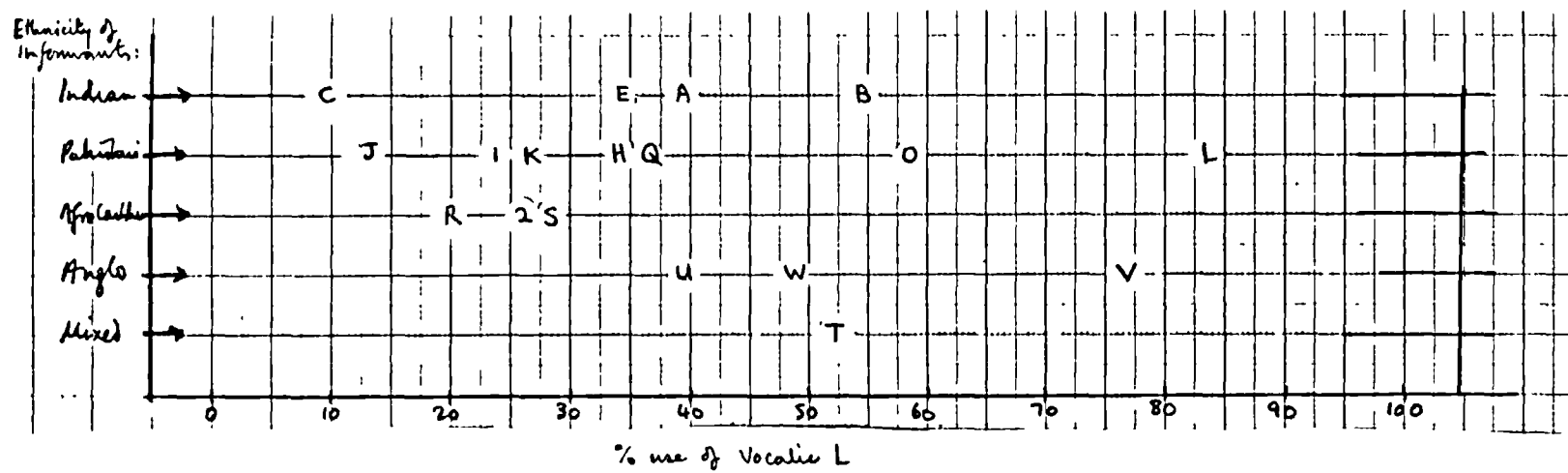


CHART 13.2: % USE OF VOCALIC L, BY ETHNIC INDIVIDUALS





From this picture of subgroup means, it looks as though on average the ethnically Anglo informants do use Vocalic L more than the others, although in all groups except the ethnically Afro-Caribbean, there is quite a good deal of within group variation. Chart 13.2 displays each informant's % use of Vocalic L, along with their 'bio-ethnicity'.

The next hypothesis concerned [ɫ]:

HYPOTHESIS FOR [ɫ]: Clear [ɫ] will be used least by informants of Anglo extraction.

Table 13.2 displays subgroup means for the non-velarised variant of the (ɫ) variable.

TABLE 13.2 MEAN % USE OF [ɫ] BY ETHNIC SUBGROUP

	Mean % Use of [ɫ]	σ n	n
Informants of Indian parentage	8.3	3.0	4
Informants of Pakistani parentage	9.5	7.4	7
Informants of Afro-Caribbean parentage	20.8	15.9	3
Informants of Anglo parentage	7.7	4.7	3

Chart 13.3 shows these means in graphical form, and Chart 13.4 shows each individual's use of [ɫ].

CHART 13.3: MEAN % USE OF [ɫ], BY ETHNIC SUBGROUP

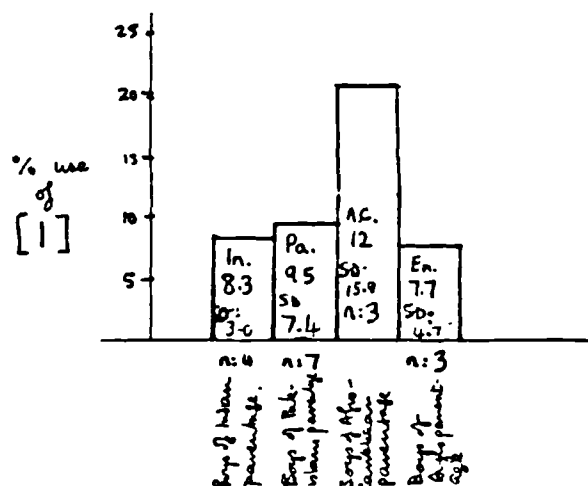
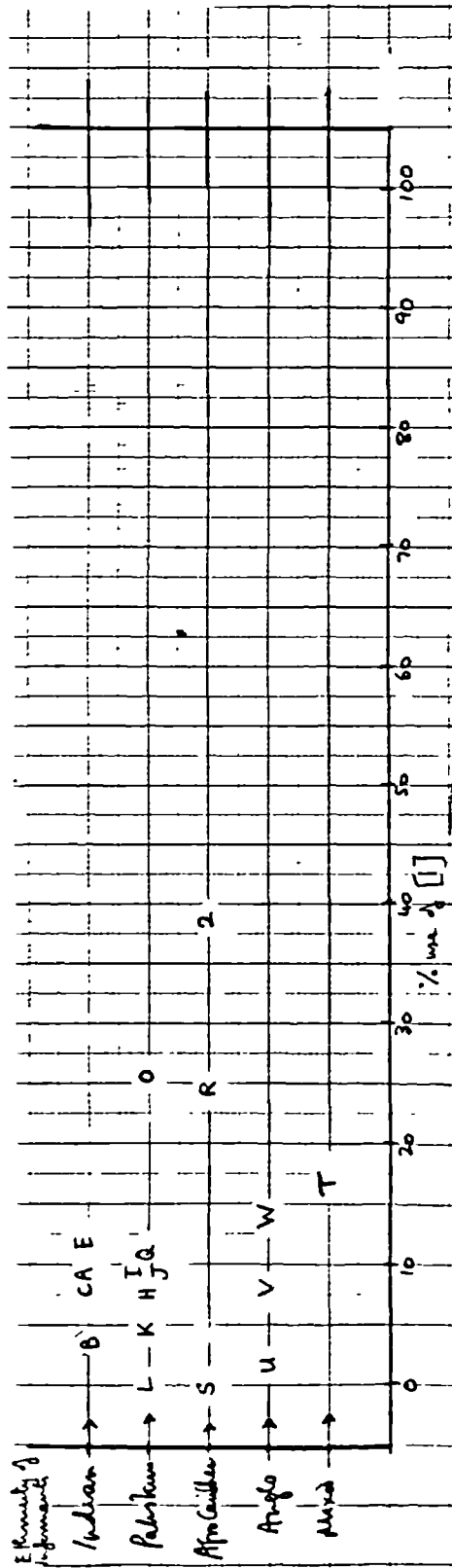


CHART 13.4: % USE OF CLEAR [1], BY ETHNIC INDIVIDUALS



Within the polyethnic group being studied here, it certainly does not look as though my ethnically Anglo informants use [ɿ] less than the others: most of the ethnically Pakistani informants and all of the ethnically Indian ones are roughly comparable in their use of [ɿ]. The mean for the ethnically Afro-Caribbean informants is however higher than it is for the others, although so too is the within-group variation.

The next variant to which 'bio-ethnic' classification of my informants is relevant is [ɹ]:

HYPOTHESIS FOR [ɹ]: Retroflex [ɹ] will be used more by youngsters of Pakistani and Indian extraction than by those of Anglo and Afro-Caribbean parentage (see 5.1.1).

Table 13.3 shows subgroup means:

TABLE 13.3 MEAN % USE OF [ɹ] BY ETHNIC SUBGROUP

	Mean use of [ɹ]	$\sigma_n$	n
Informants of Indian parentage	30.9	17.3	4
Informants of Pakistani parentage	18.7	16.6	7
Informants of Afro-Caribbean parentage	0	0	3
Informants of Anglo parentage	0.4	0.5	3

Chart 13.5 is a histogram displaying this information, and Chart 13.6 shows the use of [ɹ] by ethnic individuals.

There is clearly a good deal of variance within both Asian subgroups (to which we will attend in due course) but the difference between informants of Asian and non-Asian parentage is generally very striking. One ethnically Pakistani informant uses no retroflex [ɹ] (=H) and one ethnic Anglo uses one (=W), but generally it looks as though there is an almost categorical

CHART 13.5: MEAN % USE  
OF [l] BY ETHNIC SUB-  
GROUP →

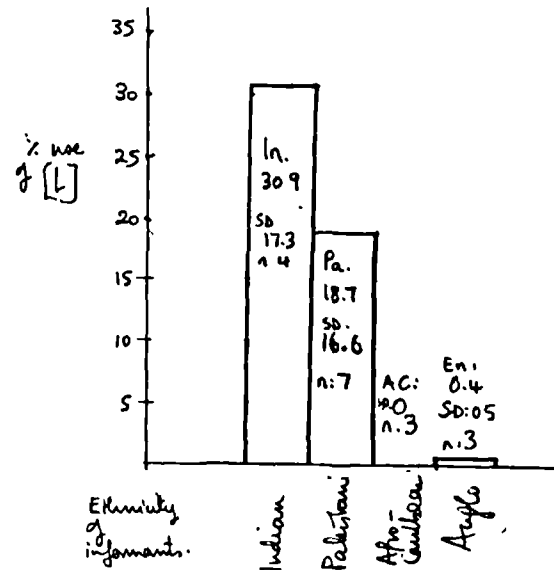
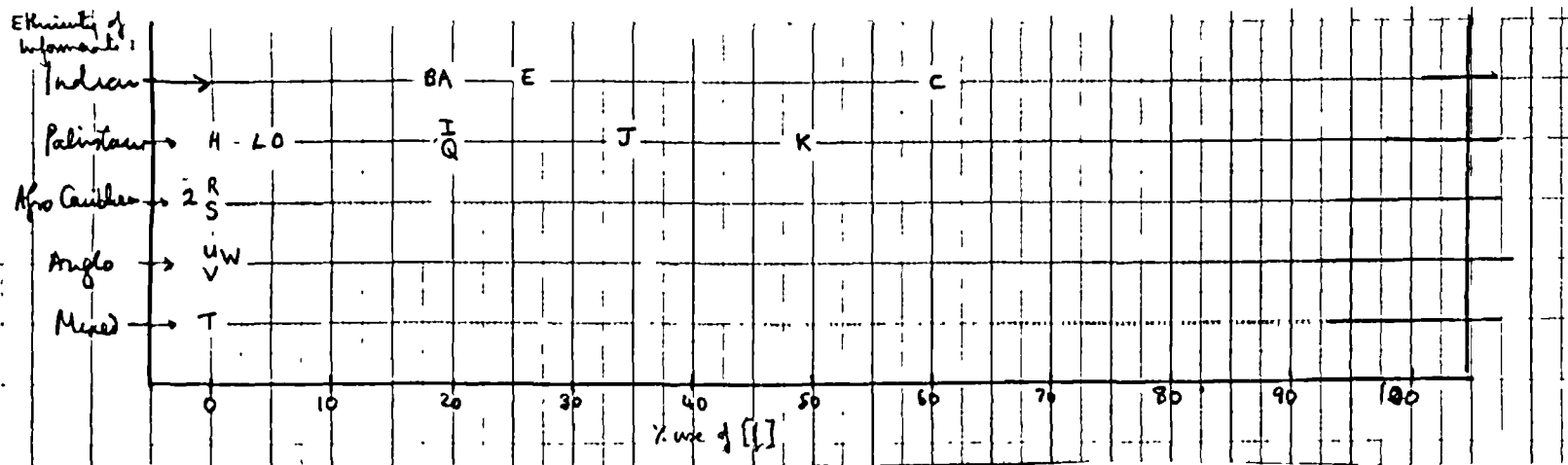


CHART 13.6: % USE OF RETROFLEX [l], BY ETHNIC SUBGROUP



difference between the ethnically Asian and non-Asian informants in this group.

The fourth and last variants of (†) - dark [†] itself - was proposed as a standard white Anglo, and since none of my informants fall into this social category, it has no obvious implications here for the description of the data in terms of ascribed category memberships. However, from Table 13.4 which sets out subgroup means, it in fact looks as though amongst my own informants, those of Afro-Caribbean parentage use [†] more.

TABLE 13.4 % MEAN FOR USE OF [†] BY ETHNIC SUBGROUP

Ethnicity of subgroup	Use of [†]		
	% mean	σ <sub>n</sub>	n
Indian	26.1	4.1	4
Pakistani	32.2	16.7	7
Afro-Caribbean	54.5	14.9	3
Anglo	37	17.6	3

Chart 13.7 presents these means in bar-chart form, and Chart 13.8 once again displays the use of [†] by individuals, categorised in terms of ascribed ethnicity. From this latter display, it is however evident once again that the three ethnically Afro-Caribbean informants are fairly widely spread in their use of this form.

Turning to the (ɤ) variable, it was suggested on the basis of a reading of the relevant literature that:

HYPOTHESIS FOR [d]: There will be no difference between subgroups in their overall use of word initial [d] (see 9.1.2).

Table 13.5 shows subgroup % means:

CHART 13.7: MEAN % USE  
OF [t], BY  
ETHNIC SUBGROUP

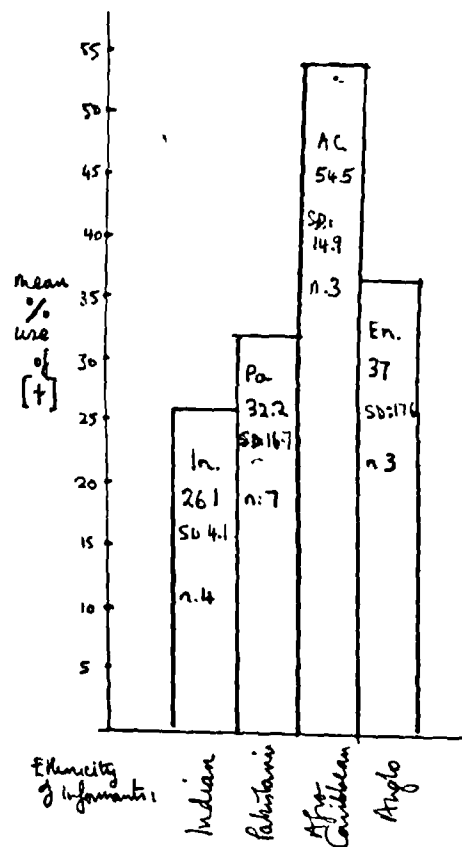


CHART 13.8: % USE OF DARK [t], BY ETHNIC INDIVIDUALS

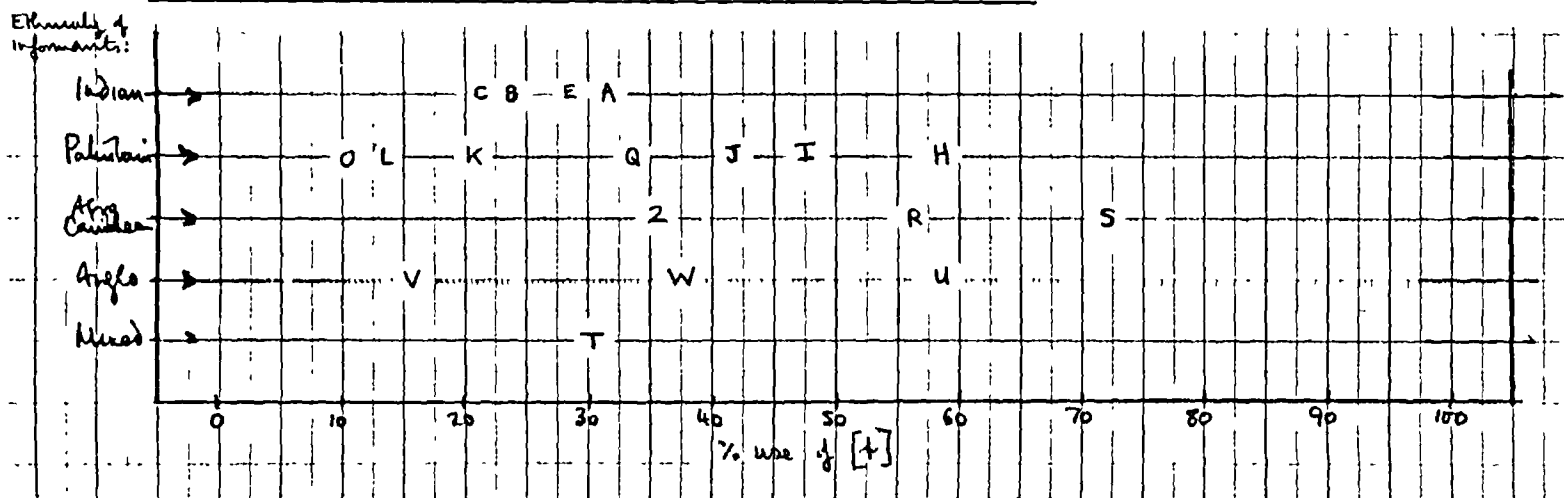


TABLE 13.5 MEAN % USE OF [ d ] BY ETHNIC SUBGROUP

	Mean use of [ d ]	$\sigma_n$	n
Informants of Indian extraction	20.7	10.1	4
Informants of Pakistani extraction	34.7	18.2	7
Informants of Afro-Caribbean extraction	28.8	14.7	2
Informants of Anglo extraction	19.5	17.9	3

Chart 13.9 presents a histogram for this, and Chart 13.10 sets out individual scores.

The three informants who use [ d ] most are in fact Pakistani, and the mean use for ethnically Pakistani informants is in fact slightly higher than the rest. But generally, Chart 13.10 shows a great deal of overlap between ethnic subgroups in their use of [ d ].

The next variant is word initial Zero TH after dental and alveolar consonants:

HYPOTHESIS FOR Zero TH: Ethnically Anglo informants will use word initial Zero TH after dental and alveolar consonants more than the others.

Table 13.6 shows subgroup means; Chart 13.11 presents this in a histogram, and Chart 13.12 displays the pattern for individuals.

CHART 13.9: % MEANS  
FOR THE USE OF [d],  
BY ETHNIC SUBGROUP

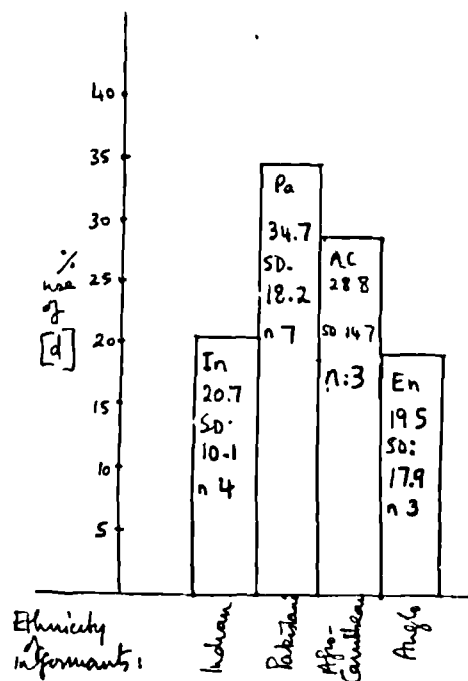


CHART 13.10: % USE OF PLOSIVE [d], BY ETHNIC INDIVIDUALS

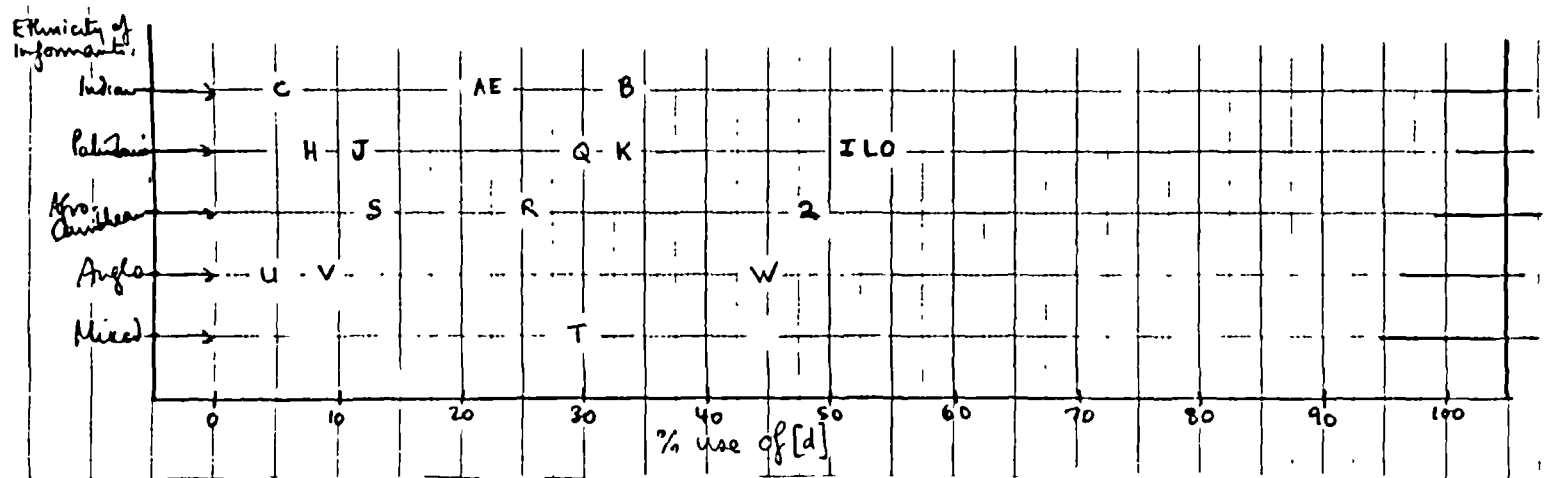




CHART 13.11: % MEANS FOR  
THE USE OF WORD-INITIAL  
Zero TH AFTER DENT/ALV  
CONSONANTS, BY ETHNIC  
SUBGROUP

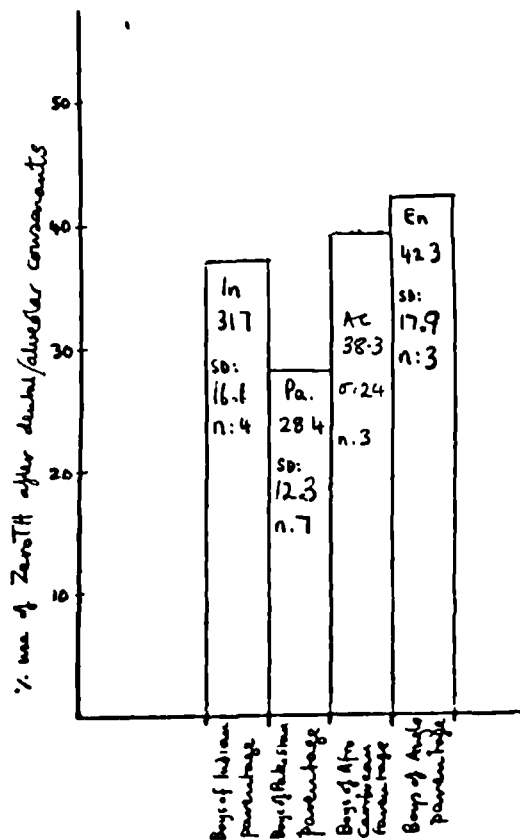


CHART 13.12: % USE OF WORD-INITIAL Zero TH AFTER DENT/ALV CONSONANTS, BY ETHNIC INDIVIDUALS

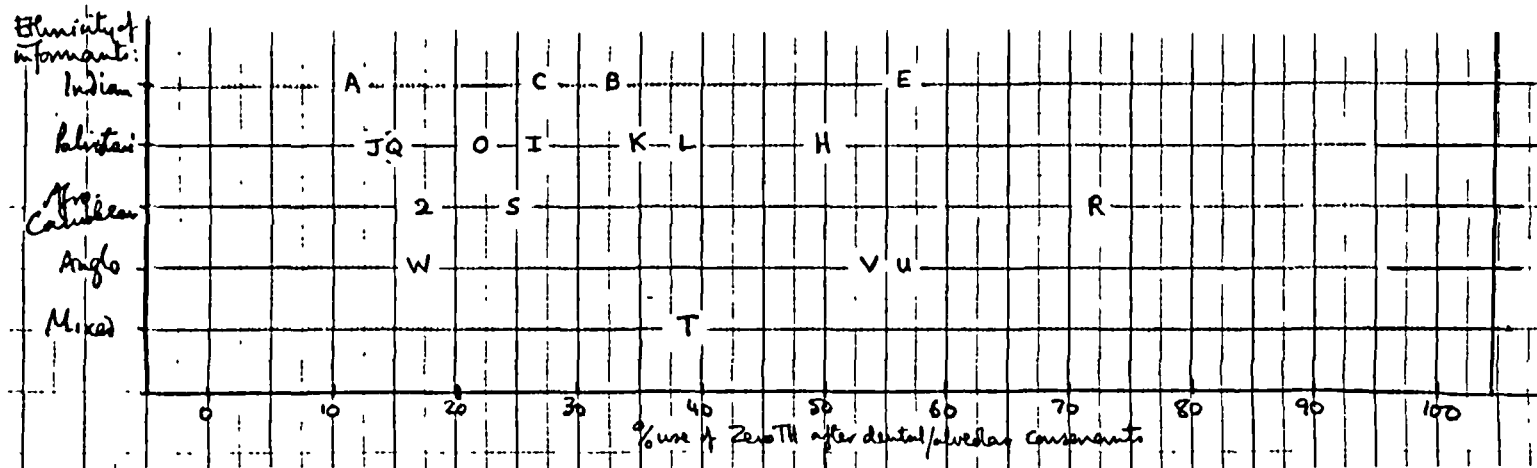


TABLE 13.6 MEAN % USE OF WORD INITIAL Zero TH IN POST DENTAL  
AND ALVEOLAR ENVIRONMENTS BY ETHNIC SUBGROUP

	Mean use of Zero TH after dental/alveolar consonants	$\sigma_n$	n
Informants of Indian extraction	31.7	16.1	4
Informants of Pakistani extraction	28.4	12.3	7
Informants of Afro- Caribbean extraction	38.3	24	3
Informants of Anglo extraction	42.3	17.9	3

The range of % scores within subgroups is again considerable, and the similarity between subgroups is once more more striking than the difference. The mean scores for word initial Zero TH in all environments show very slightly more use of this variant by Anglos, though once again W diverges from V and U, producing a large standard deviation. See Table 13.7 and Charts 13.13 and 13.14.

TABLE 13.7 MEAN % USE OF WORD INITIAL Zero TH IN ALL  
ENVIRONMENTS, BY ETHNIC SUBGROUP

	Mean % of Zero TH	$\sigma_n$	n
Informants of Indian extraction	18.4	7.1	4
Informants of Pakistani extraction	20.0	6.3	7
Informants of Afro- Caribbean extraction	20.4	8.7	3
Informants of Anglo extraction	27.2	12.6	3

CHART 13.13: MEAN % SCORES  
FOR ZeroTH IN ALL WORD-  
INITIAL ENVIRONMENTS,  
BY ETHNIC SUBGROUP

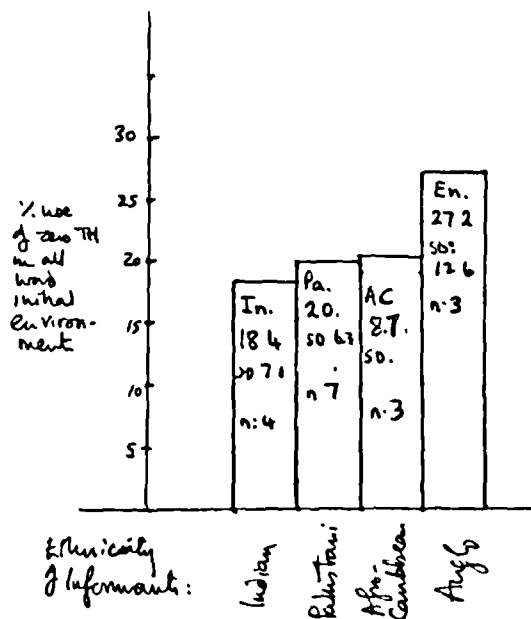
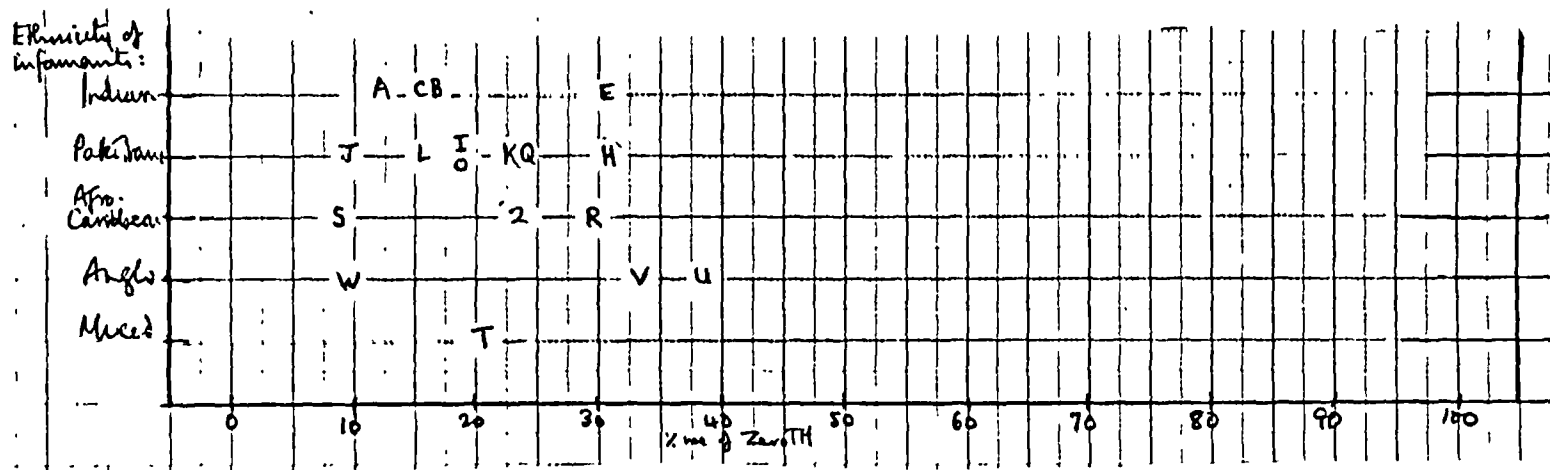


CHART 13.14: % USE OF ZeroTH IN ALL WORD-INITIAL ENVIRONMENTS, BY ETHNIC INDIVIDUALS



The last variant requiring consideration is the fricative variant of (ʃ) - [ʃ] itself. As with (ɬ): [ɬ], this was proposed as a standard variant, to which the present exploration in terms of ethnic subgroup was not relevant. Despite this, Table 13.8 and Charts 13.15 and 13.16 display patterns of usage in terms of ascribed ethnicity: there is again a good deal of overlap across subgroups.

TABLE 13.8 MEAN % USE OF WORD INITIAL [ʃ] BY ETHNIC SUBGROUP

Ethnicity of informant	Mean % use of [ʃ]	$\sigma_n$	n
Indian	60.5	13.3	4
Pakistani	44.7	17.5	7
Afro-Caribbean	50.5	20.7	3
Anglo	53.2	5.4	3

### 13.1.3 Summary

It is worth summarising the account so far. Firstly, the above should be seen primarily as a kind of sorting operation, laying out the dimensions along which the analysis below can proceed. The ethnic subgroups are not large enough,<sup>2</sup> nor selected on a sufficiently careful basis to allow statistical generalisation.

With these limitations in mind, what does the data show? Within this peer-group, one of the seven (or rather eight) variants analysed shows a high degree of ethnic specialisation - retroflex [ɮ] is a predominantly Pakistani and Indian ethnic form. All of the rest however are used within each subgroup at least to some degree, and the hypotheses about ethno-linguistic specialisation that guided much of this examination are certainly untrue of the data here, if they are interpreted in terms of categorical difference. Of course it would be much more sensible to regard these hypotheses as probabilistic, and in this light, there is nothing we can conclusively say about them in view of the way in which sample sizes constrain the use of significance tests in the differences between subgroup means. We can however

CHART 13.15: MEAN %  
SCORES FOR [ʃ],  
BY ETHNIC SUBGROUP

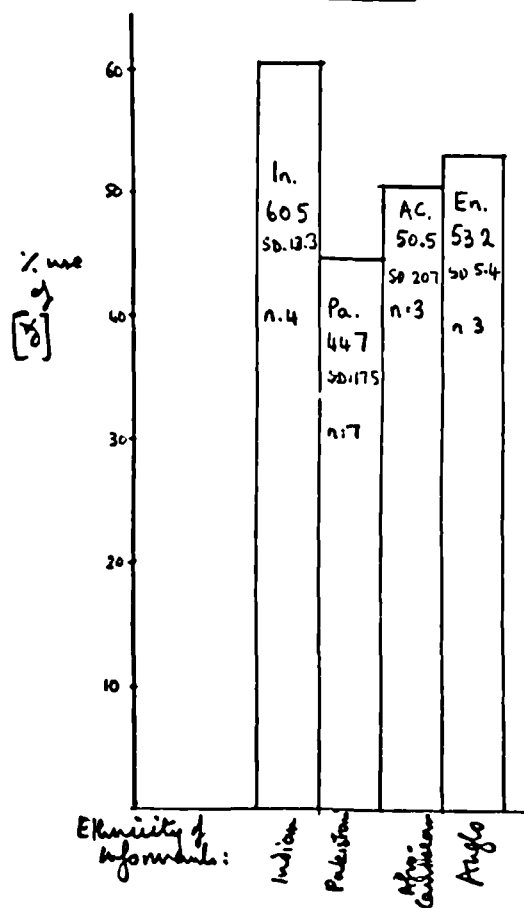
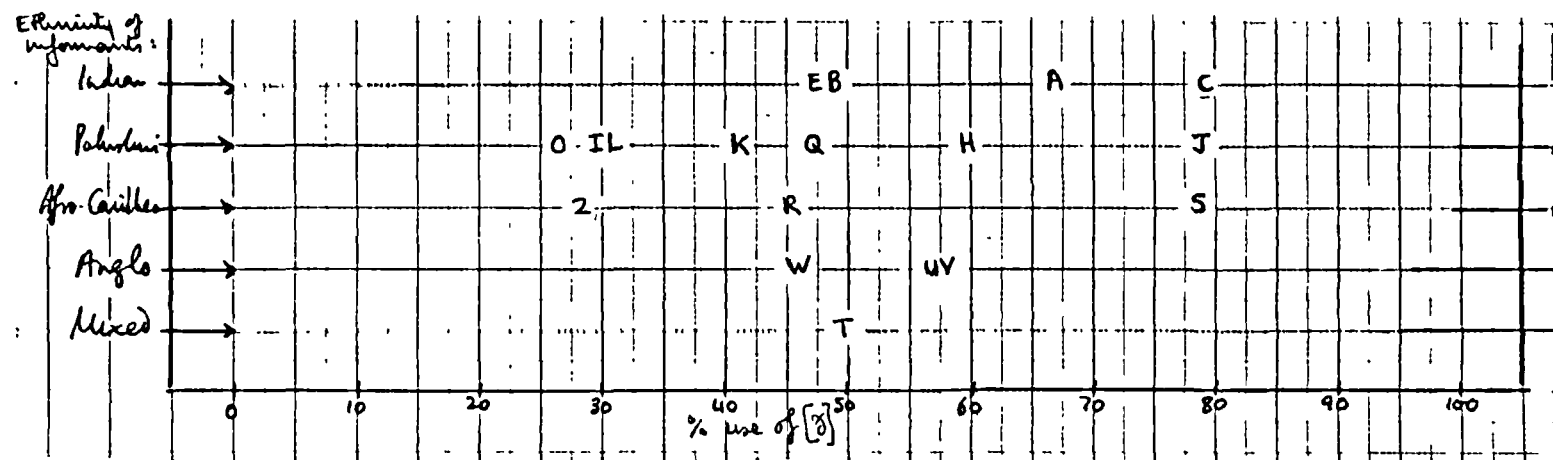


CHART 13.16: % USE OF FRICATIVE [ʃ], BY ETHNIC INDIVIDUALS



tentatively ratify as also potentially useful in any further study of ethnic differences in language usage the following variants (in addition to [ɫ])

- Vocalic L (and maybe word initial zero TH), which does look as though it could be sensitive to Anglo ethnicity;
- Clear [l] in relation to youngsters of Afro-Caribbean parentage.

The way in which dark [ɫ] is on average used more by the Afro-Caribbean youngsters was not expected on the basis of the cited phonological texts, and patterns of [d] use throw an interesting light on Agnihotri's observation that [d] is an enduring indicator of 'Indian identity' due to the difficulties entailed in learning to produce friction (1979:245). The situation in Bedford may of course be different from Leeds (Agnihotri's research site), but he may nevertheless be faulted for overlooking the potential influence of the ethnically Afro-Caribbean youngsters attending the same school as his respondents (1979:115ff?). Indeed, in my data the Sikh informants on average use [d] less than those of Pakistani and Afro-Caribbean parentage, and their use of the fricative variant is on average greater than the rest's. So there is no support here either for a learning difficulty argument or for the consequent status of [d] as an ethno-linguistic indicator. Whether its widespread use reflects the confluence and reciprocal affirmation in contact of originally separate phonological traditions, or whether one subgroup is setting a trend which others follow, is not something that can at this stage be considered (though see below 13.2).

Those then appear to be the main points about between-group difference manifest in the data here, but perhaps the most striking point worth underlining is the extent of within-group variation. Charts 13.2, 13.4, 13.6, 13.8, 13.10, 13.12, 13.14 and 13.16 lay out individual scores together with the ethnicity of each informant and out of a total of forty-eight possible comparisons, only four reveal all the members of one subgroup using

a variant more than all the members of another (on (†)), all ethnically Anglo informants use VocL more than all ethnic Afro-Caribbeans; all ethnic Afro-Caribbeans use [†] more than all Indians; and all Indians use [↓] more than all Anglos and Afro-Caribbeans). This picture of non-discrete patterns of language use across demographic categories accords with the observations of Coupland and others cited above (5.1), and is familiar to sociolinguistic researchers. In the present context however it usefully sets up the ensuing analyses, which will operationalise more flexible conceptualisations of group-membership and identity in order to try to account for some of this within-group variation, and at the same time further the analysis of ethno-linguistic specialisation weakly initiated here.

### 13.2 Word Initial (ʃ), (†) and Interactional Association with Peers from Different Ethnic Backgrounds

#### 13.2.1 Introduction

In the preceding section there emerged a good deal of overlap between 'bio-ethnic' subgroups in their use of the variants here, and there did not appear to be much ethnic specialisation except with regard to retroflex [↓].

The next two sections will use methodological alternatives to the ascription of informants to ethnic subgroups and in doing so, will try to identify the ethnic distribution of linguistic forms not in spite of but by virtue of the overlap and spread of variants across ethnic categories. These alternative approaches to investigating the guiding linguistic hypotheses do not entail balanced cross-ethnic sampling: instead, the integrity and relatedness of the peer-group is the central prerequisite for validity. If they succeed, then these methods say something more concrete about the life of linguistic forms in interethnic contact settings than can be achieved by examining their use within discrete subgroups, whose connectedness with one another is not empirically measured (as indeed it usually isn't). If

one focuses on inter-subgroup connections themselves, perhaps the ethnic origins of a linguistic form can be identified by looking for traces of it amongst those informants who have most to do with its hypothesised main users, irrespective of these informants' own ethnic extraction. In other words, we can see whether e.g. Vocalic L is most typically associated with Anglos by looking at its incidence amongst those in the polyethnic peer-group with most interactional involvement and psycho-social identification with people of ethnic English parentage. In this way one may claim to study the career of ethno-linguistic forms across ethnic boundaries, and to be following the ripple effect of contact or identification with particular ethnic categories.

### 13.2.2 Analysis

Let us return to the linguistic hypotheses and examine them in relation to the network measure of interactional association (see Table 7.1 p.206). Whereas in the preceding section we asked whether informants of ethnicity Y used (notionally) ethno-linguistic variant y most, here we can look at all informants and ask whether their interactional contact with ethnically Y peers influences their variant y usage.

Unfortunately it is not possible to pursue a number of the associations between (↑), (ɤ) and ethnicity which were suggested in Chapter 9.1 and also 13.1. Dark [↑] and fricative [ɤ] were hypothesised as reflecting standard white Anglo norms (9.1), and on the evidence of three ethnically Afro-Caribbean informants analysed in 13.1, whose mean use of [↑] was greater than any other subgroup's, [↑] might also surprisingly be ethno-linguistically Afro-Caribbean in the local Bedford context. However, since data on interactional contact with standard English (or rather RP) speakers was not collected, and since it has not proved possible to construct reliable and differentiating indices with regard to social association with peers of Afro-Caribbean parentage, [↑] cannot be examined here.



For space reasons, other analyses are delegated to Appendix 15. These are the ones which produced negative findings. For example, with Vocalic L, Zero TH and Zero TH after dental/alveolar consonants, there is nothing to support the suggestion that multiplex ties with ethnically Anglo peers systematically influence the use of these variants, either within specific ethnic subgroups or across the polyethnic peer-group as a whole. Likewise, no connection emerged between [ɫ] and interactional association with Punjabi bilinguals (see Chapter 9.1.1). The hint in 13.1 that usage of [ʃ] might be locally adapted as an ethnically Indian variant also seemed unfounded.

With [d] and [ɫ] however, the analyses proved more fruitful.

Secondary sources suggested that there would be no ethnic subgroup differences for [d], but the picture of group means showed slightly more use of it by ethnically Pakistani youngsters. Is an association between Pakistani ethnicity and [d] reflected across the peer-group as a whole? What happens if we use non-Pakistani informants as a mirror to look further at what the subgroup pattern hints? Table 13.9 first of all investigates the association between [d] use and interactional association with Pakistani peers for all informants.

If one ignores fixed ethnicity altogether, quite a strong association emerges between [d] and multiplex ties with peers of Pakistani parentage:

		Multiplex Pakistani ties				
U s e  o f  [ d ]						
		2 22%	6 75%	a b o v e	MEDIAN (=25)	
	7 78%	2 25%	b e l o w			
		below	above			
		MEDIAN (=25)				

TABLE 13.9 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND MEDIAN FOR MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION WITH ETHNICALLY PAKISTANI PEERS, AND FOR [ d ] USE (BY ETHNIC SUBGROUP)

Multiplex Interactional Association with Ethnically Pakistani Peers											
MEDIAN (=25)											
U s e o f [ d ]	In.	Pa.	AC	En	M1	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	
	1				1		5		1		a
	25				(100) *		71	.	100		b
	3		2	2			2				e
	75		100 **	100			29				b
											e
											l
											o
											w

\* Includes informant with score on the vertical median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin.

\*\* Includes informant with score on the horizontal median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin.

However, this formulation largely reflects the fact that most ethnically Pakistani informants both used [d] more than average, and have higher than average network association with peers of Pakistani extraction. It says nothing about [d] and interactional association either inside the fixed ethnic subgroup or outside it. Taking the latter first, it is useful to redefine both medians with reference only to ethnically non-Pakistanis. This is done in Table 13.10, which also locates informants to the appropriate cells:

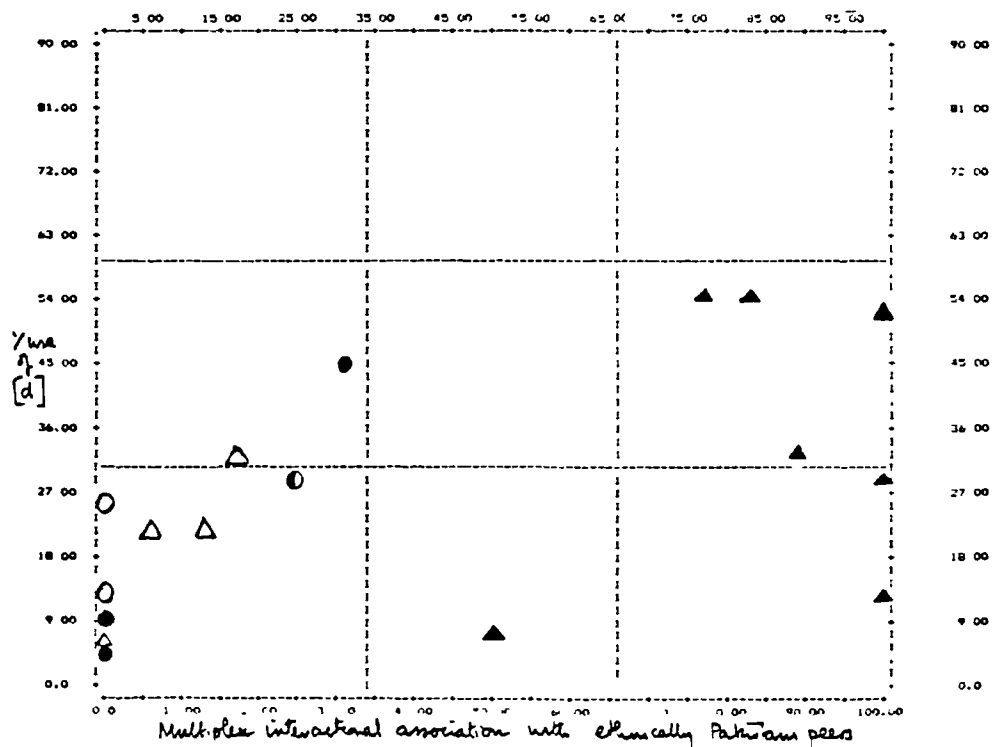
TABLE 13.10 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION FOR ETHNICALLY NON-PAKISTANI INFORMANTS AROUND THE MEDIANS FOR MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION WITH ETHNICALLY PAKISTANI PEERS, AND FOR [d] USE

		Multiplex Pakistani ties			
		MEDIAN (=2.7)			
U s e  o f  [d]		1 25%	4 75%	a b o v e	
		4 75%	1 25%	b e l o w	
		below	above	MEDIAN (22.2)	

This suggests quite a strong association: informants with fewer (or no) multiplex ties use [d] less than those with more (or some). In fact, this relationship looks even more systematic in scatterplot 13.1, and if a Pearson product moment correlation is applied to this data, a coefficient of  $r = .8627$  emerges. In contrast however, the scatterplot also shows that within the ethnically Pakistani subgroup, there is no systematic association between [d] use and the proportion of ethnically Pakistani peers comprising multiplex networks.

To summarise, we can say that amongst the ethnically Indian, Anglo, Afro-Caribbean and Mixed kids, [d] use is strongly (and positively) connected with the extent of their association with ethnically Pakistani kids: the suggestion of a connection between [d] and Pakistani ethnicity hinted at in the picture of group means, is given support by its refraction amongst non-Pakistanis. Earlier on the question was raised as to whether the use of [d] in the polyethnic peer-group represented the confluence and reciprocal affirmation-in-contact of several formally similar but originally separate traditions (see Chapter 9.1 and 13.1): the data here suggests that in fact, in some sense ethnically Pakistani kids are leading this phonological practice.

SCATTERPLOT 13.1: MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION WITH ETHNICALLY PAKISTANI PEERS x USE OF [d]



Key:  $\Delta$  Informants of Indian parentage  
 $\blacktriangle$  Informants of Pakistani parentage  
 $\circ$  Informants of Afro-Caribbean parentage  
 $\bullet$  Informants of Anglo parentage  
 $\bullet$  Informants of Mixed parentage

What of the relationship between retroflex [ɭ] and interactional association with Punjabi bilinguals? Table 13.11 displays their association, distinguishing between Punjabi bilingual and non-bilingual informants (i.e. combining ethnically Indian and Pakistani kids vs Anglo and Afro-Caribbean informants).

TABLE 13.11 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND MEDIAN FOR MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION WITH PUNJABI BILINGUAL PEERS AND FOR RETROFLEX [ɭ] USE (DISTINGUISHING PUNJABI BILINGUAL FROM NON-BILINGUAL INFORMANTS)

Multiplex interactional association with Punjabi bilingual peers				
MEDIAN (=87.5)				
U s e  o f  [ɭ]	Punjabi bilingual	non- bilingual	Punjabi bilingual	non- bilingual
			8 89*	
	2 100**	6 100	1 11	
	lower		higher	
				a b o v e r  M E D I A N (=5.5)  b e l o w

\* Includes informant with score on the vertical median, whose classification was decided on the toss of a coin

\*\* Includes informant with score on the horizontal median, whose classification was decided on the toss of a coin

If one were to merge bilinguals with non-bilinguals, one would produce a pattern such as

	8 89%
8 100%	1 11%



### 13.2.3 Summary

It has not been possible here to analyse [ɹ] in terms of its social and ethnic connotations; nor has it been possible to examine the connection between [ɹ] and standard/RP English which secondary sources propose. However, it was possible to pursue the connection between [ɹ] use and Indian ethnicity hinted at in the subgroup means data, and at least with regard to multiplex interactional association with Indian peers, this suggestion was completely lacking in support. We also could not investigate connections between clear [ɹ] and Afro-Caribbean ethnicity, but with regard to interactional association with peers of Pakistani and Indian parentage - Punjabi bilinguals - the findings on [ɹ] were again negative. Both secondary sources and subgroup means alerted us to the possible links of Vocalic L and Zero TH with Anglo ethnicity and these were examined: this produced more negative results.

However, on [d] and [ɹ] this pattern changed. Secondary sources and subgroup means strongly indicated that [ɹ] was a variant with Punjabi connections: here, it also emerged that the extent to which bilingual Punjabi informants themselves use [ɹ] is associated with whether or not they have multiplex interactional ties with peers of non-Pakistani and non-Indian parentage. On [d], subgroup means cued us to look at connections with Pakistani ethnicity, and we found that the extent to which ethnically Afro-Caribbean, Indian, Anglo and Mixed informants used [d] is associated with the proportion of Pakistani peers with whom they co-participate in three or more domains/have multiplex interactional ties with. From this angle, it looks as though ethnically Pakistani kids could be encouraging the cross-ethnic spread of [d] and in some way influencing non-Pakistani informants to use it.

These two last findings vindicate the network measure used here: they show that it can be useful in describing people's social positions within a (potentially) ethnically heterogeneous

interactional field, and in connecting such positions up with both intra-ethnic (in the case of [ɹ]) and cross-ethnic ([d]) variation in the distribution of linguistic forms.

### 13.3 Word Initial (ʃ), (t) and Psycho-social Identification with Kids from Different Ethnic Backgrounds

#### 13.3.1 Introduction

The method for examining the cross-sectional relationship between word initial (ʃ), (t) and patterns of psycho-social identification can proceed much the same as in the preceding section but with one important difference. It will be recalled that in contrast to the network measure, a high ISA score on current identification with e.g. 'Pakistani kids' does not preclude a high score with regard to 'Indian kids' - on the contrary, the two often go together (see 8.5, 8.5.1 above). This means that before one tries to make anything of the association between identification with a particular ethnic group and use of a linguistic variant notionally associated with it, it is necessary to check that that is its only noteworthy ethnic connection, and that that ethno-linguistic variant does not also pattern systematically with identification with other groupings. So the analytic procedure is more laborious than before.

As in 13.2, a lot of the analysis is delegated to an Appendix (Appendix 16) for space saving reasons. But here it is worth drawing attention not only to positive findings but also to certain conceptual and methodological issues that arise in the course of particular analyses.

#### 13.3.2 Analyses

It is convenient to begin with the hypothesis that [t] is a standard variant. It was not possible to investigate this via subgroup means or network analysis because neither (systematically) included RP speakers. Here though we can investigate this



in terms of identification with 'teachers', some of whom may be assumed to use RP variants at least to a degree (see 8.4 above). Thus ISA allows us to look outwards beyond the limitations of particular samples and network measures.

Table 13.12 tabulates the association between [ʌ] and current identification with teachers.

There appear to be no within-subgroup patterns, and summarising this data irrespective of ethnicity, we get the pattern

5	5
55%	62%
4	3
45%	38%

There is no association here.

The same also emerges with regard to idealistic identification which, since it again shows no within-subgroup patterning, is presented in summary form in Table 13.13 (see also scatterplot 13.4).

However, a different picture emerges in connection with contra-identification. The association between [ʌ] and contra-identification is calculated in full in Table 13.14; it is summarised in Table 13.15, and it is visually displayed in Scatterplot 13.5.

TABLE 13.12 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND THE MEDIANS FOR CURRENT IDENTIFICATION  
WITH TEACHERS, AND FOR DARK [†] USE (BY FIXED ETHNICITY)

Current Identification with Teachers											
U s e  o f  [+]	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	a b o v e  b e l o w
		2 50%*	2 100%	1 50%		1 33%	2 67%		1 100%	1 (100)**	
	1 100%	2 50%		1 50%		2 67%	1 33%				
lower					higher						
MEDIAN (=31%)											
MEDIAN (=553)											

\* Includes informant with score on vertical median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

\*\* Includes informant with score on horizontal median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

TABLE 13.13 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND THE MEDIAN FOR  
IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH TEACHERS, AND  
FOR DARK [↑] USE (IGNORING FIXED ETHNICITY)

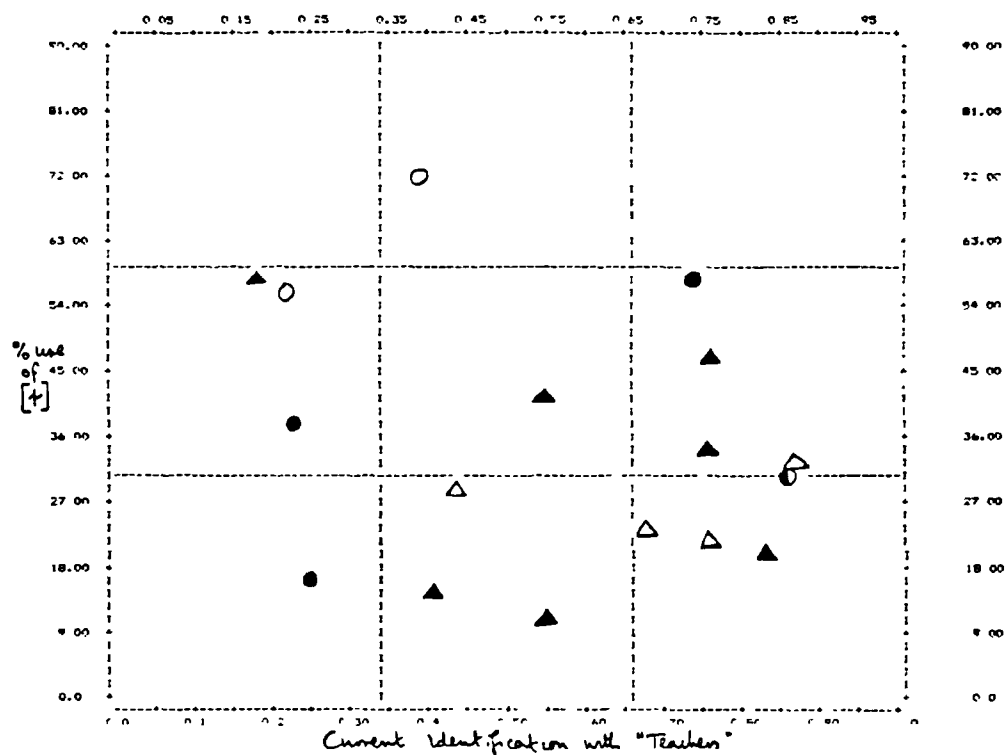
Idealistic Identification with Teachers

		MEDIAN				
U s e  o f  [↑]		5  55%	5  62%**	a b o v e	MEDIAN (=31%)	
		4  45%*	3  38%	b e l o w		
		below      above				
		MEDIAN (=.383)				

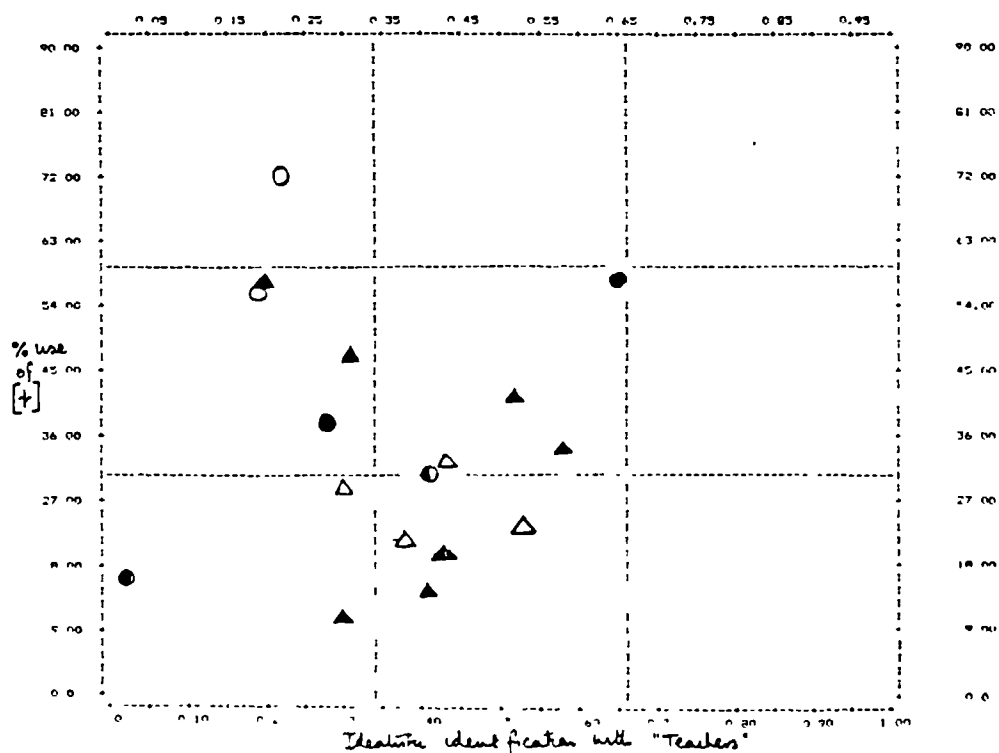
\* Includes informant with score on the vertical median, whose classification was decided on the toss of a coin

\*\* Includes informant with score on the horizontal median, whose classification was decided on the toss of a coin

SCATTERPLOT 13.3:  $[+]$  x CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH 'TEACHERS'



SCATTERPLOT 13.4:  $[+]$  x IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH 'TEACHERS'



Key:

- △ informants of Indian parentage
- ▲ informants of Pakistani parentage
- informants of Afro-Caribbean parentage
- informants of White parentage
- ⊙ informants of mixed parentage

TABLE 13.14 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND MEDIANS FOR CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION  
WITH TEACHERS, AND FOR DARK [↑] USE (BY FIXED ETHNICITY)

		Contra-identification with Teachers										
U s e  o f  [↑]		In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	
			3 100%	2 100%	2 67%		1 33%	1 25%				a b o v e
		lower					higher					MEDIAN (=31)
		1 100%			1 33%*		2 67%	3 75%			1 (100)**	b e l o w
		MEDIAN (=.167)										

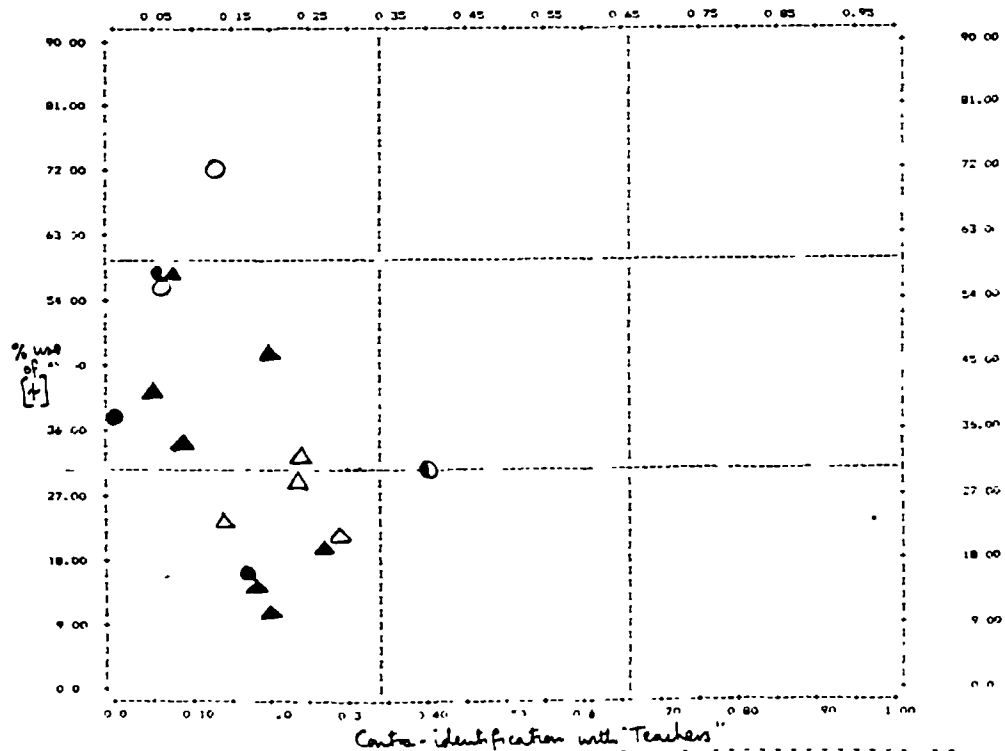
\* Includes informant with score on vertical median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

\*\* Includes informant with score on horizontal median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

TABLE 13.15 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND MEDIAN FOR CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION WITH 'TEACHERS' AND FOR DARK [ + ] USE (IRRESPECTIVE OF FIXED ETHNICITY)

		Contra-identification with 'Teachers'					
U s e  o f  [ + ]		7  78%	2  25%	a b o v e  b e l o w	MEDIAN (=31%)		
		2  22%	6  75%				
		below	above				
		MEDIAN (=.167)					

SCATTERPLOT 13.5: [ + ] x CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION WITH 'TEACHERS'



Key:  $\Delta$  : informants of Indian parentage  
 $\blacktriangle$  : informant of Pakistani parentage  
 $\circ$  : informant of Afro Caribbean parentage  
 $\bullet$  : informant of Anglo parentage  
 $\odot$  : informant of mixed parentage

Unlike the state of affairs with Vocalic L and 'English kids' (see Appendix 16.1) the relationship between contra-identification with 'Teachers' and [ɹ] does not here resemble [ɹ]'s relationship with contra-identifications either with ingroup adults, 'English kids', 'Pakistani kids', 'Indian kids' or 'West Indian kids' (see Scatterplots A.17.1 to A.17.5 in Appendix 17). The association between contra-identification and [ɹ] is specific to the entity 'Teachers'. But why doesn't [ɹ] show itself sensitive to idealistic and current teacher identifications as well? How can we explain this single association?

One possibility is to say that amongst these informants, the less they want to be dissimilar to teachers, the more they use this standard variant. We could propose that aversive identification with teachers acts as some kind of brake on the acquisition/use of [ɹ] and that when this is reduced, [ɹ] is used more freely. There are two reasons for being cautious however. Firstly, the range of scores on contra-identification with teachers is really too narrow for us to put much confidence in the association displayed in Tables 13.14 and 13.15. More importantly, the theoretical reasoning is too sophisticated too soon. It implies a complex negative psycho-linguistic process before there is any evidence of a connection between (stronger) current and idealistic teacher identification and [ɹ] usage. In a sociolinguistic context it is prematurely overburdening this contra-identification index to attach such interpretive weight to it, and so while we may note the result here, we should not attach too much theoretical importance to it.

Other linguistic variants give rise to precisely this problem of what theoretical significance to attach to an association between language and isolated contra-identification indices (see Appendix 16). And this analysis of teacher-identification and [ɹ] also resembles some of the other analyses in the way it looks beyond the sample and network measures (e.g. in relation to [ɹ] and teachers, and [ɹ] and ethnically Afro-Caribbean







On contra-identification however, there seems to be no such systematic patterning (see Scatterplots 13.6, 13.7, 13.8).

TABLE 13.18 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND THE MEDIANS FOR CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION WITH INGROUP ADULTS, AND FOR RETROFLEX [ɭ] USE, FOR INFORMANTS OF ASIAN PARENTAGE

Contra-identification with Ingroup Adults

	lower		higher		
	In.	Pa.	In.	Pa.	
U s e		3 60%	2 67%		a b o v e
o f	1 100%	2 40%*	1 33%	2 100%**	MEDIAN (= 19) b e l o w
[ɭ]					

MEDIAN  
(

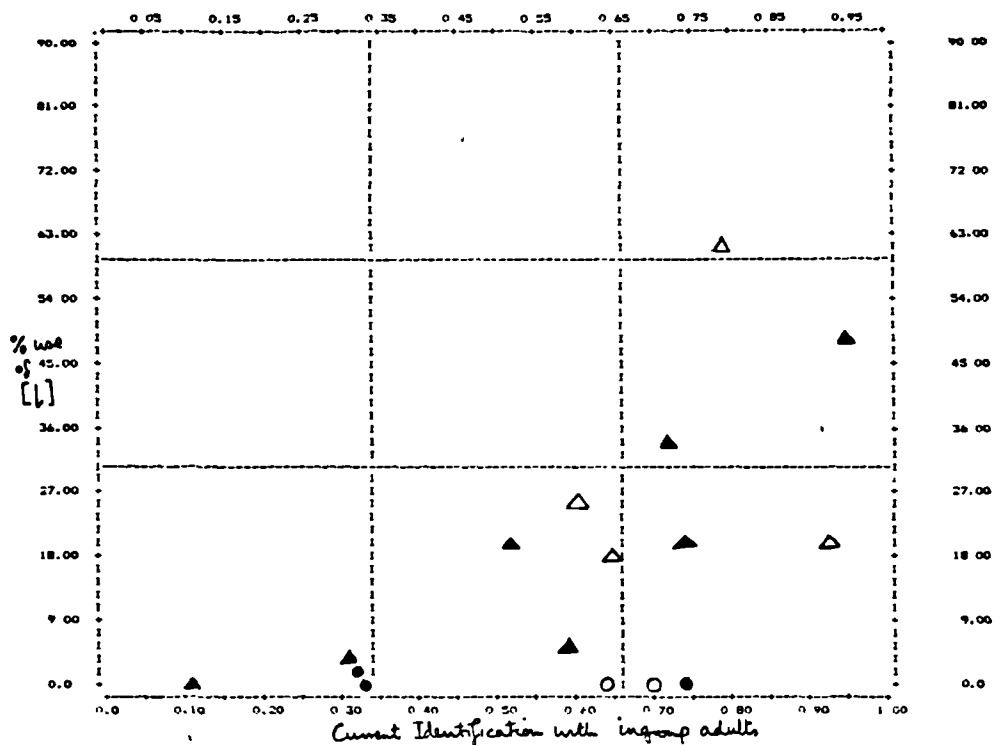
\* Includes informant with score on vertical median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

\*\* Includes informant with score on horizontal median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

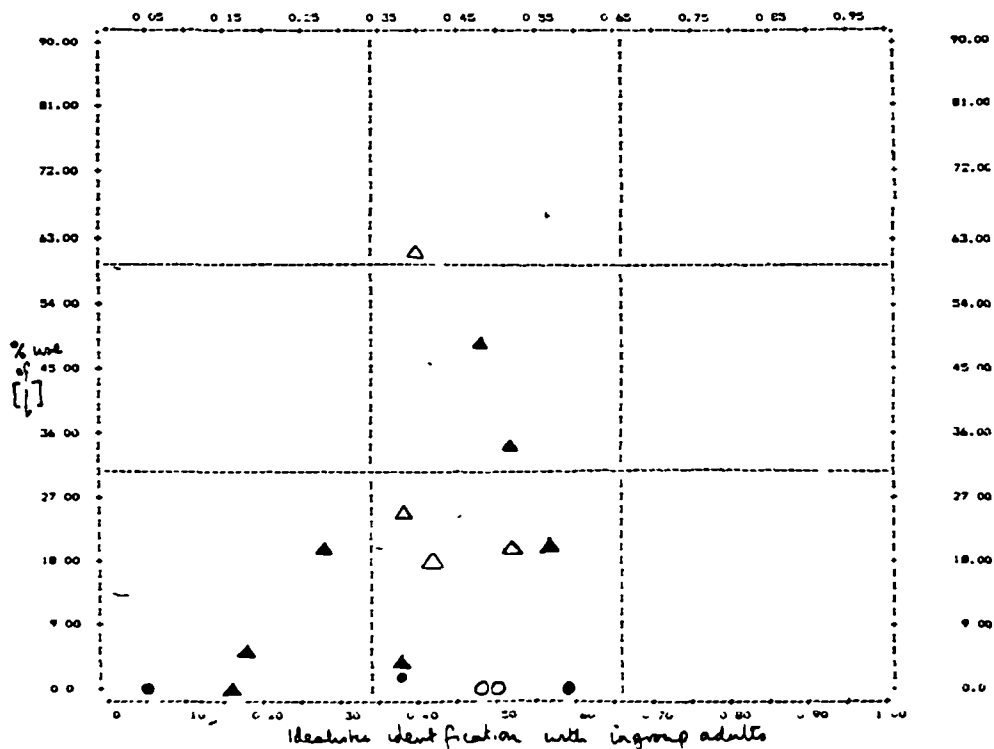
Before one may extrapolate from these associations to propose retroflex [ɭ] as specific reflection of a positive psycho-social orientation to adult Punjabi speakers, or more accurately/strongly 'Pakistani adults', it needs to be seen whether use of [ɭ] is also associated with 'Teachers' and 'English kids', both of whom are targets for identification scoring comparably with ingroup adults (see Chapter 8.5.1 above), and neither of whom are likely to act as reference models for the use of [ɭ].

Tables 13.19 and 13.20 show the association between [ɭ] use and current identifications with 'Teachers' and 'English kids'.

SCATTERPLOT 13.6: [1] x CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH INGROUP ADULTS

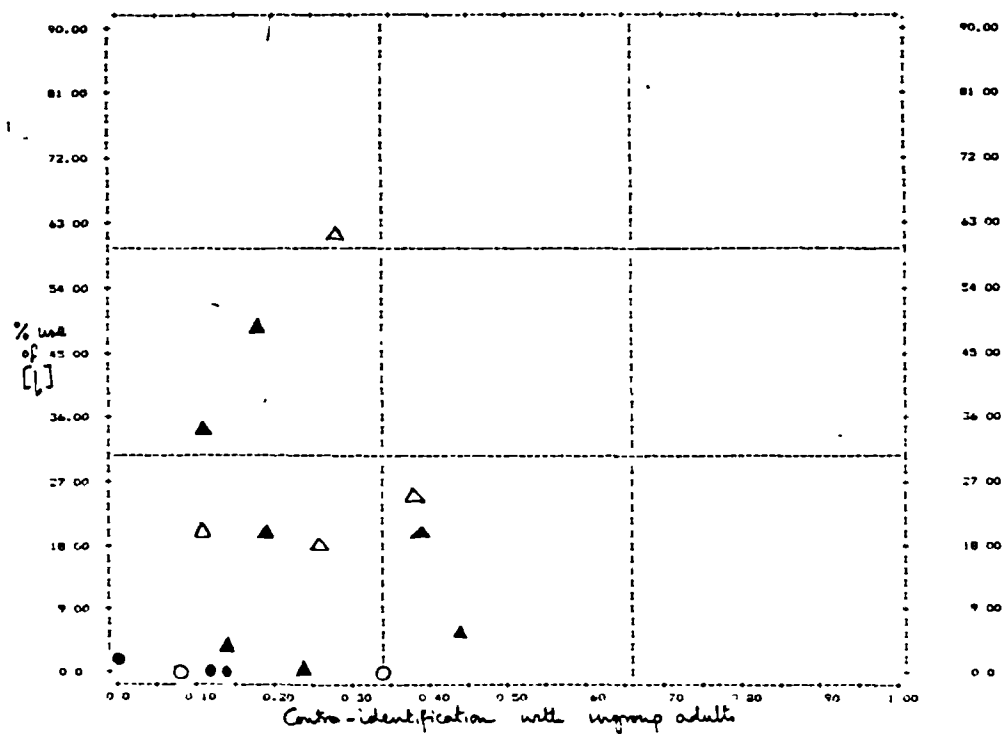


SCATTERPLOT 13.7: [1] x IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH INGROUP ADULTS



Key:  $\Delta$  : informants of Indian parentage  
 $\blacktriangle$  : informants of Palestinian parentage  
 $\circ$  : informants of Afro-Caribbean parentage  
 $\bullet$  : informants of Anglo parentage  
 $\odot$  : informants of mixed parentage

SCATTERPLOT 13.8: [1] x CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION WITH INGROUP ADULTS



Key:  $\Delta$  informants of Indian parentage  
 $\blacktriangle$  informants of Balutani parentage  
 $\circ$  informants of Afro-Caribbean parentage  
 $\bullet$  informants of Anglo parentage  
 $\odot$  informants of Mixed parentage

TABLE 13.19 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND THE MEDIANS FOR  
CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH 'TEACHERS' AND FOR  
[ ↓ ] USE, FOR INFORMANTS OF ASIAN PARENTAGE

Current Identification with Teachers					
U s e o f  [↓]	In.	Pa.	In.	Pa.	a b o v e r  M E D I A N (=.676) b e l o w
	1 50%	1 25%	1 50%	2 67%	
	1 50%*	3 75%	1 50%**	1 33%	
	lower		higher		
	M E D I A N (=19)				

\* Includes informant with score on the vertical median,  
whose classification was decided on the toss of a coin

\*\* Includes informant with score on the horizontal median,  
whose classification was decided on the toss of a coin

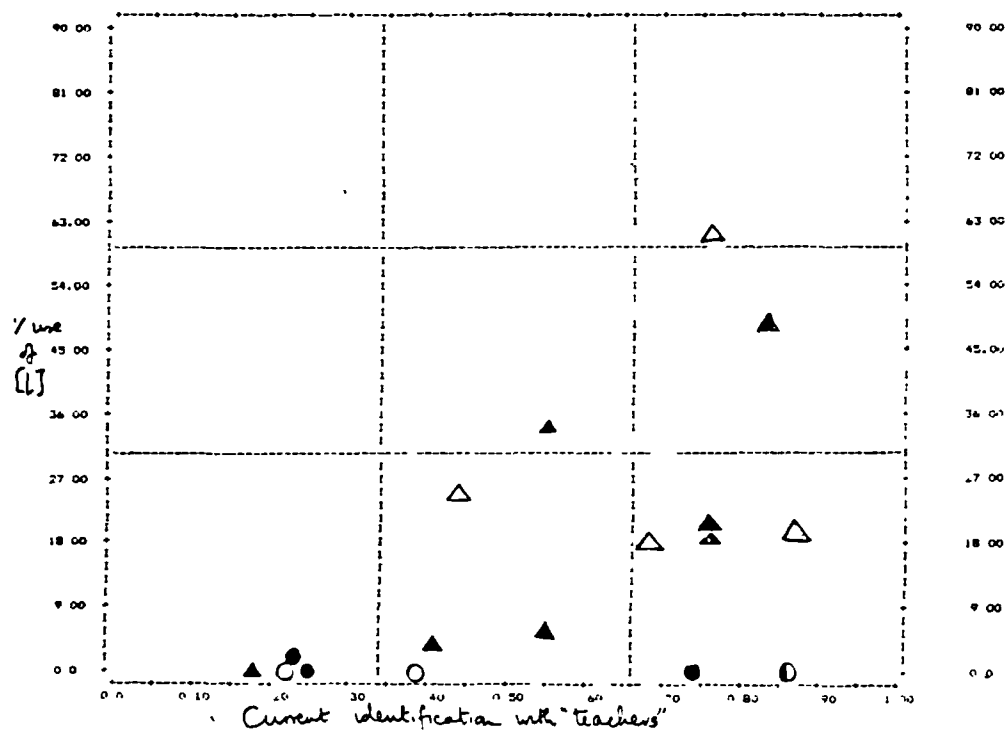
TABLE 13.20 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND THE MEDIANS FOR  
CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH 'ENGLISH KIDS' AND  
FOR [ ↓ ] USE, FOR INFORMANTS OF ASIAN PARENTAGE

Current Identification with 'English kids'					
U s e  o f  [ ↓ ]	In.	Pa.	In.	Pa.	a b o v e r  M E D I A N (=19)  b e l o w
	1	1	1	2	
	100%	20%	33%	100%	
		4	2		
		80%*	67%**		
	lower		higher		
	M E D I A N (=.828)				

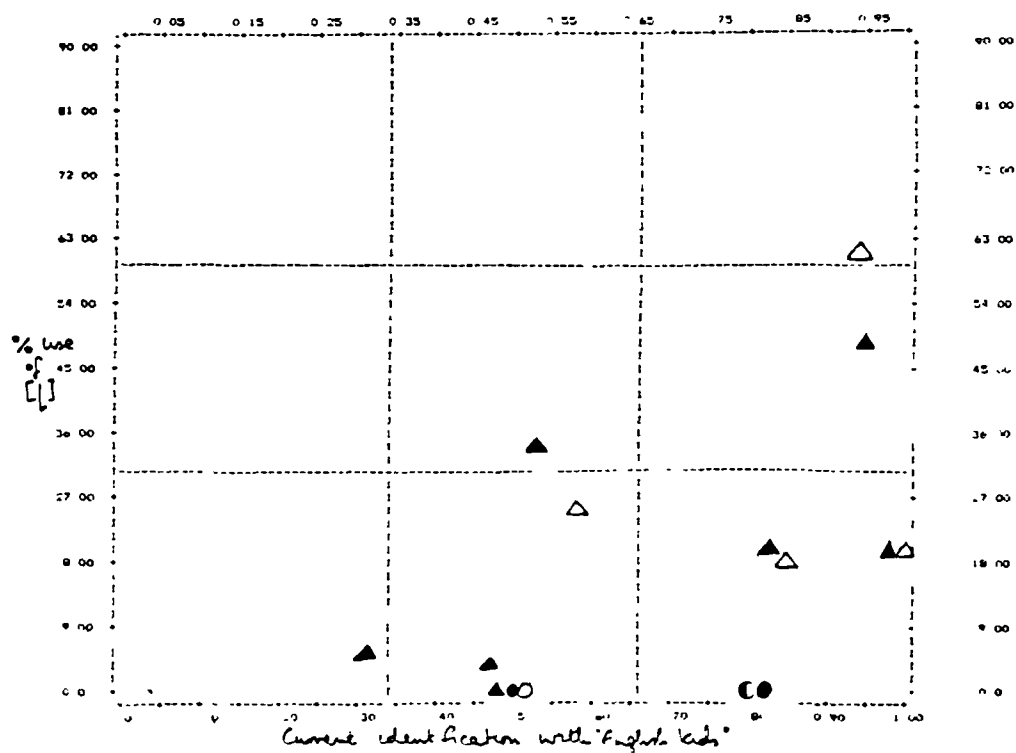
\* Includes informant with score on the vertical median,  
whose classification was decided on the toss of a coin

\*\* Includes informant with score on the horizontal median,  
whose classification was decided on the toss of a coin

SCATTERPLOT 13.9: CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH 'TEACHERS' v [U]



SCATTERPLOT 13.10: CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH 'ENGLISH KIDS' v [U]



Key:   
 △ informants of Indian parentage   
 ▲ informants of Pakistani parentage   
 ○ informants of Afro-Caribbean parentage   
 ● informants of Anglo parentage   
 ◐ informants of Mixed parentage

For ethnically Pakistani informants the association of retroflex [ɭ] use and current identification is not as strong with regard to 'Teachers' and 'English kids' as it is for Pakistani adults, and an inspection of the scatterplots for each gives an indication of the difference - see Scatterplots 13.9 and 13.10 vs 13.6 (scatterplots also indicate that idealistic identification with Pakistani adults is more closely associated with retroflex [ɭ] use than idealistic identification with 'Teachers' and 'English kids' - compare plots 13.11 and 13.12 with 13.7). To summarise this difference it would not be inappropriate here to present the Pearson correlation coefficients for each, and this is done in Table 13.21.

TABLE 13.21 PEARSON PRODUCT MOMENT CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS  
FOR RETROFLEX [ɭ] USE AND ETHNICALLY PAKISTANI  
INFORMANTS' CURRENT IDENTIFICATIONS

Current Identification with	n	r
Pakistani adults	7	0.8698
'Teachers'	7	0.7321
'English kids'	7	0.6307

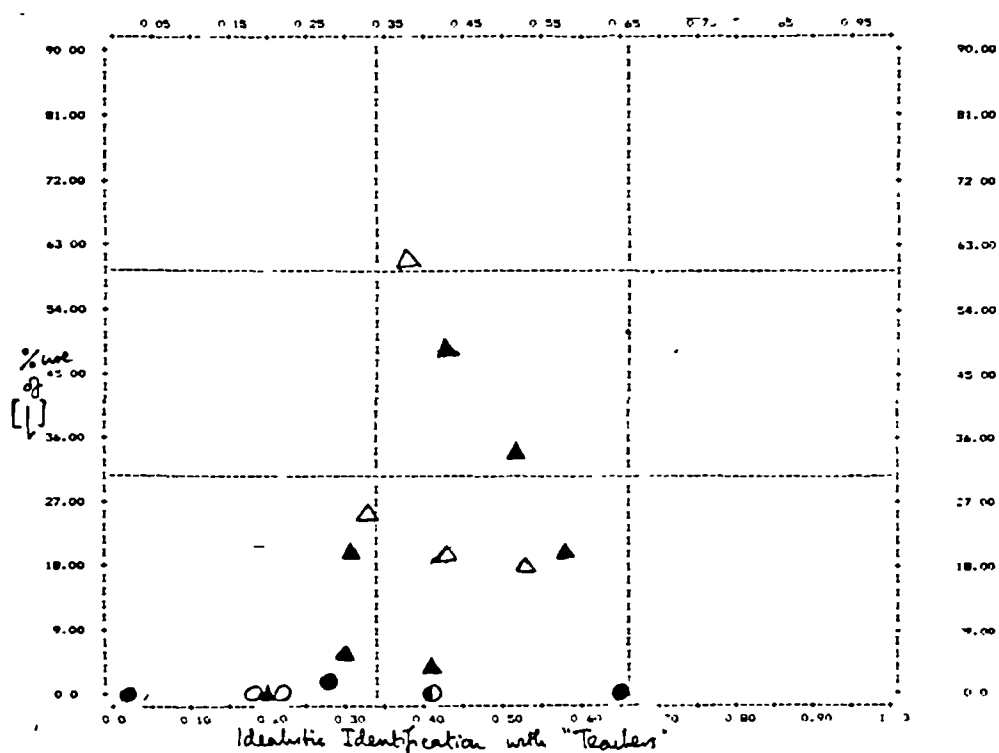
Table 13.22 gives these three Pearson correlation coefficients with regard to idealistic identifications.

TABLE 13.22 PEARSON PRODUCT MOMENT CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS  
FOR RETROFLEX [ɭ] USE AND ETHNICALLY PAKISTANI  
INFORMANTS' IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATIONS

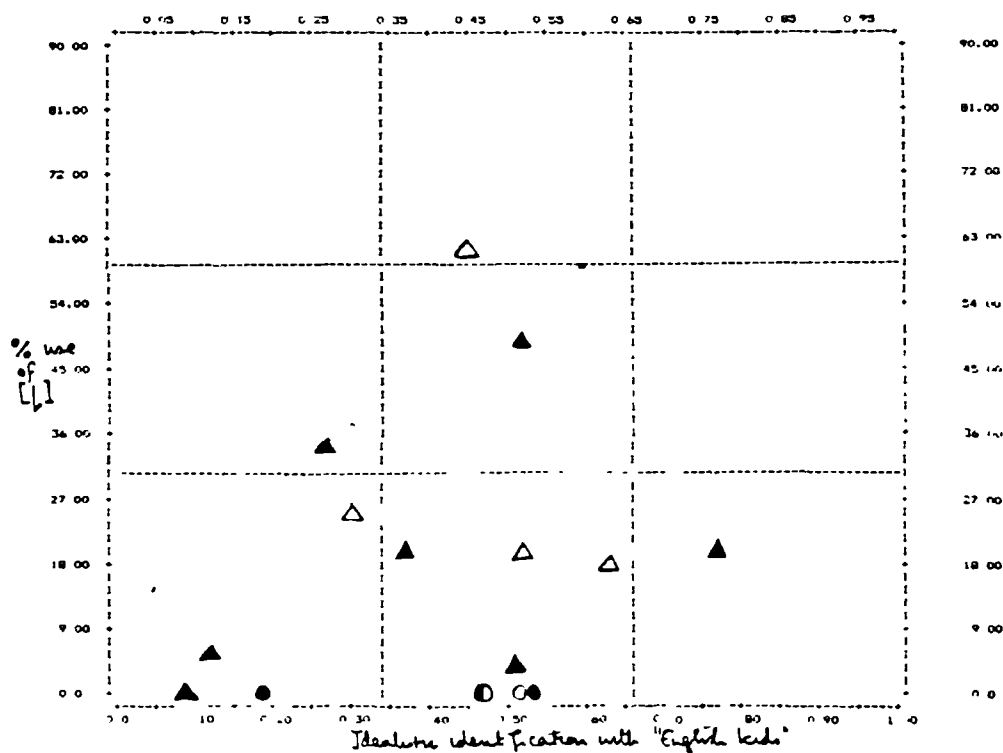
Idealistic identification with	n	r
Pakistani adults	7	.6918
'Teachers'	7	.5518
'English kids'	7	.3649

Clearly, on both current and idealistic identification, retroflex [ɭ] use is more closely associated with perceptions of

SCATTERPLOT 13.11: [1] x IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH 'TEACHERS'



SCATTERPLOT 13.12: [1] x IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH 'ENGLISH KIDS'



Key.  $\Delta$  informants of Indian parentage  
 $\blacktriangle$  informants of Pakistani parentage  
 $\bigcirc$  Informants of Afro-Caribbean parentage  
 $\bullet$  Informants of Anglo parentage  
 $\odot$  informants of Mixed parentage



Pakistani adults than of 'Teachers' and 'English kids'.

What about the entities 'Indian kids' and 'Pakistani kids'? While in this correlational idiom it is simplest to report on the Pearson correlation coefficients for current identification with 'Pakistani kids' and 'Indian kids' (the scatterplots A.18.1, A.18.2 [Appendix 18] do not suggest, for example, that in contrast to 'Pakistani adults', either of these are related to [ɹ] in a curvilinear manner, thus making Pearson inappropriate). These are presented in Table 13.23.

TABLE 13.23 PEARSON PRODUCT MOMENT CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS  
FOR RETROFLEX [ɹ] USE AND ETHNICALLY PAKISTANI  
INFORMANTS' CURRENT IDENTIFICATIONS

Current identification with	n	r
'Pakistani kids'	7	.5301
'Indian kids'	7	.3947

There is some degree of association between current identification with 'Pakistani kids' and retroflex [ɹ], but less than there is with 'English kids' and 'Teachers': on this data, there could be little support for an argument that patterns of [ɹ] derived from the strong psycho-social identification of ethnically Pakistani informants with their ingroup peers. However, there is prima facie evidence that [ɹ] use might be the product of identification with Pakistani adults, in whose speech [ɹ] is likely to be very common and towards whom the use of [ɹ] might be indicative of psycho-social and linguistic convergence. This is the strongest finding to emerge from this exploration of (ʔ), (ɳ) and patterns of ISA identification.

These two analyses of [ɹ] and [ɳ] illustrate much of the conceptual and methodological ground covered in the unfruitful investigations conducted in Appendix 16. Some of these follow up hints emerging from sections 13.1 and 13.2. The connection

between [ʔ] use and Afro-Caribbean ethnicity is inspected in terms of identification with 'West Indian kids', and [ʔ] is examined in relation to identification with 'Indian kids' (Chapter 13.1). The link between [d] and Pakistani ethnicity emerging in section 13.2 is examined in psycho-social terms, but there appears to be no ISA association either across the peer-group as a whole, or amongst ethnically non-Pakistani informants. Elsewhere in the appendix, hypotheses formulated in Chapter 9.1 are examined psycho-socially: no connections emerge between [l] and identification with Punjabi bilinguals, nor between Zero TH and Anglo identifications. With Vocalic L and Anglo identification and with [ʔ] and identification with teachers, isolated contra-identification indices suggest some linkage, but for the reasons discussed in connection with teachers and [ʔ] above (as well as others), these are regarded as inconsequential.

One further association requires treatment here. This is the notional association of clear [l] with Afro-Caribbean ethnicity, which of course ISA enables us to consider in terms of identification with 'West Indian kids'. The patterns to emerge on this are rather perplexing.

Tables 13.24 and 13.25 show the association of clear [l] use with current and then idealistic identification with 'West Indian kids'.

Across the polyethnic peer-group as a whole, there appears to be no systematic association of [l] with current and idealistic identification with ethnically Afro-Caribbean kids: the patterns are respectively

5	4		4	4
55%	50%		45%	50%
4	4	and	5	4
45%	50%		50%	50%

TABLE 13.24 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND MEDIANS FOR CURRENT IDENTIFICATION  
WITH 'WEST INDIAN KIDS' AND FOR CLEAR [ \ ] USE (BY FIXED ETHNICITY)

Current Identification with 'West Indian kids'											
U s e  o f  [   ]	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	a b o v e  b e l o w
		3	1	1		2	1		1	1	
	100%	50%*	50%		100%	25%**	100%	(100)			
	2		1	1			3				
	100%		50%	50%			75%				
	lower					higher					
	MEDIAN (=9.5)										
	MEDIAN (=564)										

\* Includes informant with score on vertical median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

\*\* Includes informant with score on horizontal median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

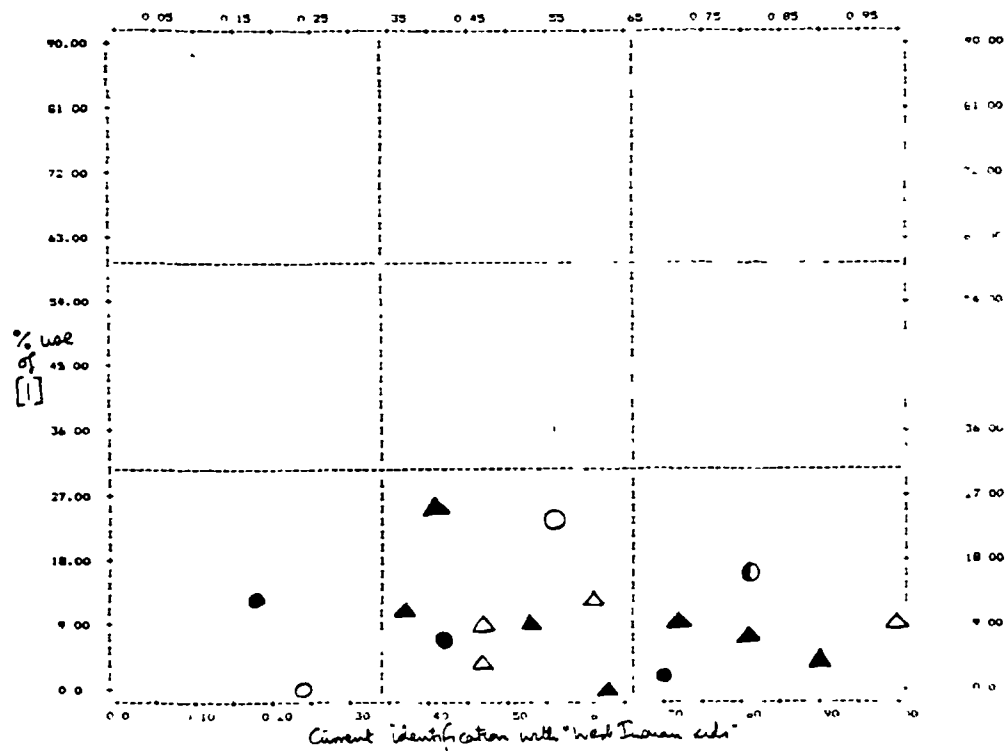
TABLE 13.25 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND THE MEDIANS FOR IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION  
WITH 'WEST INDIAN KIDS' AND FOR CLEAR [ | ] USE (BY FIXED ETHNICITY)

Idealistic Identification with 'West Indian kids'												
	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.		In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	
U s e  o f  [   ]	1	1		1	1		1	2	1			a
	50%	33%		50%	(100)*		50%	50%	100%			b
	1	2	1	1			1	2		1		o
	50%	67%**	100%	50%			50%	50%		100%		v
	lower						higher					e
	MEDIAN (=.412)											MEDIAN (=9.5)
												b
												e
												l
												o
												w

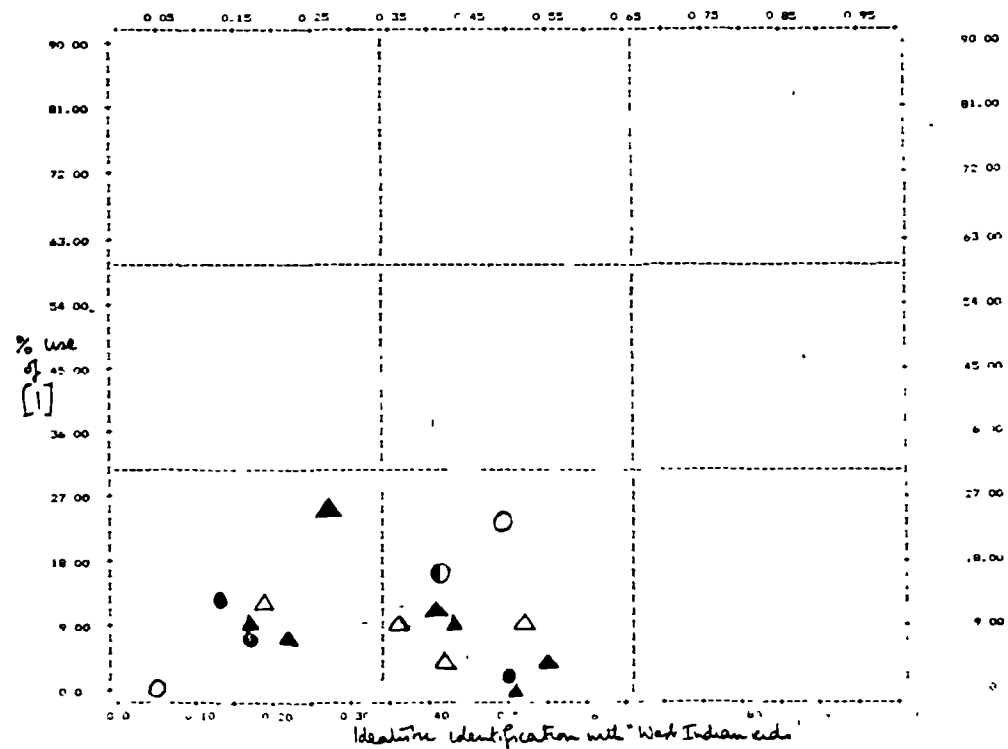
Yet amongst ethnically Pakistani informants (who are really the only subgroup big enough here to justify this kind of focus) there appears to be some kind of negative association between clear [ɪ] use and current identification. The informants of Pakistani parentage who most use [ɪ] see themselves as least similar to West Indian kids (see Scatterplot 13.13). Some support for this suggestion also comes from the Scatterplots 13.14 and 13.15 on [ɪ] and idealistic and contra-identification with 'West Indian kids'. If one imagines a line running between the Pakistani informants in the former, it slopes downwards from the left to right, suggesting a negative link between [ɪ] and aspirations to be similar to ethnically Afro-Caribbean kids. In the latter, it runs in the opposite direction, upwards from left to right, suggesting a positive association between [ɪ] and the wish to be different. In none of the scatterplots could these imaginary lines be construed as representing a high correlation (the highest Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficient is  $r = -.5632$ , for [ɪ] x current identification). Yet there is a consistency here across three indices which means that the association here needs to be taken more seriously than it was in the case of the association of [ʌ], Vocalic L and various contra-identifications.

Why there should be such an association is a harder question than whether there is one: like all of the associations to emerge here, it could just be a fluke (some kind of subjective reaction test is needed to see whether any of the linguistic variants really have the ethnic connotations being postulated for them here). But if it is not, it presents a challenge to the association between [ɪ] and 'West Indian kids' which motivated this line of examination in the first place. The hypothesis (supported weakly by the group means data) that [ɪ] is an Afro-Caribbean variant should mean that people not wanting to be similar to 'West Indian kids' use [ɪ] less, not more as happens here: can the issue be resolved by proposing that for these Pakistani informants, the important thing about [ɪ] is not its Afro-Caribbean provenance, but its Punjabi connotation (see

SCATTERPLOT 13.13: [1] x CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH 'WEST INDIAN KIDS'



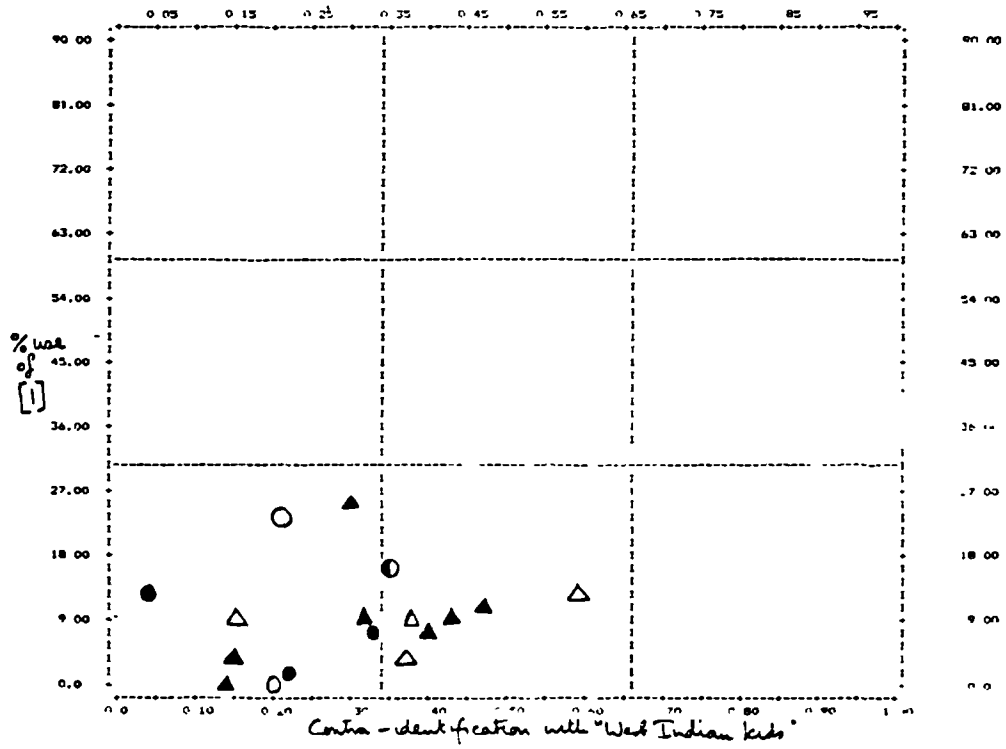
SCATTERPLOT 13.14: [1] x IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH 'WEST INDIAN KIDS'



Key:

- △ informants of Indian parentage
- ▲ informants of Pakistani parentage
- informants of Afro-Caribbean parentage
- informants of Anglo parentage
- informants of Mixed parentage

SCATTERPLOT 13.15: [1] x CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION WITH 'WEST INDIAN KIDS'



Key:  $\Delta$  informants of Indian parentage  
 $\blacktriangle$  informants of Pakistani parentage  
 $\circ$  informants of Afro-Caribbean parentage  
 $\bullet$  informants of Anglo parentage  
 $\odot$  informants of Mixed parentage

9.1.1 above) and that as a Punjabi variant, [ | ] is symptomatic of psycho-social disaffiliation from West Indian kids?

For this interpretation to be given credence, evidence would be needed of a positive association between [ | ] and identification with Punjabi groupings. Focusing on ethnically Pakistani informants, Appendix 19 examines [ | ] in relation to current and idealistic identification with 'Pakistani kids', 'Pakistani adults' and 'Indian kids'. But none of these analyses provides any hint that clear [ | ] is particularly associated, in one way or another, with Punjabi bilinguals (neither does the data on interactional association, nor do the subgroup means). The suggestion therefore that those ethnically Pakistani informants who identify least with 'West Indian kids', use clear [ | ] most because this variant has become linked with a Pakistani ethnicity which exists in opposition to Afro-Caribbean kids, is completely without support.<sup>3</sup> The association between relatively high [ | ] use and low West Indian identification remains a mystery.

### 13.3.3 Summary

One tangible advantage of the measures used here over the network measures used in section 13.2 relates to the way in which ISA allows an exploration of the links between language usage and perception of social groupings with whom informants either do not have multiplex ties, or about whom it is otherwise hard for the analyst to construct measures of interactional contact. In this context, it has been possible to introduce 'Teachers', ingroup adults and 'West Indian kids'.

However, there are also certain practical difficulties in studying patterns of psycho-social identification, which redress the balance of advantage/disadvantage with regard to these two approaches to group affiliation. The ISA procedure results in a great many more indices than my use of network analysis pro-



duced, and this has had two practical implications. Firstly, in trying to establish an association between use of a certain form and strong identification with social or ethnic groups who might be supposed to be modelling it, it has been necessary to examine connections between that usage and identification with groups most unlikely to employ the L form themselves. Thus, for example, seeing some kind of an association between [ɫ] use and current identification with 'Pakistani kids' needs to be tempered by awareness of that variant's stronger association with identification with 'Teachers'. So in this respect the analysis needs to be more copious.

A more serious (conceptual) problem concerns the relationship between the idealistic, current and contra-identification indices themselves, and the extent to which it is legitimate to rely on anyone to the exclusion of the others. In the event, I have taken seriously only those associations which are indicated on at least two, and in particular I have discounted associations between Vocalic L and 'English kids', and both [ɫ] and [ʎ] and 'Teachers' where these have only emerged on contra-identification indices. These implicitly invite explanation in terms of psycho-social blockages and their removal (leading to 'freer' use of Vocalic L, [ɫ] and [ʎ]) which without first having evidence about positive 'attraction' leading to greater use, are simply unwarranted in their complexity.

So the use of ISA identification indices emerges from this exercise in these ways as both more laborious and more selective/partial. What about the substantive as opposed to methodological findings?

A lot were negative. There appeared to be no worthwhile associations between identification with 'English kids' and the use of either Vocalic L or Zero TH. Dark [ɫ] had no associations with identification with 'West Indian kids' (contrary to the hint in the subgroup means), nor ultimately with 'Teachers' (see the remarks on 'rogue' contra-identification indices above).

[ʃ] was not connected with identification with 'Teachers' either, nor 'Indian kids'. The finding that multiplex interactional association with Pakistani peers related to the use of [d] by ethnically non-Pakistani informants was not replicated here - patterns of psycho-social identification with 'Pakistani kids' bore no perceptible relation to [d] use across the polyethnic peer-group as a whole, either including or excluding informants of Pakistani parentage.

On two linguistic variables however, positive results did emerge. The first (and weaker) association concerned [ɪ], the entity 'West Indian kids' and ethnically Pakistani informants: those who identified most with West Indian kids tended to use [ɪ] least (this tendency was intimated on all three indices). This finding contradicts the assumptions that identification leads to resemblance/copying and that [ɪ] is an Afro-Caribbean variant: neither can it be explained away in terms of [ɪ] getting tagged as a Punjabi variant and being developed as an ethno-linguistic marker, in contradistinction to Afro-Caribbean ethnicity. It remains a mystery. A more amenable finding however concerned the association of Pakistani informants' retroflex [ɮ] use with current and idealistic identification with 'Pakistani adults': the association here was particularly strong and distinctive. Here we may have a case of strong psycho-social identification with a group leading to particular receptivity to the linguistic forms associated with it (though such a causal connection is obviously not proven).

## NOTES

1. All of the linguistic scores used here and in subsequent analyses are based on individual percentage scores for the use of variants. However, there is a case for using frequency data when it comes to making subgroup comparisons. Aggregating individual frequency scores agitates against speaker A with 9 out of 10 instances of a particular variant being given equal importance with speaker B with 20 out of 100. With a hundred tokens, speaker B provides a much more reliable sample than speaker A. Calculated on aggregated frequencies, the group mean here would be about 26. If individual scores had been initially converted to percentages, the group mean for these two would be about 55. The disadvantage of using frequency scores is that it allows speaker B's behaviour to dominate the 'group', when in fact he/she may be very idiosyncratic.

Table A.12.4 in Appendix 12 (p. ) presents the adjusted frequency scores on ( + ) and ( % ) for each individual, prior to their conversion into individual percentage scores. In Tables 13.26, 13.27 below, approximate ethnic subgroup mean uses of ( + ) and ( % ) are calculated on the basis of these frequency data, and the results are compared with the approximate subgroup means that appear in the main text.

Particularly in the case of ( % ), these two approaches to calculating subgroup means make very little difference. The difference on [ + ] and [ % ] is slight, although the frequency based approach suggests that Indian and Pakistani uses of [ % ] are closer to one another than the percentage based method indicates. The biggest disparity concerns Vocalic L: for instance, subgroup means calculated on frequencies suggest a much smaller gap between Anglo and Indian uses.

However, we need not be unduly concerned about these differences. Where they occur, the frequency approach generally reduces the gaps between subgroups, so in the method adopted in the main text, we are evidently not failing to pick out strikingly distinctive ethno-linguistic behaviours. Secondly, all the results in this subgroup-focused section are anyway being treated tentatively, as cues to further investigation by means of alternative conceptualisations of group affiliation. So even though the percentage based approach may be judged to exaggerate in comparison with the frequency method, we are hardly being lured into wild boasting.

TABLE 13.26 ETHNIC SUBGROUP MEANS FOR VARIANTS OF (+) CALCULATED TWO WAYS -

(a) ON THE BASIS OF INDIVIDUAL PERCENTAGE SCORES, AND

(b) ON THE BASIS OF AGGREGATED FREQUENCY SCORES

Ethnicity of subgroup	Vocalic L		[+]		[i]		[ɪ]		Total no. of (+) tokens per subgroup
	Using %s	Using fs	Using %s	Using fs	Using %s	Using fs	Using %s	Using fs	
Indian	34	41	26	27	8	7	30	24	151
Pakistani	39	37	32	37	9	7	18	17	380
Afro-Caribbean	24	24	54	56	20	20	0	0	70
Anglo	54	48	37	42	9	9	0	0	155

Key: %s = percentages

fs = frequencies

TABLE 13.27 ETHNIC SUBGROUP MEANS FOR VARIANTS OF (ʒ) CALCULATED TWO WAYS -

(a) FROM INDIVIDUAL PERCENTAGE SCORES, AND

(b) FROM INDIVIDUAL FREQUENCY SCORES

Ethnicity of subgroup	[ʒ]		[d]		Zero TH		Total no. of (ʒ) tokens per subgroup	Zero TH after dental/ alveolar consonants		Total no. of dental/alveolar environment for ( )
	Using %s	Using fs	Using %s	Using fs	Using %s	Using fs		Using %s	Using fs *	
Indian	60	59	20	23	18	17	454	31	34	267
Pakistani	44	46	34	32	20	20	853	28	31	391
Afro- Caribbean	50	51	28	27	20	21	124	38	41	92
Anglo	53	52	19	22	27	26	320	42	39	153

\* Data for these frequency calculations are drawn from Tables 9.10 and A.11.1.

Key: %s = percentages

fs = frequencies

2. The option was available to me of transcribing a few more informants of Pakistani and Indian parentage, which would have boosted sample sizes. But that might only permit statistical comparison between these two subgroups, and forced to choose by time constraints, I preferred to make a tentative map of a broader area of interethnic contact.
3. There is also no evidence of such an opposition in Charts 12.8 and 12.9, where amongst ethnically Pakistani informants, mean levels of idealistic and contra-identification are roughly equivalent with regard to Asian and West Indian entities.

## CHAPTER 14

### SOME INTEGRATIVE CASE STUDIES OF ETHNOLINGUISTIC NON-CONFORMISTS

#### 14.1 Introduction

On their own both interactional association and psycho-social identification have been correlated with (†) and word initial (‰): both revealed themselves capable uncovering systematic patterns within the linguistic data. Unfortunately, the design of the present study is not such that it can rigorously examine the interaction of these two conceptions of group membership in their effect on language: the preceding analyses were carried out with each separately.

By switching out of a cross-sectional idiom into more of a case-study mode, it is however possible to draw out one or two patterns that present themselves when language, interactional association and psycho-social identification are seen in combination, and to demonstrate something of the compatibility of network and Identity Structure Analysis. The particular proposition which presents itself in this way concerns informants who have both ethnically diverse multiplex ties and who generally identify only weakly, if at all, with ethnic ingroup kids: their linguistic behaviour on (†) and (‰) generally seems to be exceptional and their cases merit attention in a little detail. In this way, the integrative approach adopted here both combines network and ISA, and focuses on 'special cases' as case studies often do in the context of wider cross-sectional analyses.

Of course there are dangers when one switches to a case study analysis (of quantitative data), and in particular it is easy to chase around in an endless sequence of incoherent improvisations.<sup>1</sup> However, it would be a pity to ignore the patterns to be outlined below, and as long as the risks are remembered, it is sensible to proceed.<sup>2</sup>

## 14.2 Analysis

It is first of all useful to recollect (and reproduce) Table 12.15 which showed the relationship between the ethnic exclusiveness of informants' multiplex interactional associations, and their psycho-social identifications with the peer entities around them.

TABLE 12.15 SUMMARY OF INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISATIONS: WHICH INFORMANTS PRIMARILY IDENTIFY WITH WHICH ENTITIES

General 'positive' identification ...	In the case of informants ...
With all entities fairly equally	Ai Ei G1 Jp Kp Rw (Sw) (We)
Mostly with 'Indian', 'Pakistani' and 'English kids'	Qp
Mostly with 'Indian', 'Pakistani' and 'West Indian kids'	(Mp)
Mostly with 'Pakistani' and 'Indian kids'	Ci Fi Ip (Mp)
Mostly with 'Pakistani kids' (and 'West Indian kids')	(Tm)
Mostly with 'Indian kids'	Op Pp Ve
Mostly with 'English kids'	B1 Ue
Mostly with 'West Indian kids'	Hp Lp

This table drew on verbal characterisations of each individual's main identifications (Appendix 9) and these characterisations ignored the fact that two people might be similar in focusing their strongest identification on the entity 'Pakistani kids' for example, but be very different in those strengths relative to each other. One person's current identification score might be 1.00, while the other's might be .500, despite the fact that in each case, intra-individually these were their highest.



Table 14.1 reproduces Table 12.15, but inserts diacritics to show whether, relative to one another, each informant's primary identifications are strong or weak.

TABLE 14.1 HOW FAR DOES THE ETHNIC EXCLUSIVENESS OF AN INFORMANT'S MULTIPLEX PEER NETWORK RELATE TO ETHNIC EXCLUSIVENESS IN HIS STRONGEST GROUP IDENTIFICATION(S)

		Multiplex Interactional Associations		
		Exclusively (100%) co-ethnic	Fairly exclusive (81% to 99% co- ethnic)	Relatively ethnically diverse (ingroup con- stitutes less than 80%)
Identifi- cations with different peer entities	Strongest identifi- cation focused on in- group kids	(1)	(2)  U	(3)
	Strongest identifi- cation focused on in- group and outgroup kids	(4)  C <sup>S</sup> F I <sup>S</sup> J <sup>W</sup> (M) Q <sup>S</sup> R <sup>W</sup>	(5)  E <sup>W</sup> G K <sup>S</sup>	(6)  A <sup>S</sup> (S <sup>W</sup> ) (W <sup>W</sup> )
	Strongest identifi- cation focused on out- group kids	(7)  V	(8)  B L	(9)  H O <sup>W</sup> P <sup>S</sup>

w = weak identification (an index score of less than .600)

s = strong identification (an index score of more than .900)

( ) = placement uncertain

The cells of interest here are cells (6), (8) and (9), and it is possible to argue that most of the (transcribed) informants in these three cells deviate from the linguistic behaviour of the rest more than most of the others. With the exception of A and B, their linguistic performance is unusual on both the variables analysed here. Scrutiny of Charts 13.2, 13.4, 13.6, 13.8, 13.10, 13.12, 13.14, 13.16, reproduced for convenience below, permits us to define the exceptional non-conformity of H, S, W, L and O as follows.

- Hp: H is different from all the ethnically Asian boys on two variants of (↑). He uses dark [↑] more than any of the others, and he is the only one with no retroflex [↓]. On (ʃ), he uses Zero TH more than all of the ethnically Pakistani boys, and most of the informants of Indian parentage. He is equally non-conformist in his relative non-use of [d].
- Sw: S uses more dark [↑] than anyone, and he is one of only two boys to use no clear [↓]. In this respect his behaviour differs considerably from that of the two other ethnically Afro-Caribbean boys. He also uses much more [ʃ] than they, and less [d].
- We: W uses more clear [↓] than his two ethnically Anglo peers (also more than all the ethnically Indian and most of the Pakistani informants). He is the only non-Punjabi bilingual to use a retroflex [↓]. On the TH variable, he differs radically from Ue and Ve in his use of [d], and his non-use of Zero TH: he is amongst the leading users and non-users (respectively) in the peer-group.
- Lp: L uses more Vocalic L than anyone else, and his non-use of dark [↑] is second only to O's. Along with S, he is the only person to use no clear [↓], and in comparison with other Punjabi-English bilinguals, he uses hardly any retroflex variants. He uses lots of plosive [d] in comparison with most of the other informants and also relatively little [ʃ].
- Op: O's use of [d] and [ʃ] resembles L's; he also uses a good deal of Vocalic L, and not much retroflexion. He uses

CHART 13.2: % USE OF VOCALIC L, BY ETHNIC INDIVIDUALS

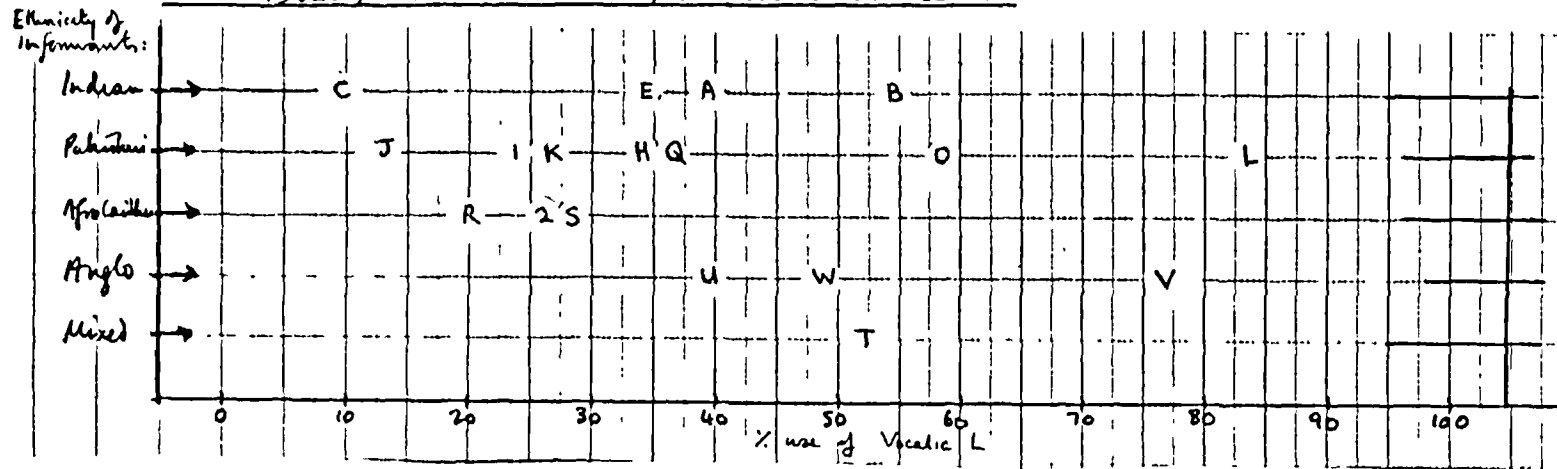


CHART 13.4: % USE OF CLEAR [ɪ], BY ETHNIC INDIVIDUALS

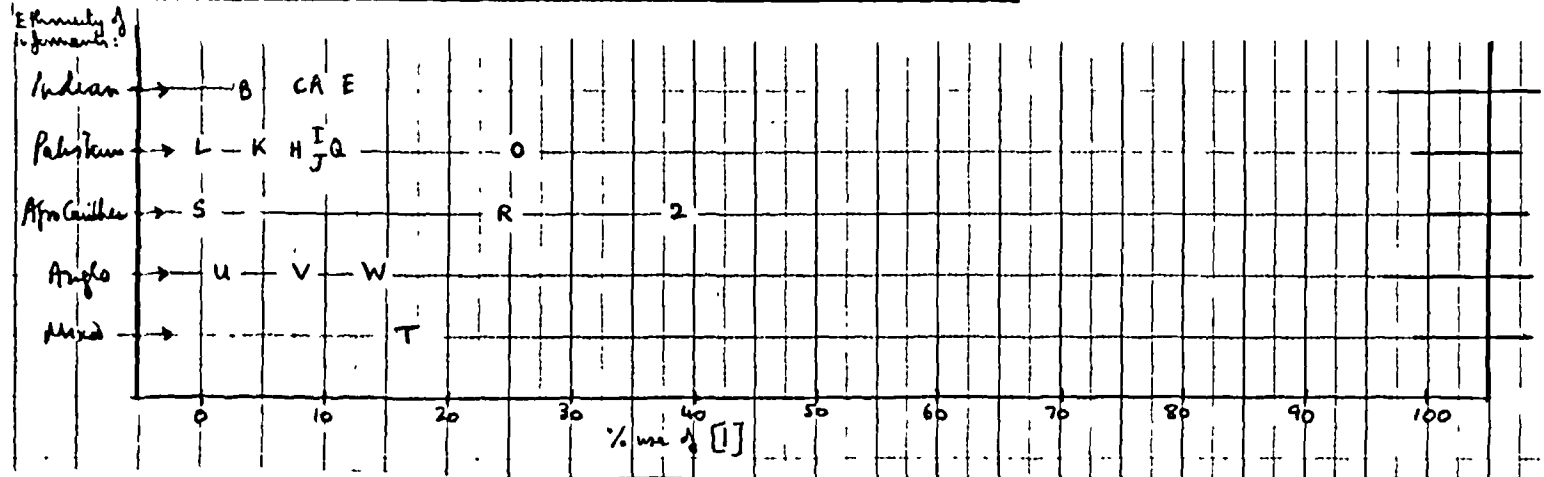


CHART 13.6: % USE OF RETROFLEX [ɭ], BY ETHNIC INDIVIDUALS

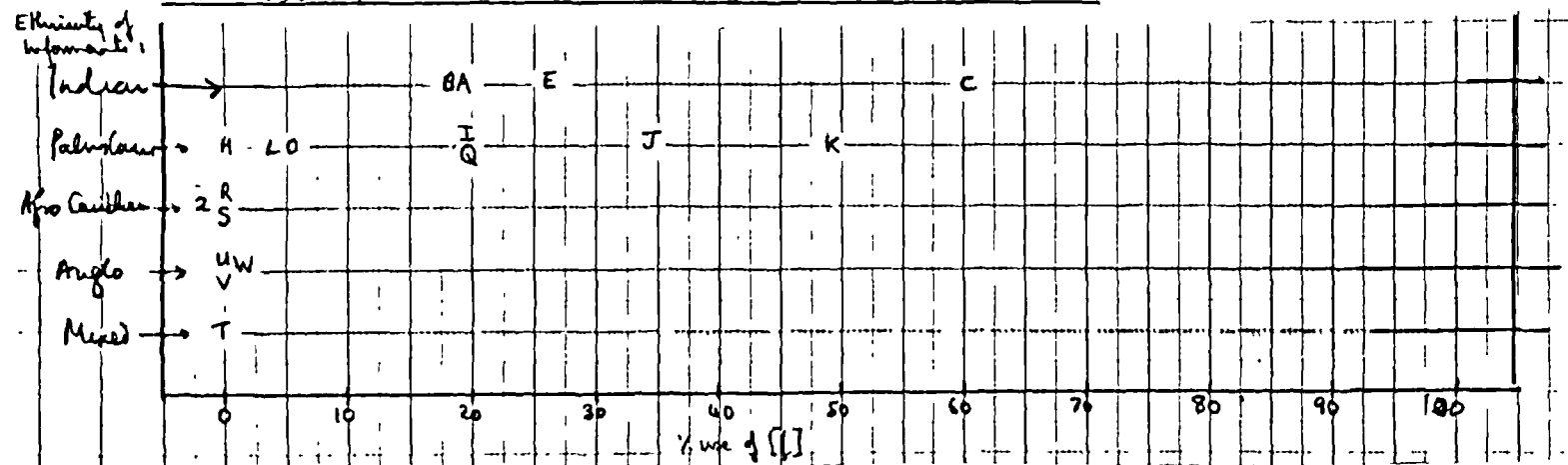


CHART 13.8: % USE OF DARK [+], BY ETHNIC INDIVIDUALS

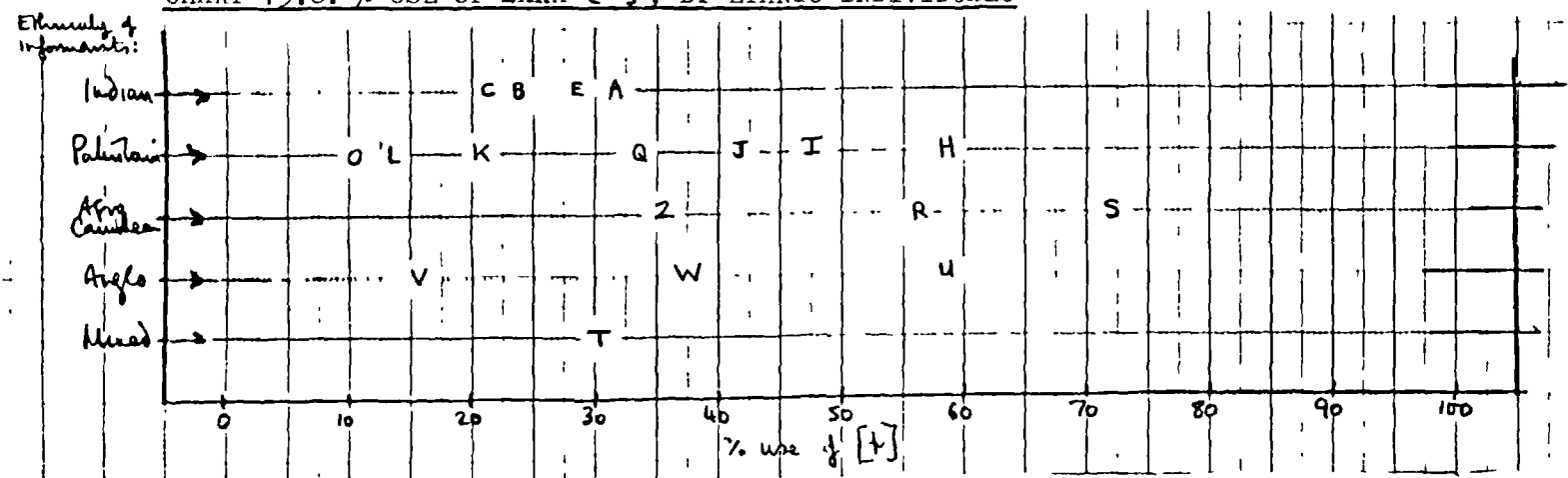


CHART 13.10: % USE OF PLOSIVE [d], BY ETHNIC INDIVIDUALS

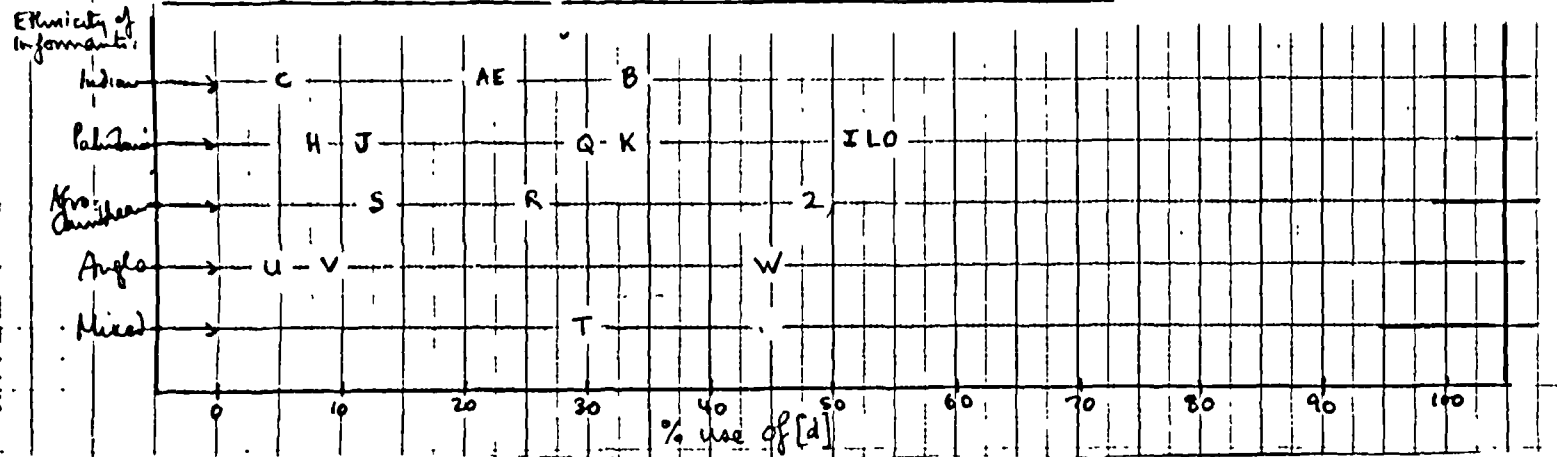


CHART 13.12: % USE OF WORD-INITIAL Zero TH AFTER DENTAL/ALVEOLAR CONSONANTS, BY ETHNIC INDIVIDUALS

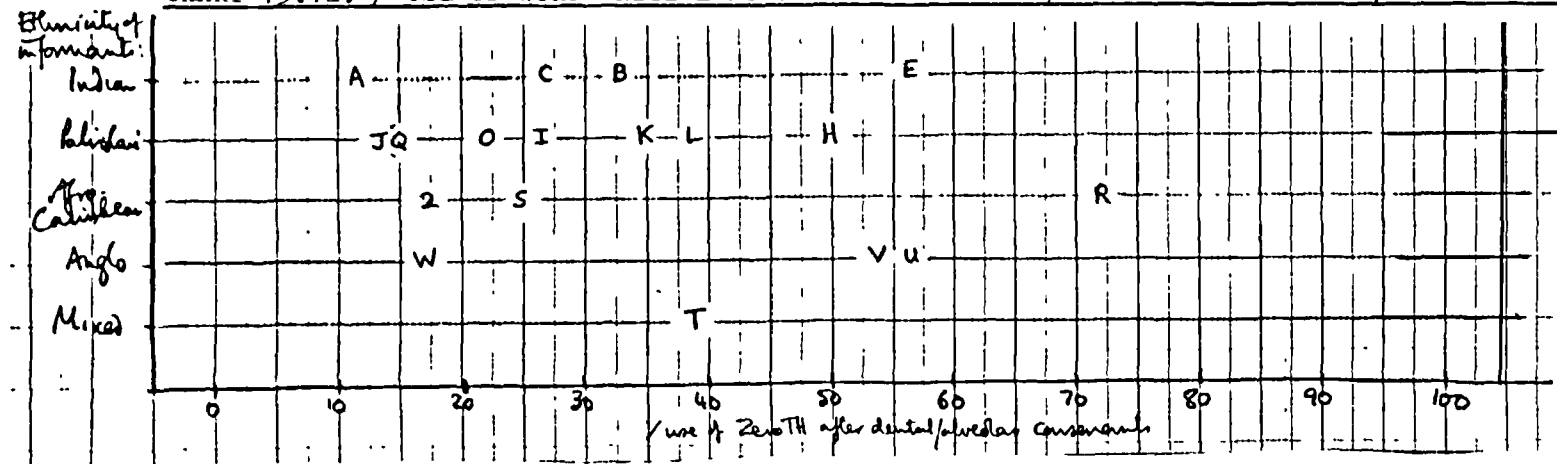


CHART 13.14: % USE OF WORD-INITIAL Zero TH, BY ETHNIC INDIVIDUALS

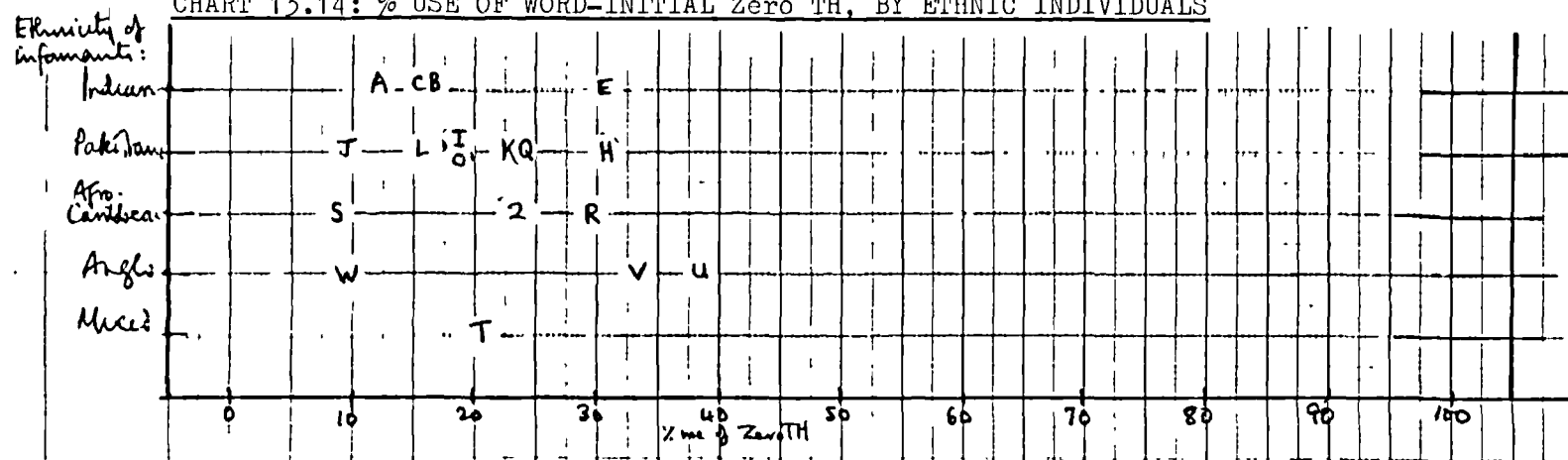
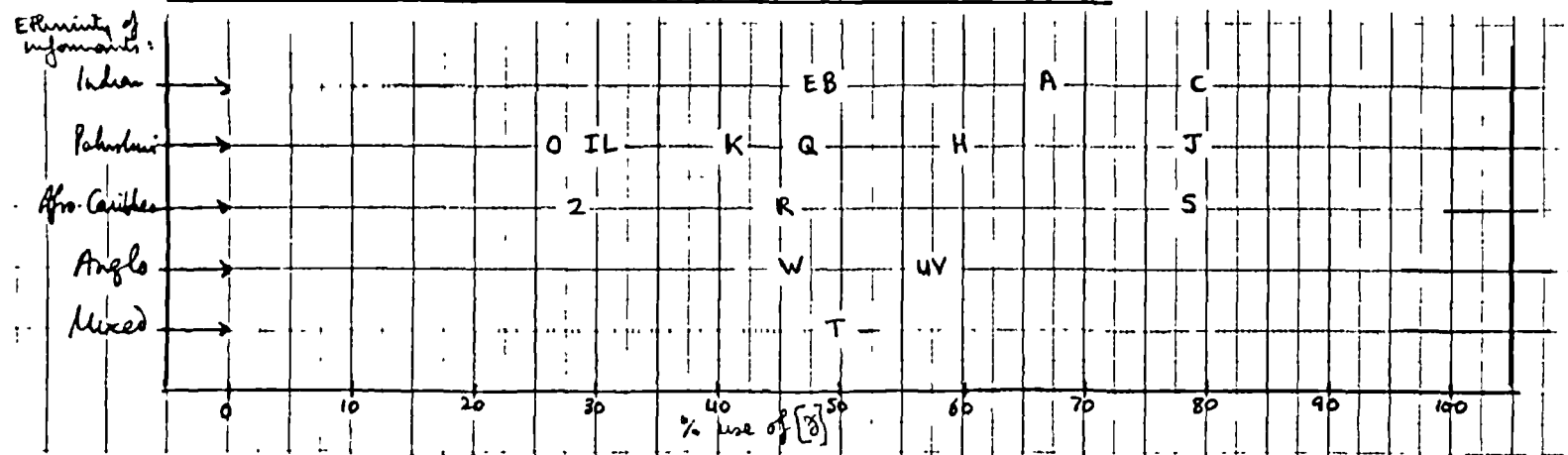


CHART 13.16: % USE OF FRICATIVE [ʒ], BY ETHNIC INDIVIDUALS



less dark [ɫ] than anyone, but is a leading user of the clear variant.

Despite falling in the same cells, A and B are not so extreme on both variants. A uses Zero TH after dental and alveolar consonants less than anyone, but elsewhere his linguistic behaviour is fairly average. B uses a lot of Vocalic L relative to the other informants of Indian parentage and his use of [d] also clearly exceeds theirs. However, it is not excessive relative to the rest of the peer-group and also his behaviour on other variants of (ʃ) does not stand out in the same way as that of S,H,W,L and O.<sup>3</sup>

So it is worth continuing with a closer examination of H,S,W,L and O, if only to get a better feel of how network analysis combines with ISA in action and to pinpoint a few clear empirical anomalies. How do these pattern in relation to these informants' linguistic behaviour?

H's non-use of retroflexion on its own suggests a movement away from ethnically Asian behaviour; his performance on variants of (ʃ) corresponds closely with Ue and Ve's and on these grounds we might suppose some kind of alignment with ethnically Anglo kids. In fact H has a very restricted number of multiplex peer associations<sup>4</sup> - he co-participates in three or more domains with only two peers, and one of these is white (We; the other is Ip). In addition, his family has few co-ethnic kin in the vicinity and H has no co-ethnic cousins of his own age. An ethnically Anglo family are very good friends and H regards them as fictive kin.

The coherence of this analytic pattern is however disrupted by H's ISA rating of 'English kids'. His current identification with them is a good deal weaker than his current identification with 'Indian', 'Pakistani' and 'West Indian kids' (.481 as opposed to .704, .704 and .815). His contra-identification with 'English kids' is also stronger than any other informant's (similarly his idealistic identification is weaker). The peer

entity whom H appears to identify with most are 'West Indian kids', and on variants of (†) (especially [†] and [ɹ]) his linguistic behaviour generally resembles that of the ethnically Afro-Caribbean informants as much as it does the Anglos' (Rw, Sw and 2w are in fact frequent and liked peer associates). Could we hypothesise that in terms of ethnic group membership, H is in a situation of tension, his network position aligning him to an unusual degree with Anglos in spite of his psycho-social orientation, which instead inclines him more to ethnically Afro-Caribbean kids? Does his usage of [†], [ɹ], [d] and Zero TH mark this dilemma while fairly consistently differentiating him from the co-ethnic (Pakistani) peers from whom he is relatively disengaged both socially and psychologically (also with a contra-identification index score of .467)?

Such an analysis really seems too subtle and too ad hoc to be credited. However, both the index of multiplex interactional association and the ISA indices (in particular the consistently high contra-identification scores) provide some correlative to H's indisputably ethnically unusual linguistic behaviour.

S differs from his co-ethnic Afro-Caribbean peers in his use of the standard variants [†] and [ɹ], and non-use (absolute and relative) of [ɹ] and [d]. Like H, he too has relatively few multiplex peer associations, and only two out of the four are co-ethnic (one of them is with R, his cousin). His other two multiplex ties are with a boy of Indian parentage, and with We.

In contrast to H however, it is not so easy to argue that his relatively greater interactional involvement with other-ethnics accompanies increased use of the variants one might associate with these ethnicities: the shared knowledge of an out-group's intra-ethnic domains which multiplexity here entails, has not noticeably accompanied accommodation to uses of [ɹ] and [†] typical of the Anglos here, and certainly not We's. Nor does it co-occur with uses of the (†) variable characteristic of the ethnically Indian informants (though the case is much



less clear-cut on TH).

One way out of this would be to speculate that the small but ethnically diverse multiplex peer network in which S is situated, influences his behaviour not so much in involving him with outgroup variants as in loosening the influence of the ethno-linguistic ingroup (here we might need to support the case for S's non-conformity to Afro-Caribbean norms by drawing in the secondary sources which propose the typicality of [ɹ] and [d]). In this context, the size itself of S's multiplex peer-group might be a factor. The account of S's linguistic behaviour would then run: S's network structure entails a degree of ethno-linguistic disengagement which affords him the space to model his language on the groups of his choice. In view of how much he uses [t] and [ʔ] - standard variants - teachers must be an important reference group.

Unfortunately for this argument, ISA data on S's identification with teachers proposes that they are not psychologically a very salient entity (with an ego-involvement score of only 1.95), and that in comparison with all his kin entities, S neither feels himself currently nor aspires to be similar to teachers (his current identification with 'Teachers' 0.391, with kinsfolk it ranges from 0.739 to 0.891; idealistic identification with 'Teachers' of 0.217 compares with a range of scores from 0.483 to 0.567 for kin). With that elegant harmonisation of the network, identification and language data on S proving clearly nonviable, what scope remains for unifying these strands?

To this end, the significant aspect of S's ISA responses could be seen as the preponderance of Zero ratings which he gave to the entities 'English kids', 'Pakistani kids', 'Indian kids' when filling in the rating booklet. These resulted in the ISA computations producing no identity indices for these peer entities at all. These null indices can be read in two ways. Either they indicate that ethnic peer groups are rather a non-issue for

S, and that ethnicity is not an important dimension in his perception of the kids around him. Alternatively, ethnicity could be such an important and problematic concern that he didn't want to reduce it to ticks (in this reading, S's zero ratings might mean 'mind your own business'). It is not possible here to decide between these (though a deeper reading of the ISA print-out might provide clues), but whichever interpretation one prefers, this exceptional ISA response on S's part co-occurs with an unusually high proportion of other-ethnic multiplex peer associates. This relationship might be significant, the one influencing the other, although precisely how standard [†] and [×] link in with this remains unaccountable within this framework here.

Like S, W used too many zeros while rating 'English kids', 'Pakistani kids' and 'Indian kids' for the ISA procedure to produce identification indices on these entities. Also like S, his multiplex interactional associations are ethnically diverse, comprising thirteen kids, two ethnically Afro-Caribbean kids (S is one of these), one ethnically mixed Anglo-Afro-Caribbean (T), six Anglos (one of them V) and four boys of Pakistani parentage (among them, H, L and O).<sup>5</sup>

Is this relationship between diverse networks and apparently unfocused perceptions of ethnicity significant?<sup>6</sup> What is clear is that W's multiplex associations seem quite closely tied in with his language behaviour, both in pulling it away from Anglo norms and in drawing towards those of his ethnically diverse peers. Maybe his ISA ratings, like S perhaps, indicate a mental set which corresponds to (perhaps facilitates) this process of linguistic de- or non-ethnicisation.

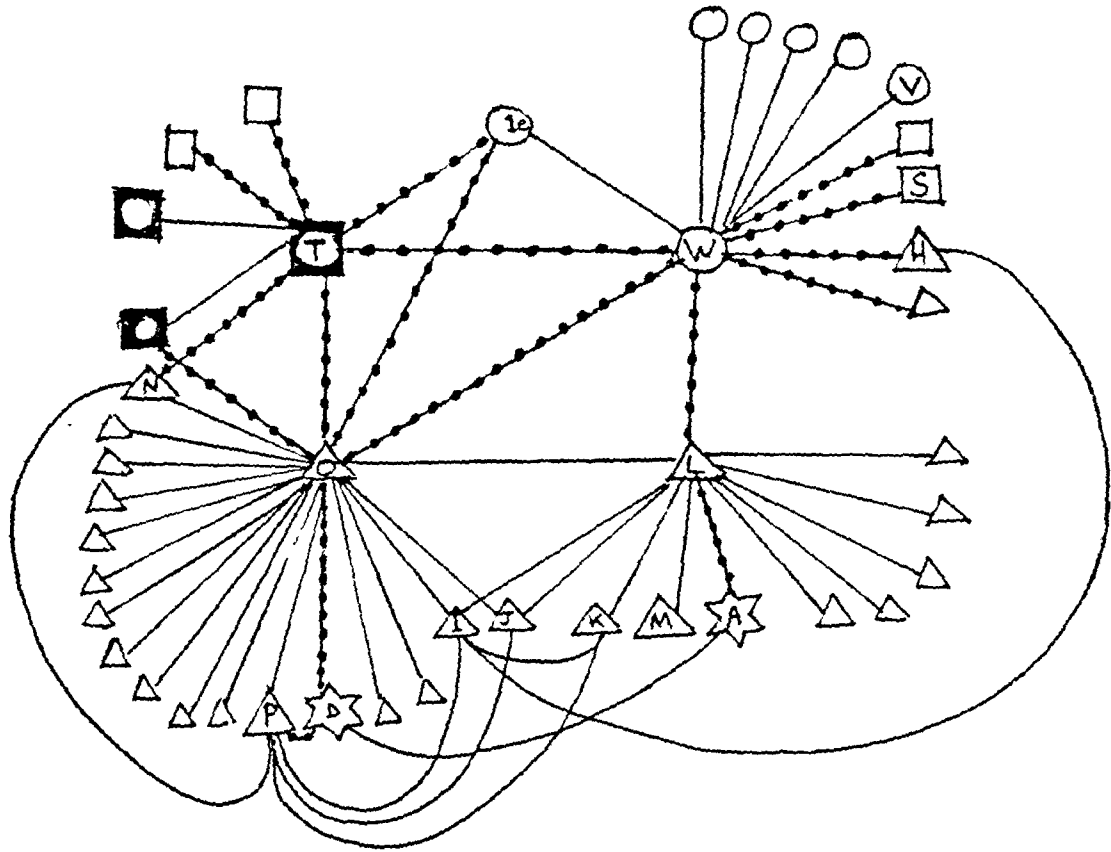
In order to illustrate the direction of W's linguistic accommodation (perceived of course only synchronically), and also to assist in the discussion of O and L (and finally T), it is worth presenting a network diagram, which shows something of the first order zones of each's multiplex peer networks. For reasons

indicated earlier, the independent connections between the various peers with whom these four boys have multiplex ties, are not consistently shown (see the remarks on the difficulty of measuring network density e.g. 5.5.2 above). The chart does however indicate independent multiplex connections where T,W,O and L are linked with other informants, which gives at least a hint of these. The diagram also marks the ethnic extraction, and cross-ethnic ties as well.

From this diagram it is clear that in contrast to S, and H probably,<sup>7</sup> W,T,O and L form a dense cross-ethnic friendship cluster and on several variants W's language behaviour closely resembles some or all of theirs. On clear [ɪ], W's 13.5% comes close to T's 17%; as one of the greatest users of this variant, W could be veering in the direction of O's 25%. On retroflex [ɮ], his 1% can be seen as approximate to L's 3% and O's 5%. On [d], W joins L and O (and indeed I (see footnote 7)) amongst the top five users. Obviously, examination of more linguistic variables would be needed before we could be confident about this convergence, but it seems quite a likely counterpart to/ explanation of most of the ways in which W differs from U and V, his co-ethnic peers.

L's divergence from Punjabi bilinguals in his relative non-use of [ɮ] can also be readily seen as accommodation to the norms of this small interethnic cluster (though he is more peripheral to it than O and W in so far as he does not have multiplex interactional ties with T). It could also find a correlative in his lack of current identification with 'Indian' and 'Pakistani kids' (see Chapter 12.2, Charts 12.13 and 12.16), though the attempt to see his linguistic behaviour as the reflex of psycho-social identification again falters here with regard to clear [ɪ]. [ɪ] is a form which Rw, 2w and secondary sources lead us to associate with the 'West Indian kids' with whom L currently identifies most, but this is a form which L makes no use of at all (see the discussion in Chapter 13.3, pp.374-380).

DIAGRAM 14.1: THE MULTIPLEX PEER NETWORKS OF W, L, O AND T



Key

A, P etc : Informant

■ : youngster of mixed Anglo-Afro-Caribbean parentage

□ : youngster of Afro-Caribbean parentage

○ : youngster of Anglo parentage

△ : youngster of Pakistani parentage

☆ : youngster of Indian parentage

— : multiplex association (coparticipation in 3 or more domains)

--- : cross-ethnic multiplex association.

In fact, the attempt to tie identification with groups to the use of the linguistic forms typical of them looks as though it must remain the task of cross-sectional analysis. Case study investigation of network structure encourages the matching of individual language scores with particular targets (we can suggest that L's use of [ʔ] and [d] reflect his interactional ties with O and I, and then O,I and W respectively) but with ISA at the individual level, the best we can do is again to suggest that an absence of strong alignment with particular ethnic categories, or a general indifference to them, links up with ethno-linguistic non-conformism when it is combined with ethnically diverse multiplex ties. Even this is vulnerable: a propos L<sub>p</sub>, it could be noted that his strongest current identification (with 'West Indian kids') is itself weak in comparison with other people's strongest current identifications, but on the other hand his idealistic identifications with 'English' and 'West Indian kids' is relatively high. So whether his high use of Vocalic L indicates a general psycho-social ethnic disaffiliation, or whether it comprises a series of idealistic acts of identity towards Anglos is a question that rests in the realms of fruitless speculation.

O's identifications with ethnic peer entities are all relatively weak: his strongest is with 'Indian kids' but that involves top current and idealistic identification scores of only 0.588 and 0.333. Could this relative distance he feels between himself and these ethnic categories facilitate his accommodation to the members of the dense interethnic cluster? He approximates to W and T's use of Vocalic L and [l]; to W and L on [ɫ]; to L (and Ip) and then W,L,I on [ʔ] and [d]; and then finally to I,L and T on overall Zero TH.

Finally, it is worth looking in some detail at T. Since he does not fit straightforwardly into the other fixed ethnic categories due to his mixed Anglo-Afro-Caribbean parentage, the question of ethnic dissociation does not arise in the same way as it has in relation to H,S,W,L and O. In contrast, the combi-

nation of ISA and NA can be usefully drawn in to try to describe whether his ethnic orientation is more towards Anglo, Afro-Caribbean or other groups.

In fact, his multiplex interactional associations are evenly distributed across peers of Afro-Caribbean, Anglo, Mixed and Pakistani extraction and while he appears to identify most with 'Pakistani kids', this is only marginally more than with 'English kids' and 'West Indian kids' (his strongest current identification is quite high at 0.881). Overall the balance in his interactional network is matched by the spread in his identifications and indeed this pattern extends into his language behaviour, where his use of the variables (↑) and (↗) is in most cases placed in an intermediate position, between the extremes represented in both Anglo and Afro-Caribbean subgroups. This isn't true with Vocalic L, where T's use exceeds that of Rw,2w and Sw; nor is it true of [↑], where T uses less than all of them. But in both these cases his usage falls in the middle of the Anglo group's, and on [↗], [d] and Zero TH, his usage places him roughly in the midpoint of the scales for both ethnically Anglo and Afro-Caribbean informants (his use of [l] might also be seen as a compromise between Anglo and Afro-Caribbean ethno-linguistic uses). Since T knows all these speakers quite well, might it be that he gauges the extent to which each subgroup varies in its use of these items, and that within these substantive points of linguistic orientation (or at least within ones similar to these) his speech behaviour reflects his evenly spread ethnic identifications and his mixed network ties? An alternative view is of course that W is an important reference point for T on Vocalic L, [↑], and [l], [↗] (and [d]?), as well as O on Vocalic L, [l] and Zero TH overall, due to the multiplex ties between them: yet analysis in terms of accommodation to specific individuals need not exclude questions of ethnic self-positioning - indeed it looks as though issues of ethnic identification could be a matter of concern and negotiation shared between these three.<sup>8</sup>

### 14.3 Summary

It is worth summarising now what these case studies have suggested. In the first place, they have illustrated differences in the scope for applying network and identity structure analyses. The former can accompany a switch from a concern with the language typically modelled by ethnic groups to a focus on the language presented by specific individuals known to particular speakers. While in principle it is perfectly possible to elicit patterns of identification with regard to named individuals within ISA, problems of face validity might well arise in trying to get peers to comment extensively on paper on one another. Anyway, certainly as used here, it is not possible to deploy ISA in specific analyses of the relationship between particular individuals, as it was with the interactional measures.

A second point worth underlining is intimated in the first: a switch to case studies emphasises the fact that ethnic processes may be reflected in language items that one would not normally associate with the ethnic groups crucially involved. This is not just a question of local ethnic norms differing from the norms presented in secondary texts (this possibility was considered in the cross-sectional analyses of [ʔ] and Afro-Caribbean ethnicity, [ʕ] and Indian ethnicity, and [d] and Pakistani ethnicity). Instead it follows from what e.g. Le Page (1978:1,2) and Hudson (1980:12) have to say about the idiosyncrasy of each person's linguistic knowledge (see also Personal Construct Theory's 'individuality corollary').

A person's perception of the speech style of an ethnic group may be derived from their experience of a single individual (in which case, network analysis might just be able to pick up on it); but more than that, their speech may be an inaccurate reproduction. Because of this, I have not confined myself in these case studies only to linguistic items whose ethnic associations have been more or less identified through the cross-sectional analyses (i.e. retroflex [ɭ] and [d] perhaps). A much wider

range of forms has been drawn into the account.

There clearly is a great danger of ad-hocery (by virtue of being potentially idiosyncratic, the interpretation of the origins of these forms is potentially impossible to corroborate). Yet this is a central risk that one takes if one's attention is addressed to situations of sociolinguistic diffusion (Le Page e.g. 1978). Perhaps some of these integrative case studies have described processes of interethnic refocusing<sup>9</sup> - in particular the convergence of We, Op and Ip to the norms of their O,L,W and T peer cluster. However, elsewhere particularly in S's case (and maybe in H's too), the social and ethnic orientation that one might infer from their language is inconsistent with other evidence on their identifications and interactional locations. The unanswerable question arises: is one making a fuss about language items that have no intrinsic<sup>10</sup> connection with the issue of ethnic affiliation? Or in the context of diffuse psycho-social and interactional ties, and given the idiosyncrasy principle (which is maybe more important in such contexts), is the key empirical fact non-conformity itself, and a description of this on its own adequate unaccompanied by apparent refocusing.

In contrast to the cross-sectional analyses which preceded this section, the case studies here cautiously accede to this second view, and this forms the basis for the substantive(-ish) hypothesis which represents the third point to emerge from these analyses. In a study which was able to systematically examine the interaction of language, network association and psycho-social identification, it would be worth investigating the combination of diffuse identification with ethnically diverse associations as being particularly likely to result in linguistic non-conformism. My study obviously has not been able to examine the linguistic effects of different combinations of  $\pm$  strong ingroup identification and  $\pm$  exclusively co-ethnic network ties, but generally, when multiplex peer associations were mixed and identifications either generally strongly negative (see H),



or generally weak (i.e. with no strong ingroup identification), linguistic behaviour deviated most from the ethnic subgroup. People who did not fit in with this interactional and social psychological pattern also non-conformed linguistically (viz. Ci and Jp), so these clearly are not necessary and sufficient conditions. The relationship would doubtless also be probabilistic. Even so, this relationship between network, identification and language was partially apparent in these data and they were worth drawing out.

NOTES

1. It is very easy to spend a great deal of time chasing around the data endlessly adhocing; in fact, one should not expect the cases one selects to pattern totally tidily in the rest of the data, one should be prepared to live a little (but not too) messily for a while, and be fully cogniscent of the partiality and fragility of one's conclusions. The risk is that the palpability of case study data may trick one into forgetting the uncertainty about the interaction of variables in which the rest of this study leaves one hanging and which requires a much larger project to sort out.
2. There is another, rather practical shortcoming in the ensuing description of six informants with diverse multiplex networks and weak ingroup identification. Speech data from a seventh informant who falls into this category - Pp - has not been transcribed. This was not because I felt he would not fit 'the pattern', but for practical reasons which held sway long before 'this pattern' was detected. As with the rest of this study, it would have been better if I had done this transcription but life makes other demands too.
3. Couldn't exactly the same kind of analysis be made with regard to informants in the other cells? It could with regard to C1, who uses less Vocalic L and more [ɫ] than anyone, and also more [ʃ] with very little [d]. Jp also shows a pretty comparable pattern, and so the point being made here about diverse networks in combination with diffuse (or outgroup) identification tying in with linguistic non-conformity demonstrably isn't watertight. However, the rest only stand out in relation to their ethnic ingroup on one variable, not two: Ip on [ʃ] and [d]; Kp on [ɫ]; Qp on Zero TH after dental and alveolar consonants perhaps; Rw on the same Zero TH variant; Ue on [ʈ]; Ve on Vocalic L/[ʈ]; and E on none. So one may suggest that in general these informants are less consistently non-conformist, though the tentativeness of this suggestion needs to be underlined (three informants in the Afro-Caribbean and Anglo ethnic group is a slim basis for talk about conformity; only two linguistic variables have been analysed; inclusion of linguistic data on F1, Gi, Mp and Pp could alter this picture dramatically) and the need for a much larger sample prior to the rigorous analysis of interacting variables must be reiterated.
4. Which is not to say that he is unpopular: two people call him a 'best friend' (Lp and Rw), three label him a 'good friend' (A1, Ip, Kp) and one describes him as between 'best' and 'good' (We). Two more regarded him as 'quite a good friend' (Sw, Op).

5. We was born in Bedford, and had been at the same school as the rest of my informants for the last four years, having joined them in the final year of Lower School. Before that however, he had travelled widely because of his father's work. Thus W spent two periods in Germany and two in North America. Maybe these experiences of migration and his own mixed Anglo-American stock were a factor in the ethnic diversity of his multiplex ties (which is much greater than V and U's, despite W's own local kinship network being about as big as the latter's, and bigger than the former's).
6. If one adopted the view that W's ISA results indicate that ethnicity in the peer-group is not a critical issue for him, one logically undermines the way in which multiplexity has been hypothesised as influencing cross-ethnic friendships. If 'kids'' ethnicity does not count much for W, then experiencing a different intra-ethnic domain to which an out-group friend admits him, is not going to make much difference either. At this point one runs into the difficulties of using hypothetical general constructs in specific contexts, which is certainly healthy but it would be a distraction here to try to resolve.
7. W reported co-participation in three domains with Ip as well, but since Ip didn't confirm this, this has not been marked (following the procedures outlined in Section 7.3 above). If it had been, W,H and I would form a maximally dense cluster.
8. This view would however favour the interpretation of the zero ratings in W's ISA rating booklet as being a reflection of the super-significance of ethnic categories, not their triviality in W's eyes.
9. Of course, this is hypothetical since we do not have diachronic data.
10. I.e. for the speaker.

## CHAPTER 15

### SUMMARY AND REVIEW OF PART II

To conclude, let me summarise a few of the findings made here, and make some appraisal of the empirical approach that has been developed.

Two sociolinguistic variables have been looked at cross-sectionally from three angles: having identified likely areas of ethnic provenance for (†) and word initial (ʔ), these were inspected in terms of ethnic subgroup means, and in terms of multiplex interactional association and psycho-social identification.

Having three perspectives on ethnicity permitted a recursive and generative approach to data analysis (e.g. re ethnically Indian kids and [ʔ]) as well as increasing the validity of findings through (definitional) triangulation (cf. [ɹ] and Asian ethnicities). The methodology potentially allows one to quantitatively address questions about language and group affiliation without having to recruit a balanced sample to represent all the groupings that one is interested in. Both ISA and network analysis enable one to look through an ethnically diverse group of informants at language associated with one particular, even extrinsic group (cf. the analysis of [d] in Section 13.2).

The recursive development of the empirical analysis itself is summarised in Table 15.1.

The two most substantive findings from this concerned the link between non-Pakistani informants' use of [d] and their interactional association with peers of Pakistani parentage; and the connection of retroflex [ɹ] use with Punjabi bilingual network ties and with identification with ingroup adults, this time primarily amongst ethnically Pakistani kids themselves.

TABLE 15.1 HYPOTHESES ABOUT THE ETHNIC PROVENANCE OF LINGUISTIC VARIANTS, THE DATA SOURCES  
LEADING TO THEIR FORMULATION AND THEIR CAREER IN SUBSEQUENT ANALYSES

Linguist variants	DATA SOURCES/TYPES			
	Secondary texts (see Section 5.1)	Subgroup means (see Section 9.1)	Multiplex Interactional association (see Section 9.2)	Psycho-social identification (see Section 9.3)
Vocalic L	<u>Anglo</u> —————	→ (yes) —————	→ No —————	→ No
Dark [ɾ]	<u>Standard</u> —————	→ Can't say —————	→ Can't say —————	→ No
		<u>Afro-Caribbean</u> —————	→ Can't say —————	→ No
Clear [l]	<u>Afro-Caribbean</u> —————	→ (yes) —————	→ Can't say —————	→ No No No
	<u>Punjabi</u> —————	→ No —————	→ No —————	→ No
Retroflex [ɭ]	<u>Punjabi</u> —————	→ Yes —————	→ Yes —————	→ Yes
Fricative [ʃ]	<u>Standard</u> —————	→ Can't say —————	→ Can't say —————	→ No
		( <u>Indian</u> ) —————	→ No —————	→ No
Plosive [d]	<u>Polyethnic</u> —————	→ (Yes) —————		
		( <u>Pakistani</u> ) —————	→ Yes —————	→ No
Zero TH	<u>Anglo</u> —————	→ (Yes) —————	→ No —————	→ No

Key: — — — — — = a hypothesis/proposition introduced  
 (        ) = weakly (either proposed or supported)  
 Can't say = no evidence on this

Yes = hypothesis supported  
 No = hypothesis not supported  
 → = (Hypothesis/proposition) gets examined in terms of (data type)

In so far as all three empirical perspectives show [ʌ] to be connected with people who can speak Punjabi this is the more robust of the two findings, and while the precise interaction of network and identification cannot be disentangled here, it clearly illustrates the salutary effect that measures of the latter can have upon the interpretation of the former. If one's only evidence on the ethnic scope of [ʌ] was its association with multiplex interactional association with fellow Punjabi-English bilinguals, it might be very easy to slip into talk of its being a marker of Asian peer-group solidarity. We know that to be probably incorrect, since [ʌ]'s association with identification with 'English kids' and 'Teachers' is stronger than with either 'Pakistani' or 'Indian kids'. What in fact emerges from the data suggests more complex processes and allegiances entailed within the use of this form. Though it is premature to say so without a larger study systematically exploring the interaction of variables, one may venture that the important thing for [ʌ] about exclusively Asian multiplex interaction is the positive orientation to co-ethnic adults that tends to accompany such interaction, at least in the case of ethnically Pakistani informants.<sup>1</sup>

This takes us back to a point made earlier in connection with Milroy (see Section 5.3 above). An item may be closely linked with a particular identity/identification but it cannot be assumed that this identity is co-terminous with the units measured by network analyses. Interactional associations comprise a variety of category-memberships and also a range of values and attitudes, many of which focus on people and groups extrinsic to specific liaisons. In relationships which exclude ethnically Anglo and Afro-Caribbean peers, it seems possible that there is a tendency to look at one of these 'extrinsic' groups - 'Pakistani adults' - in a comparatively positive light, and it is this which ushers in the use of [ʌ]. Of course, this is speculation with regard to sociolinguistic processes in Bedford, but it is fairly tangible as a demonstration of the methodological contribution of ISA to questions of this nature.

ISA cannot ultimately however solve the problem of what the uses of linguistic forms actually 'symbolise', another difficulty noted in connection with Milroy's extrapolations from language x network correlations. If in order to say that a linguistic item is being used to 'symbolise' something, one takes the view that the speaker is projecting something which s/he expects the hearer to understand as intended (i.e. as Brown and Levinson's 'communicative signs proper') then the only arena in which one can legitimately investigate symbols is ongoing interaction (Brown and Levinson 1979) and this clearly lies beyond the scope of network analysis.

Neither on its own can ISA reliably tell one that [ɫ] is regarded locally as a form that Asian adults use: admittedly it does a bit better than network analysis in this regard, because if you get a strong association between [ɫ] and Pakistani adults, you at least know that Pakistani adults are a locally recognised entity. In network analysis (as used by Milroy anyway) you can end up with an association between language and a social unit perceived only by the researcher (indeed in terms of spotting connections between unintended signals and typical users, network analysis can be a step backwards from straightforward social class and ethnic group correlations, because in the case of the latter there is a greater chance that other people will make the same classifications as the analyst). Even so, Identity Structure Analysis is no substitute for some kind of matched guise/subjective reaction test: it is patently concerned with questions of general psycho-social orientation and not with specific sociolinguistic connotations. This is, for example, amply evidenced when associations emerge between the use of forms and identifications with people who could not possibly be modelling them in their speech (cf. the relationship between [ɫ] and 'Teachers') and ISA is to be commended in the way in which in contrast to network analysis, it thus ensures against such conceptual lapses. Ultimately the association between [ɫ] use on the one hand, and interaction and identification with typical speakers of that variant on the other, can only be

glossed as something like: ethnically Pakistani informants who live more fully in [↓] rich interactional and psycho-social environments pick up and use [↓] more than others. What they mean when they use [↓] and how they interpret its use by others is unanswerable by these methods.

If these are the findings, or rather if these are the methods being explored with a view to such conclusions as these, is the essential recommendation here for a sledge-hammer to crush a pip? There are four firm lines of response to this.

Firstly, the extensive non-linguistic discussion in this part of the thesis can be seen as a necessary precursor for work concerned with language beyond (↓) and (↑). As a preliminary sorting of a comprehensive data-base, the psychological and social measures constructed here could inform the analysis of (a) more informants and (b) more sociolinguistic variables. In addition, they can and do feed into the largely non-quantitative account of stylistic variation contained in Part III of the thesis.

Secondly, while the number of linguistic variables as well as the number of informants investigated here is small, the kind of linguistic explanation that could be offered in the type of study illustrated here is an advance on Milroy and Labov (even though it cannot identify meaning/interactional intention and interpretation). This is a point that has been made several times before, and to some extent it is merely a question of clearing away some of Milroy's awkward conceptualisations. But beyond that the attempt to differentiate an individual's interactional location from their cognitive perceptions (their habitual social activity from their attitude towards it) is not easy to manage.

In 1979 Labov wrote a paper called 'Locating the Frontier between Social and Psychological Factors in Linguistic Variation', which partly attempts to address this issue but which meets with



little success. On the basis of his own work, Labov concludes that there is virtually no "individual enterprise" in language. There was a wide individual variation in placement on the use of variables, but the individual's place in that spectrum reflected his early social experience, almost independent of his individual ideology or self-image' (1979:329). In fact the paper is fraught with contradictions. For example, compare the quotation above with: 'Individual differences in psychological orientation have led to differences in social experience and social aspirations, which in turn are reflected in predictable, socially patterned differences in behaviour' (1979:331). So in what way does psychological orientation not affect language? (also, how do social aspirations differ from psychological orientation?) Elsewhere Labov generally reduces questions of psychological and individual difference to matters of psycholinguistic processing capacity, though even here the argument is strained. For example, Nathan B is resolutely cited as 'a clear demonstration of individual difference in capacity' (1979:331 and 332), while in between these assertions, we are straightforwardly told that Nathan B's special problem (in speech production and reception) is partly to do 'with an attitude that rejected any kind of corrective action' (1979:331), which could be tantamount to saying self-image and ideology. Another cited example which in fact defeats Labov's central proposition is the case of Everett Poole (1979:328 - refer to Labov 1972a:31), a Chilmarker who usefully reminds us of the Martha's Vineyard study in which self-image and ideology were obviously important sociolinguistic factors: in the attempt represented in this paper to summarise his views on the balance between social and individual factors in language, Labov is somehow led to greatly misrepresent a lot of his own evidence. With this kind of precedent, it is essential to attend in some detail to conceptual questions before collecting evidence.

The task of differentiating a person's interactional location from their attitudes towards it also becomes more complex methodologically if one accepts the view that there is no be-

haviour without mind and that all cultural activity is subjectively mediated (this being the phenomenological view forcefully propounded by Le Page). This necessitates a careful statement of what one's empirical tools might tell one: in particular, one needs to ensure that one's behavioural measures are potentially emic, and after that, that they are likely to focus on a different kind of social awareness from that which the psychological measures attend to. In specific terms, it has been necessary here to spend quite a lot of time clarifying how my network measures refer to general shared knowledge distinguishable from the particular felt co-memberships/group identifications which are the concern of ISA.

This study has then been short on empirical linguistic results partly because the particular questions which it set out to examine required quite careful conceptual and methodological formulation. In addition, this imbalance between fairly cursory linguistic analysis and the more extensive extra linguistic discussion prefatory to it is inevitable if one takes seriously a wider shift within 'secular sociolinguistics'. Labov in 1972b: 256 predicts that sociolinguistic studies will shift away from the use of interviews with single individuals drawn from random or judgment samples towards a more ethnographic approach in which individuals will be studied in the context of the social groups in which they normally operate. This being the case, the space for purely linguistic analysis is hugely reduced since in contrast to a random or judgment sampling approach which generally assumes that informants are typical of pre-selected categories widely agreed within the research community, in the second approach researchers are themselves left to define the important social properties of their subjects.

In a similar vein, the shape of Part II can also be related to criticisms of the sociological naivety of much sociolinguistics made by e.g. Fishman (1981). The study above cannot claim to derive from a comprehensive grounding in either sociological or psychological theory, but it at least tries to avoid the trap

of 'making up one's sociology (and psychology) "as one goes along"' which according to Fishman 'is very much a common micro-sociolinguistic pastime' (1981:163).

The fourth major reason why the prelude to the linguistic analysis has been so extensive is essentially political. It is easy to imagine a study which went into the field, selected and interviewed twenty ethnically Anglo kids, twenty ethnically Indian kids and twenty ethnically Afro-Caribbean kids. After that, it might analyse ten to fifteen linguistic variables and finally conclude yes or no, there are or are not distinct Afro-Caribbean, Indian and Anglo Englishes in the area studied. On completion, the research (or perhaps others who read academic theses) might enter the debate about multi-cultural education in order to 'defend' and 'celebrate' what had been discovered (particularly if different 'Englishes' had been found).

There are a number of serious difficulties associated with this approach. It would obviously involve a naive conception of group affiliation and ethnicity, but beyond that, categorising both individuals and groups without regard to their own self-definitions and allegiances can be a brutal activity with disagreeable consequences when done by the powerful. The problems of crude stereotyping by researchers with regard to the categories 'West Indian' and 'Asian' are well recognised.

This problem of drawing boundaries around groups, communities and cultures (and the ideological investment that a variety of social groupings have in making these in particular places) of course extends to the notions of 'a language' and 'a dialect'. Following Le Page (e.g. 1978) and Hudson (1980), I have been careful to avoid using these concepts in any technical way, since they are common social stereotypes which can usefully serve as the data of sociolinguistic study but not in its analytic diction. Unfortunately there is a tendency for quantitative sociolinguists to talk about ethnic and regional dialects in a non-problematized way, and without there being any possible

agreement about how many distinct language items and how many speakers you need to make a dialect. Therefore it is relatively easy to 'discover' a new dialect (or a new 'variety') on the basis of say ten linguistic items used by half of group A to a greater extent than any of the people stereotyped as group B.

This is politically explosive. Linguists may realise that the structural differences between one dialect or variety and another are trite in real life and that not all or only group A speakers use it, but lay consumers of sociolinguistics may not. Language differences get inflated and dramatised and though the sociolinguistic inventor of that dialect may have good intentions, their construct may just as easily be used in the oppression as in the emancipation of people stereotyped as its speakers. Evidence of cultural distinctiveness can be manipulated either way, depending on the forces lined up for and against it.

In certain cases, the description of some distinctive features in the speech of some minority group members may be tactically useful (in the short term). For example, as far as contact between people of Anglo and Indian ethnicity is concerned, drawing attention to ethnically distinctive features as being superficial might be helpful in suggesting ways in which educational prejudice about 'deceptive fluency' was sparked off (see Appendix 23). But linguistic description per se contributes little to speaker emancipation and it is naive to assume that linguistic 'facts' on their own dictate social policy: the Ann Arbor decision was surely more influenced by the prestigious weight of expert testimony than by whatever really happens in the BEV copula (cp. Labov 1982).

The situation for ethnographers, and sociolinguists when they engage fully with views about language, is different: they are able to handle dominant ideologies about language in a comparatively explicit and sophisticated way and are more likely to have a better idea of what arguments are likely to

work where (as per Labov e.g. 1972b:Ch.5). Most importantly, they may have an idea of speakers' own metalinguistic views (here the traditional quantitative sociolinguistic injunction not to draw attention to speech is a considerable obstacle). Without such contact with local views about language, the contribution of sociolinguists who enter the polemic with 'facts' about 'dialects', 'symbols' and 'solidarity' is likely to be inept or counterproductive.

So, returning to my own study, I have not tried to replicate the (much more) empirically streamlined and productive methodology of classical Labovian quantitative sociolinguistics because I felt my doing so would entail a variety of dubious premises about group membership, language and the social contribution of sociolinguistics. In its place however, I have set out a straightforward way in which quantitative sociolinguistics can continue to some extent disencumbered of these assumptions, and which allows the data itself to define the key points of psycho-social, interactional and linguistic focusing (for the best critique of these assumptions see Le Page e.g. 1978; for much more complicated empirical approaches than mine, but in tune with this outlook, see Pellowe et al. (1972); McEntaggart and Le Page (1982)). At the same time, I have given considerable attention to the limitations essential to this methodology as well as to my particular implementation of it. I have also given quite a lot of space to negative findings. All this is again on principled grounds: there is no reason why it should, but if quantitative sociolinguistics hopes to make a serious contribution to the discussion of social and educational policy, it is vital that it is just as clear about what it can't say as about what it can.

Those then are four justifications for both the shape of the study above, and for its value beyond what it indicates about (†) and (‡). Since a claim is also being made about its wider value as a methodological model for the sociolinguistics of demographic/social variation, it is now worth turning to con-

sider in a little detail what other studies adopting this approach might look like, and what they would need to consider.

Their basic concern would need to be with the relationship between interactional association and psycho-social identification, and though my own focus has been upon ethnicity (on 'interactive' and 'reactive' ethnic processes), this combination of network analysis and ISA could be employed with regard to other groups. For example, the study here could be replicated with social class groupings, gender groupings, professional and various local social cultural groupings (e.g. gangs, clubs). If individual speech styles could be identified, and if problems of face validity could be overcome, a study using ISA and network analysis could also focus on individual relationships. The approach here is sufficiently flexible to permit both cross-sectional and case study perspectives (see Chapter 14).

In order to be able to make systematic statistical statements about the interaction of network association and psycho-social identification, a study would need to involve more informants than mine and in the light of the need to get to know informants well, unless it was a big research team, it would be sensible to focus on only one ethnic/social/gender group of informants (again unlike the study here). A good understanding of informants would be needed in order to ensure that better rather than worse constructs were fed into the ISA rating procedure, and also in order to increase the reliability of the network data as a reflection of behavioural reality (see Sections 7.2, 7.3). There is a case to be made for dropping multiplexity from one's network measure, and using e.g. just frequency. It would avoid the need for the kind of domains analysis that I have used (Chapter 6) (though other criteria for multiplexity might much more easily be evolved), and it might also produce a much wider spread of scores for interactional association with outgroups - this could be important for the statistical analysis (see Chapters 7.4.1 and 11). On the other hand, dropping multiplexity could mean losing the empirical angle on the 'cohesive-

ness' deemed by Ervin-Tripp to be critical in speech similarity (1969:145) (Chapter 5.5.2) - there has to be some way of differentiating postmen from kin. And if frequency alone is used (and it is not supported by observation), the network measure might end up assessing the kinds of aspiration for which ISA had been intended (see Chapter 7.1). Using reports of network association given in collective settings (as in Wallman (1980), where families jointly report on their relationships) may give some guarantee of behavioural actuality, though it is not hard to imagine contexts in which this prompts people to systematically misrepresent their social ties.

As far as ISA is concerned, there seem to be two major difficulties which would need to be addressed, and which I have merely identified, not resolved. The first is whether it is better to make an assessment of each individual's primary positive (and negative) identifications before making cross-sectional comparisons (in which case one loses the direct numerical representation of identification strengths) or whether informant identification scores vis-à-vis particular entities can be directly compared with one another (which overlooks the fact that despite being strong relative to other people's, an informant's identification with entity X may be weak in comparison with his identification with entity Y) (see Chapter 8.5). The second major difficulty in sociolinguistic applications of ISA concerns the linguistic implications of current as opposed to idealistic as opposed to contra-identification. It is fairly straightforward that contra-identification should relate to speech divergence but can one really attach any weight to it when unsupported by the other two indices, it seems negatively related to speech convergence (i.e. when a lack of contra-identification with an entity apparently ties up with increased use of forms notionally associated with it - see e.g. discussion of Vocalic L, and [ʔ] in Section 13.3). Also, what should be the linguistic implications of current identification as opposed to idealistic - the feeling that you are like someone as opposed to the desire to be so? In sum ISA develops a range of concepts

useful within its own social psychological heartland, but for which, as far as I know, the social psychology of language does not have a sufficiently detailed theory.

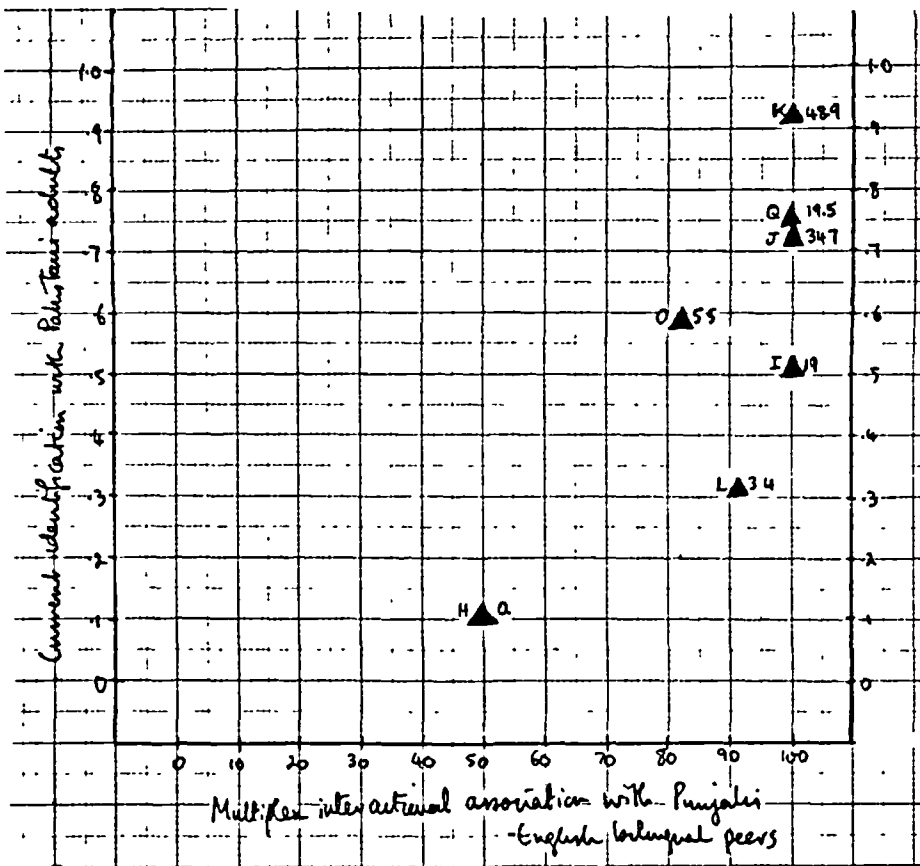
These then are some of the potentialities for further use within quantitative sociolinguistics of the methodology developed here, and also some of the issues that would need to be addressed. There are obviously many more that anyone interested would need to consider. Even so, the scope and flexibility of this approach should be clear.



NOTES

1. Scatterplot 15.1 records the relationship for Pakistani informants between multiplex interactional association with Punjabi bilinguals and current identification with 'Pakistani adults'. It also identifies individuals, and their % use of [ɳ].

SCATTERPLOT 15.1: MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION WITH  
PUNJABI-ENGLISH BILINGUAL PEERS x CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH  
PAKISTANI ADULTS (FOR ETHNICALLY PAKISTANI INFORMANTS ONLY)



Key      H ▲ : informant  
         ▲<sup>35</sup> : % use of [ɳ]

PART III

A RHETORICAL STYLE IN THE POLYETHNIC PEER GROUP

## INTRODUCTION

Part II of this thesis was concerned with the demographic distribution of linguistic forms. Its method of analysis was quantitative and rather than analysing single linguistic acts, the focus was upon aggregates of language behaviour - in Le Page's terms, on statements about 'waves' rather than 'particles' (Le Page 1978:6,9). Its point of departure was Labovian and neo-Labovian urban dialectology.

In Part III, the focus, methodology, and frame of reference shift. Here the concern is with a particular speech style which is ultimately described as a collective (peer-group) resource - no systematic attempt is made here to distinguish individual speakers in any detail or to identify and investigate frequent as opposed to occasional users of this rhetorical code. However, some restrictions on its use are examined, and an effort is made to locate it in the context of wider societal processes. The method of analysis is primarily qualitative, it refers to pragmatics and literary theory and might be broadly designated as the ethnography of speaking/interactional sociolinguistics. Gumperz rather than Le Page is the pivotal figure.

## CHAPTER 16

### THEORETICAL PREREQUISITES FOR AN INTERACTIONAL DESCRIPTION OF RHETORICAL LANGUAGE USE IN BEDFORD

#### 16.1 The Starting Point

The starting point for this enquiry is Gumperz (1982):

'Code switching is perhaps most frequently found in the informal speech of those members of cohesive minority groups in modern urbanising regions who ... live in situations of rapid transition where traditional inter-group barriers are breaking down and norms of interaction are changing ... as old populations assimilate, new groups of foreign language speakers move in and other types of bilingualism arise ... with the growing ethnic diversification of metropolitan centres, the communicative uses of code switching are more likely to increase than decrease ...

... What distinguishes bilinguals from their monolingual neighbours is the juxtaposition of cultural forms: the awareness that their own mode of behaviour is only one of several possible modes, that style of communication affects the interpretation of what a speaker intends to communicate and that there are others with different communicative conventions and standards of evaluation that must not only be taken into account but that can also be imitated or mimicked for special communicative effect' (pp.64,65; see also Gumperz and Hymes 1972:162)

This part of the thesis is directly concerned with 'ethnic diversification' and with new types of bilingualism that arise as new groups of foreign language speakers move in. It is concerned with the ways in which styles of communication affect the interpretation of what is said, and more specifically, with 'imitation and mimicry' for special communicative effect.

Located in a multiethnic neighbourhood comprising people of Bangladeshi, English, Indian, Pakistani and West Indian extraction (among others), it focuses on one of the ways in which ethnically Pakistani, Indian, West Indian and Anglo children make use of their own and other people's languages.

However, it deviates from Gumperz's path in two main ways. Firstly in terms of schematising interpersonal interaction, it attempts to elaborate and to bring a bit more order to a set of concepts able to handle different types of stylistic variation and something of their location within social structure. Studies of code-switching come close to this (e.g. Gumperz 1982; Fishman 1972; Scotton 1983), but they are not quite adequate as far as my Bedford data are concerned (and hence generally not quite adequate). In particular, the crucial distinction between metaphorical and situational switching (Blom and Gumperz 1972) still isn't clear enough and it is primarily towards a clarified elaboration of this that this chapter is directed. En route, a further set of concepts are entailed: these are not original, nor are they engaged with at a high level of theoretical sophistication (I shall not get extensively involved with the literatures on metaphor, conversational analysis or mutual knowledge). However, their close and varying relationships with these two types of code-switching will be described in some detail, and a heuristic framework outlined capable of addressing the empirical data in a relatively satisfactory manner. In fact what follows overlaps to quite an extent with Mitchell-Kernan's (1972) account of the two Afro-American speech acts 'signifying' and 'marking', although the tone here is generally more schematic.

As implied above, some efforts will be made to clarify the ways in which the interactional model being set out ties up with broader questions of social positioning. This will

not lead into a thorough engagement with macro-sociological theory, but in terms of accounting for the Bedford context, questions of power and racism will be addressed. This is the second way in which what follows will elaborate on Gumperz, who can be criticised for treating these dimensions too parenthetically (Leitner 1983; Singh and Martohardjono 1985; Sussex Linguistics and Anthropology Group 1986). For example, many settings would be more accurately represented if in the quotation above the concepts of stratification and denigration were substituted for 'ethnic diversification' and imitation.

This societal perspective will most fully inform the final chapter (Chapter 22). I shall commence at the interactional level: and first of all some of the difficulties entailed in existing treatments of code-switching need to be outlined.

#### 16.2 Existing Treatments of Metaphorical vs Situational Code-switching

There is no doubt that writers on code-switching have been persistent and much more successful than quantificational 'Labovians' in setting stylistic variability alongside issues of identity and macro-social organisation, and much of what follows attempts to draw on this tradition. However, there have been two major sets of difficulties: the first concern conceptualisations of 'situation' and 'metaphor'; the second consist of these studies' preponderant emphasis on description, and a concomitant failure to produce procedural models of code-switching which could tie in at a theoretical level with questions of power, growth and marginalisation. The hope here is that in tackling the first set of difficulties, development towards the second can begin.

With 'situation', the problem hinges on whether this is essentially an observable, 'concrete' phenomenon or whether it is an only partially intersubjectively accessible, socio-cognitive construct inside participants' heads. In fact, Blom and Gumperz (1972) are ambiguous on this. Material extralinguistic factors are clearly stated as mattering only in terms of their representation in participants' social knowledge (1972:422,432). Yet they allow their empirical description to dictate their definition of the difference between situational and metaphorical switching<sup>1</sup> in such a way that these two are differentiated in (potentially very easily quantifiable?) terms of size and frequency, the situational type being big and less often (successive), the metaphorical being little ('intra-sentential') and more often (Gumperz 1982:60-61; Blom and Gumperz 1972:425-426; also e.g. Genishi 1981:137; McLure 1981:70; Breitborde 1983:10; Hill and Hill 1980; Fishman 1972:42). The problems with this empiricist approach have been pointed out by e.g. Pride (1979:40), Auer (1984:105), and these become apparent when situational switching is also called role switching (Blom and Gumperz 1972). This is at odds with at least some role theory which holds that roles can be enacted almost simultaneously without merging (Sarbin and Allen 1968; see also Fishman 1972:28; Pride 1979:34; Scotton 1983; Brown and Yule 1983:55). Two different sets of rights and obligations can be concurrent in an interaction and there is no reason why one part of a sentence can't emphasise one set and the other another, as indeed Blom and Gumperz tacitly admit when they describe micro-switches between a clerk and a fellow local in the course of a business transaction as alluding 'to the dual relationship which exists between them' (1972:426). In explaining the effects of (so-called) metaphorical switching, Gumperz (1982:84) says that 'speakers associate one of the two alternative expressions with the casualness or intimacy of home and peer-group relations and the other with the formality of public and outgroup relations' - in other words, with the

different sets of rights and obligations, the appropriacy of which precisely situational switches are supposed to signal (1972:424).<sup>2</sup> (In fact, as we shall see later when more systematic theories of metaphor are drawn in to clarify metaphorical switching, the instance that Blom and Gumperz cite could be metaphorical switching, but they have failed to provide an adequate criterial definition.)

In these internal contradictions in Gumperz' keystone articles we can already see the confusion of theory with empirical description, but before addressing this more fully, the cognitive account of situation needs to be outlined more fully. Once again, on its own this is very well expressed by Gumperz (1982) together with the descriptive difficulties that this implies:

'social presuppositions and attitudes shift in the course of interaction, often without a corresponding change in extralinguistic context' (1982:153)

'The picture of everyday conversation that emerges from this (ethnomethodological) work is one of a dynamic interactive flow marked by constant transitions from one mode of speaking to another; shifts from informal chat to serious discussion, from argument to humour, or narrative to rapid repartee, etc.' (159)

'I would argue that a cognitive approach to discourse must build on interaction. It must account for the fact that what is relevant background knowledge changes as the interaction progresses, that interpretations are multiply embedded and that ... several quite different interactions are often carried on at the same time' (166).

Clearly, the empirical description of the situation in discourse requires much more than attention to topic, setting and interlocutor, and given multiply embedded interpretations and different simultaneous interactions (and often intersubjective dissensus), we must ultimately acknowledge a great deal of analytic indeterminacy. Beyond that, this view of situation as continually evolving, being



elaborated and adapted, challenges the existing separation of metaphorical and situational switching to the extent that Auer proposes dropping it completely (1984:90,95), and Gumperz himself shifts to greater use of the transparently descriptive term 'conversational' switching in place of metaphorical (on this emphatically cognitive conception of situation (and also for the empirical descriptive difficulties it presents) see e.g. Brown and Yule 1983:58; also Heritage 1984; Gal 1983:64).

As far as 'metaphorical' switching is concerned, studies of code-switching have defined it (beyond purely being 'little' and 'often') as 'enriching' interaction (Blom and Gumperz 1972), as 'adding' and 'lending' another dimension (Hill and Hill 1980), as involving 'two memberships' (Breitborde 1983), as bringing 'incongruity' (Scotton 1983) and as being 'emphatic' or 'contrastive' (Fishman 1972). All of these are compatible with the concept of metaphor, but none of them rests on a thorough definition of what a metaphor actually is or might be - not an easy question (Ortony 1979:16) but one that rewards more than the most casual attention (see Mitchell-Kernan 1972). The lack of a systematic exposition of metaphor maybe permits Auer's complete rejection of the switching dichotomy, and it permits Scotton, whose account is otherwise broadly in sympathy with my own, to rephrase it as her self-contradictory 'multiple-identities' maxim. Scotton equates metaphorical switching with her multiple identities maxim (1983:134) and then writes:

'Code switching is often the unmarked choice for bilingual coevals. Therefore each code switch does not generate a new implicature. Rather it is the overall pattern of code-switching which is the source of the implicature. Since each code is an unmarked realisation of an RO (rights and obligations) set, code switching implicates at least two different rights-and-obligations sets and therefore symbolises the dual identities of the bilingual speakers' (1983:122).

If both of these codes is unmarked and expected in the moment to moment course of an interaction, how far are they actually distinguished by participants and how far can they therefore be

taken to represent different rights and obligations sets? Haven't these two codes merged to produce a new and singular identity, co-terminous with a single though 'genetically' mixed code? Of course, code alternation can represent very rapid identity alteration; but in addition with a properly enunciated conception of metaphor, two very distinct identities can be seen as projected absolutely simultaneously. Unfortunately, Scotton's conception of metaphor is unable to handle this, since metaphor (which at least she tries to define) is described as little more than representation ('metaphoric productivity' is summarised in terms of 'take x as y' (1983:125; also 118)).

In fact this failure to define 'metaphor' clearly, can have some quite disagreeable consequences, particularly if 'metaphorical' is also understood in the sense of 'secondary', 'not real' and 'non-serious', which are all legitimate intuitive associations (on a par with the others noted above). For example, Hill and Hill (1980) describe Spanish as associated with dignity, power and prestige and then go on to define its use by bilingual Nahuatl speakers as 'metaphorical'. Is the prestigious Spanish-speaking identity completely inaccessible to them? Can their use of Spanish never be regarded as redefining the context in such a way that speakers are seen as 'genuinely' more dignified (= situational switching)? Are they always to be seen as only pretending and as essentially undignified, powerless and non-prestigious? This is obviously not Hill and Hill's intention, but a loose (size of switch) use of the term 'metaphorical' clearly has these connotations (ideological and social positioning of this kind will be explicated more fully below (16.3.5, 16.3.7) when the effects of metaphorical vs situational switching are discussed).

So the conceptualisation of both 'situation' and 'metaphor' has been defective in various ways. Part of this failure in regard to 'situation' was attributed to prioritising description above theory, and this applies far beyond Blom and Gumperz (1972). A number of studies examine code switch data bases and construct lists of the ways in which, in the analyst's view, language alternation has affected text interpretation, and these effects are

then retroactively ascribed as purposes to the speaker (e.g. Gumperz 1982:75ff; Hill and Hill 1980; McLure 1981; Valdes 1981; Auer 1984; Bentahila 1983; Gal 1979). This detailed text analysis is a very useful activity, but there is sometimes not sufficient recognition of the indeterminacy of interpretation, a factor routinely acknowledged within pragmatics where the attempt is made to model speaker intentions and goals (e.g. Leech 1983:33,35; Brown and Yule 1983:33,266; Grice 1975:58; Searle 1975:63,64; though also Gumperz 1982:32,159,208-209). Hence there is a risk of confusing linguistic products with the procedures by which they were produced and of mixing analytic and user categories. To borrow from de Beaugrande and Dressler, we can say that 'though still a central activity of investigation' 'the discovery of units and structural patterns' mustn't distract us from viewing them as 'something ... created via operational procedures of human interactants':

'The description of an object requires that we identify those orderly principles to the extent that the classification of samples can be objectively and reliably performed. The explanation of the object, on the other hand, requires that we uncover the principles whereby the object assumed the characteristics it has and whereby the observable samples were created and used' (1981:23,33,32).

Scotton (e.g. 1979 and 1983) is evidently aware of the dangers of too much description and initiates a procedural model, but her failure to come to grips with metaphor means that the chance to make a fundamental and economical statement about types of speaker intention is missed. So too is a connection with language and personal growth. Several papers in Duran (ed.) (1981) comment on the bias of code-switching studies towards adults, and on the failure to include children (e.g. McLure 1981:70; Genishi 1981:133; Zentella 1981:109). Yet their strategy largely consists of only more empirical descriptions, a set of synchronic snapshots of a merely younger age group. Discussions of metaphor however commonly raise questions about processes and mechanisms of change (e.g. Richards 1936:135; Coleridge in Hawkes 1972:42-56; Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Ortony (ed.) 1979): looking closely at metaphor

in the context of the situational vs metaphorical switching dichotomy, could suggest something of the processes by which people manage to move from one synchronic state to the next.

Against this background, the theoretical framework can now be set out.

### 16.3 Theoretical Framework for the Description of Interactional Code Switching

In this framework the major components are:

- : initiative vs responsive style
- : situational vs figurative switching (subdivided into metaphoric vs ironic)
- : intersubjectivity
- : categorisations
- : ego- vs alter-identification.

I shall outline each in turn, drawing out their interconnections and their implications. Initially, the main locus of description is the speaker, and the framework is couched in terms of the speaker's intentionality, their reflexive awareness of how their actions might be seen by their interlocutors, and their anticipation of hearer responses (see e.g. Leech 1983:34,35).

#### 16.3.1 Initiative vs Responsive Style

This takes up terms proposed by Bell (1984), but redefines them so that the matter of initiating or responding is not conflated with different types of switching (i.e. metaphorical or situational) (cf. Bell 1984:182,183).

Responsive style entails the Speaker (S) intentionally conforming to what he thinks the Hearer (H) expects (e.g. S thinks 'H thinks I am going to say/do something along the lines of y, so I am going to say/do y')

Initiative style entails S intentionally not conforming to what he thinks H's expectancies are (e.g. S thinks 'H thinks I am going to do/say something along the lines of y, but I am going to say/do x').

Very broadly, responsive style entails the maintenance and elaboration of the manner and direction of the discourse, whereas initiative style involves the introduction of elements that are discrepant in some significant respects. Scotton's distinction between 'marked' and 'unmarked' code selections is very similar to this (1983), and it is obviously compatible with e.g. Gumperz' notion of conversational expectancy (1982:206,207; also Tannen 1979).

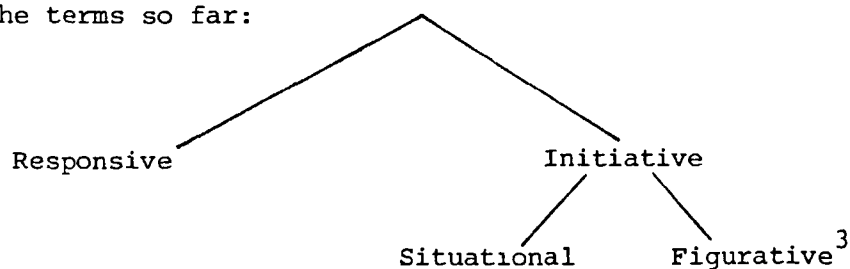
However, one issue needs to be clarified. A great deal of communication ordinarily involves S saying things to H which H does not know, and this is of course reflected in the basic topic-comment utterance structure. A lot of normal conversation involves initiative (S telling H things that are new to H), and indeed conversations in which one participant is only responsive are just boring (de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981:36). So how much initiative do you need to get initiative style? This is a recognised problem in text linguistics (see de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981:Ch.VII) and Grice's maxim of quantity - 'Make your contribution as informative as required', not more - focuses on precisely this ambiguity: saying something new (informative) while sticking within the limits (as required). How much deviation from H's expectancies produces the new orientation that initiative style creates can never be specified in the abstract (indeed, participants will often be faced with the same problem): maybe this new/reorientation occurs when S either exceeds the latitude H allows, or says something new to H which is of a completely different nature to the new information H was expecting; or maybe S simply non-conforms to H's expectancy by saying nothing new at all. One way of explicating stylistic initiative is in terms of Gricean flouts, in which the speaker blatantly fails to fulfil some conversational maxim (such as indeed the maxim of quantity above) and implicatures are generated (Grice

1975; cp. Gumperz 1982:94). Precisely which maxim was flouted would depend on the type of initiative - Grice's propositional examples of metaphor and irony in terms of flouts to the maxim of quality (1975:53) would obviously not apply with a switch in phonological coding and there is no need to try and identify or set up a list of maxims to connect with the data below. Furthermore, there is also no purpose here in trying to formulate too rigorous a mechanism to define initiative switches since anyway the task of relating flouts to the metaphorical interpretation to be discussed below, is itself highly complex (see Levinson 1983:157,158 on Grice's inadequacy in this respect; Levinson also writes: 'More concrete suggestions for a pragmatic theory of metaphor simply do not, at the time of writing, exist' (1983:158)). In general, beyond indicating broad lines of resolution, we can leave the question on the manner in which initiative switches are achieved relatively untheorised. We can say that they generally entail a challenge to the default interpretation (Leech 1983:42) and it is worth pointing out the connection here with (less schematic) notions of literary 'foregrounding', which Leech (1969:57) describes as the name given to surprising and interesting (i.e. significant) deviations from linguistic or other socially accepted norms (Gal 1979:10 also uses the term). It is this that sets off the processes of figurative interpretation to be indicated below.

So much then for initiative and responsive design.

### 16.3.2 Situational vs Figurative Switching

Both situational and figurative switching are related to initiative design: they refer to different intentions underlying S efforts not to conform to H expectancies. This is the relationship of the terms so far:



If one emphasises the cognitive dimension to their use of the concept 'situation', situational shift in the terms here relates to the same kind of thing that Gumperz and Blom associate it with - a redefintition by S of the situation in some respect: a change in participants' cognitive representation of role-relations, activity, topic, any other of those aspects of speech events/ situations outlined e.g. by Hymes (1972) (e.g. scene, key, genre, channel etc.) and probably more (see below 16.3.4). Situational switching involves speakers in trying to achieve some recategorisation of the interaction in which they are engaged (this is also close to Scotton).

Figurative switching does not strive for recategorisation of the ongoing interaction: instead of trying to replace one categorisation with another (= situational switches), it tries to achieve a dual categorisation. It calls for an alternative/ supplementary interpretation of the interaction, superimposed upon and simultaneous with the existing interpretation.<sup>4</sup> In this sense it enriches the situation. While I do not propose to engage fully with theories of metaphor (e.g. on the respective merits of semantic vs pragmatic accounts), it is worth elaborating here on at least one influential view relevant to this characterisation of figurative switching. This is the 'interaction' view of metaphor, which can be more or less associated with I.A. Richards (1936) (after Coleridge), Black (1979) and Tourangeau and Sternberg (1982).

Richards writes:

'In the simplest formulation, when we use a metaphor we have two thoughts of different things active together and supported by a single word, a phrase, whose meaning is a resultant of their interaction' (1936:93).

He goes on to describe metaphor as an 'interaction between co-present thoughts', a 'transaction between contexts' (93,94). (See also Black 1979:27-29; Tourangeau and Sternberg 1982:212-227). The crucial point here is the active co-presence of the two elements in metaphor - the given topic or subject ('tenor')

and the new item ('vehicle') brought into relationship with it. Translating this back into terms of conversational expectancy, encountering metaphor would involve trying to see how the deviating item that you did not expect relates to the item you were expecting, and then making your interpretations of the meaning from the blend of the two. It is not one or the other - the expected or the unexpected - which determines one's final reading - it is the juxtaposition of the two. This is the 'double-vision' with which Wellek and Warren (1949) characterise metaphor; this is also the dual categorisation, the two-level analysis involved in figurative switching as outlined here (see also Labov 1972b:324 on 'sounding'). Other views of metaphor lay less emphasis on the contribution to interpretation of the interactive conjunction of the two elements in metaphor (Levin 1979:128 asserts that the 'comparison' view (see Levinson 1983:148, Ortony 1979:3,4; Hawkes 1972) and Searle (1979) underestimate the extent to which tenor/frame qualifies vehicle/focus) and Richards himself states that 'with different metaphors the relative importance of the contribution of vehicle and tenor to this resultant meaning varies immensely' (1936:100). Yet concentrated attention on both would still seem to be a feature of metaphorical processing.

The question arises of course, how far does this differ from the processing of other types of non-metaphorical implicatures (e.g. indirect speech acts etc.), or indeed from so-called literal language itself. This is clearly a hugely complex question, but (even) if the view is taken that there is no difference in kind between the processing of literal and metaphorical language (Rumelhart 1979; Leech 1983:31,33,42), the difference between them can be usefully characterised in terms of differing degrees of conventionality. What distinguishes figurative language is the degree of unexpectedness and the amount of inferential processing it requires, and here the initiative vs responsive design difference can again be drawn in. The use of e.g. standard implicatures (Levinson 1983:104), and dead or 'sleeping' metaphors (see e.g. Lakoff and Johnson (1980))



would fall into the responsive design category where the distinction between tenor and vehicle (and literal and figurative) will not become an issue for the addressee. However, perhaps in proportion to the unexpectedness of the new item, the relation and difference between these two will become salient and problematic in initiative switches.

So with regard to the 'double vision' that they produce, the difference between figurative and non-figurative implicatures is one of degree, and in this respect, the difference between responsive and initiative design can also be seen as quantitative (at least from an analytic perspective). The difference between situational switching and figurative switching is however one of kind:

In situational switching, S non-conforms to what he thinks H expects, but he hopes that H will adopt the unexpected categorisation - the new definition of their role-relationship, group memberships, activity, key etc. - and that H will allow it to guide the ensuing interaction.

In figurative switching, S non-conforms to what he thinks H expects, but he wants H to see the unexpected categorisation as an adjunct to the current, expected categorisation. He expects H to activate the processes of figurative inference, which do not entail the new categorisation replacing the old as a basis for interaction, but instead concentrating on their juxtaposition.<sup>5</sup>

On this definition, what Gumperz identifies as conversational/metaphorical is often in fact situational switching.

He gives the example of a father speaking to his son in English and Hindi:

"Keep straight. Sidha jao (keep straight)." (1982:91)

"Baju-me jao beta, andar mat (go to the side, son, not inside). Keep to the side!" (1982:92),

and suggests that the switch to we-coded Hindi in the first signifies a personal appeal, and the switch to (they-coded) English in the second suggests a warning or mild threat. Both of these are doubtless initiative switches, but surely in both cases, the switch initiates a new set of norms with which the father expects his son to comply. Each involves a recategorisation of their relationship, which the father expects the son to adopt likewise: in the first, he wants his son to behave as the beloved son, rather than an unresponsive unknown child; in the second, he wants him to act as the good student, not the undisciplined and spoilt son. Of course, both of these are speculative readings on my part, but the point is clear - in both cases the father wants his son to act in accordance with the new relationship he is introducing, in contrast to the old which he seeks to abandon, due to its ineffectiveness in controlling his son's behaviour. This is situational shifting (see also Valdes 1981:101).

In contrast is an illustration from my own data:

At the youth club, 01i (Indian male 15 yrs old)  
is sitting with some friends watching 02i (Indian  
male 16+) play pool. 02i does a very bad shot  
and **01i** says in a very Punjabi accent

Bali, very good shot

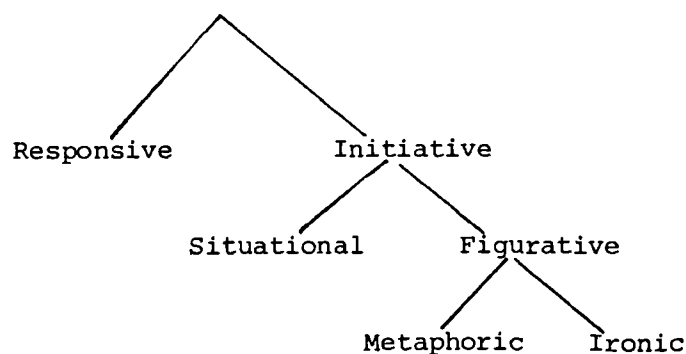
This is initiative design on at least two communicative levels (see below: data item 35): phonologically, it does not conform to people's expectations about 01i's normal pronunciation (which is ordinarily not noticeably Punjabi); propositionally, it contradicts the normal reading of the situation - 02i's shot was very bad. It is not a situational shift because it initiates no recategorisation of the situation with which H is expected to comply: 02i is most likely to tell him to shut up, and to reject any serious attempt to attribute to him the uncool qualities arguably associated with heavily accented Punjabi English (see below). It

is a figurative shift because it relies for its effect on a dual perception of the situation: the disparity between the two categorisations - between O2<sub>i</sub> seen as uncool and O2<sub>i</sub>'s normal status as hard on the one hand, and between praise for a good shot and the reality of the bad one - this disparity is comic.

Figurative switching is, in ordinary (white middle-class) conversation, often short-lived (though see e.g. 19.3 below). If the Hearer takes up the figurative shift, misinterpreting it as a situational shift, this may conceivably cause embarrassment to the Speaker, who might try to extricate himself with a remark like 'I'm only joking', 'I'm not serious'. Situational shifting may initiate a change of longer duration, but it need not, as I have argued above and as my explication of Gumperz's examples perhaps indicates. So, returning to the clerk and the local engaged in a business transaction in Hemnesberget, without detailed exemplification of what they said, we cannot say whether 'their constant alternation between the standard and the dialect during their business transaction' involved figurative or situational switching. They have a dual relationship - clerk and client, and local and local - but we only have figurative switching if either tries to generate meaning specifically out of the juxtaposition of the two.

### 16.3.3 Metaphoric and Ironic Switching

These are the last two terms I shall try to differentiate in this hierarchy of switching, and both of these are aspects of figurative switching. The picture is therefore as follows:



It needs to be stressed that despite my emphasis on the need for a consideration of procedural questions in studies of code-switching (p.430-1, section 16.2 above), the model here is still motivated with a view to (coherent) description, and is maybe still only semi-procedural. This is especially apparent here where the terms 'metaphorical' and 'ironic' are mainly selected for their descriptive convenience, and not ~~with~~ any particular theories about their difference in mind. Following Leech (1969), it is proposed that both metaphor and irony involve the simultaneous processing of two levels of meaning: in metaphor, the interpretive procedures work on the assumption that the figurative meaning is somehow complementing/like the literal meaning, whereas ironic interpretive procedures work on the assumption that the figurative and the literal meanings are somehow in contrast/opposite.

This leads to the following formulations of Speaker intent:

In metaphoric switching, S does not conform to what he thinks H expects, but he wants H to see the unexpected meaning as a complementary adjunct to the expected meaning.

(He wants H to see the figurative/unexpected as somehow similar to the literal/expected.)

In ironic switching, S does not conform to what he thinks H expects, but he wants H to see the unexpected meaning as a contrastive adjunct to the expected meaning.

(He wants H to see the figurative/unexpected as somehow opposite to the literal/expected.)

The example given above of the boy saying 'very good shot' when his friend played a bad shot is most likely a case of ironic switching, and ironic figurative initiatives are generally easier to identify and to distinguish from situational initiative switches than metaphoric figurative initiatives. By the very nature of contrasting with expected/literal meaning, the options

for H to adopt the initiated categorisation of the situation are reduced: it would, for example, necessitate a very radical re-orientation of the pool player's perception of the game of pool for him to accept O1i's praise literally, to take up his categorisation and e.g. to continue with a discussion of the particular skills it had required. Of course, ironic switches can be misconstrued as situational switches - see the discussion of shared knowledge below - but by virtue of being at odds with a good deal of the information available to H from e.g. the context, this is less likely than with metaphoric switching. In contrast, metaphoric switching is much more in accordance with expected meaning: in processing the rest of the data entailed in the communicative setting, H is afforded less opportunity to see whether S's initiative is serious or not. It is more consistent with what has preceded in the interaction, there is less evidence of the need to adopt the dual perspective, and there is less to constrain H's adopting the newly initiated categorisation. Shared knowledge is probably much more important achieving metaphorical switching successfully, and this emerges in the following example:

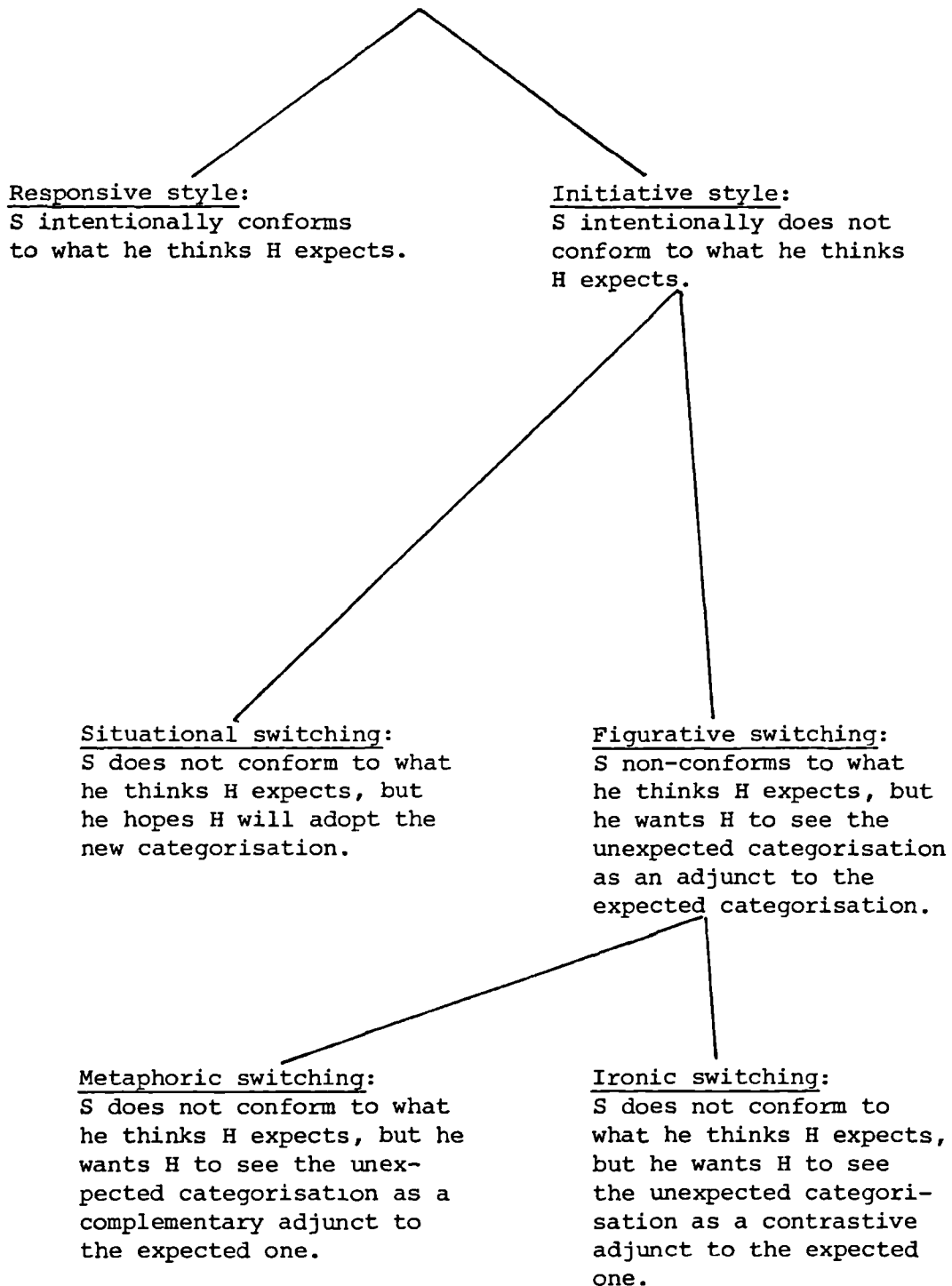
O3i (ethnically Indian, M, 13 yrs old), O2e (Anglo, F, 15 - a helper), O3e (Anglo, M, 12 yrs old)  
Ben and others are in a craftwork period during summer school. They are walking around looking at completed and ongoing work. O3i sees an object and says in a very Punjabi accent (underlined):  
'Very good very good. I like that one'

The Punjabi accent differs from O3i's normal pronunciation and certainly to my expectancies (as a participant). It is, I think, an initiative shift. O3i's sentiments, as expressed in his praise, are not ironic: he genuinely does like the object he sees. What then is his intention in non-conforming to phonological expectancy - is this a situational shift or a metaphorical one? The answer depends on the categorisation that the very Punjabi accent conjures: more precisely, does it conjure a categorisation in which it is quite customary for H to partici-

pate reciprocally? In other words, does it invite/initiate some kind of conventional role relationship? In Word Grammar terms, is it instantiating an entity that takes a 'companion' (Hudson 1984:38) which S thinks H can recognise and enact himself? Or alternatively, does S consider the category conjured to be unavailable to H in terms of any reciprocating enactment? In the case of the former, we have situational switching; with the latter, metaphorical. With regard to some of the data to be discussed below, I find it hard to decide (see discussion of requests). With this example however, I prefer the second interpretation: certainly as a participant I was unaware of any ways in which I could reciprocate and adopt O3i's initiative, and indeed this case seems to be in line with examples elsewhere in my data, where Hs much more closely involved with the peer network than me show no signs of adapting to quite similar initiatives switches. Regarding very good very good as a metaphorical initiative shift then, the task is to work out the ways in which the very Punjabi pronunciation serves as a complementary adjunct to O3i's literal meaning: without wanting to pre-empt the full discussion of my data below, we may hypothesise that the entity conjured through very Punjabi pronunciation perhaps has associations of sincerity for S, and thus the metaphoric effect is to intensify his praise. Alternatively, perhaps in a school context the relevant entity is unfashionable, and so conceivably O3i's phonological initiative qualifies and down-tones his appreciation.

To sum up: while the conceptual distinction I have elaborated between metaphorical and situational switching may be relatively clear, in practice they may be less easily differentiated. Identifying situational as opposed to ironical switching is less difficult in practice, and I think that Hearer responses to metaphorical as opposed to ironical figurative initiatives indicate that we also ordinarily have an idea of which is which: to S's metaphorical switch, H is likely to check with 'Really?', whereas to ironical switches, responses will be 'Get out of it' or 'Shut up'.

So far then, our model is:



#### 16.3.4 Categories and Categorisation<sup>6</sup>

I have been talking of categories and categorisation and have already begun to indicate what I mean by this. However, a fuller

explanation is called for.

The governing and uncontroversial assumption is that our behaviour is guided by the categorisations that we make of e.g. the situations we are in, the kind of food we are eating, the type of writing we are doing etc. etc. etc. (Gumperz 1982:21-22; also e.g. Tajfel 1981:149; also Ch.5.4.1 above). Co-operative social behaviour results from actors having an idea of the categories each is operating with, trying to synchronise them and conducting interactions with these categorisations roughly agreed upon (cf. e.g. Goffman 1959:Ch.2; Gumperz 1982:163; Heritage 1984:45,59). Categorisations may be concerned with language, speech events, situations (e.g. Gumperz and Blom 1972:432), or indeed sport, traffic, social roles, plants, social groups, shopping - anything that we know about (Hudson 1984:37; Tajfel 1981:145,146).

Talking of social groups as a particular type of psychological category, Tajfel's (1981:229) view is that these comprise a cognitive component, possibly an evaluative component and possibly an emotional component.<sup>7</sup> It seems reasonable to venture that this is true of all types of psychological category (Tajfel frequently emphasises the connection between social stereotyping and categorisation in general (1978:429)). Without wishing to engage with an extensive literature on categorisation (cf. Brown and Yule 1983:233ff; Tannen 1979:137-144) or to get into debate with Personal Construct Theory, the cognitive component of a category presumably consists of recognition of the cluster of items composing it, together with knowledge of the categories with which it can combine and co-occur, and the relationships it forms with other categories at both higher and lower levels. The formulations used to describe the relationship between linguistic entities in Word Grammar may go some of the way to identify the cognitive component of categories generally (Hudson 1984:37ff; see also e.g. Brown and Yule 1983:239; Bock 1964), though by no means all (cf. Beaugrande and Dressler 1981:99). Categories will vary in the extent to which they are utilised, in their degrees of definition, and in the extent to which they are socially



shared. Feelings of liking, dislike, love, indifference etc. could be presumably also associated with particular categories (= the emotional component) and perhaps assessments of goodness and badness also form a part of each (though, rather than being a separate slot available in each category it is maybe better to see any evaluative aspects involved in the process of categorisation as deriving from connections made between a non-evaluative category and categories existing elsewhere in category systems developed primarily for dealing with ethical matters).

This approach has several implications for the understanding of initiative design, and it is worth specifying the cognitive nature of the categories necessarily involved in situational and figurative code switching. In both, a switch introduces a superordinate category encompassing a different set of relevances. Both are frame<sup>8</sup> switches which make appropriate a new cluster of conceptual relationships (cf. Bateson 1954, in Innis (ed.) 1985). Gumperz's term 'contextualisation cue' refers to communicative devices by which particular frames are indicated as appropriate to an interaction, and his speech activities/activity types are frames entailing constraints on action and possible interpretation (Gumperz 1982:166; also Levinson 1979:368; Brown and Frazer 1979:42). In Levinson's terms, 'to each and every clearly demarcated activity there is a corresponding set of inferential schemata' (1979:371). In this approach, situational switching might be seen as altering activity types and introducing schemata which entail different role relations etc. (though see below for reservations about such 'macro' accounts).

It is not however only situational switches that initiate new frames/superordinate categories. Writers on metaphor frequently stress the manner in which the vehicle (= new element) is itself the 'tip of a submerged iceberg' (Black 1979:31) bringing with it a new set of cognitive associations. Richards' description of metaphor as 'a transaction between contexts' (1936:94) is plainly significant in this regard: metaphor also entails the introduction of a new interpretive framework, though here it exists simultaneously/interactively with the given, and

does not succeed it as in situational switching (on metaphor and frame juxtaposition, see also e.g. Tourangeau and Sternberg on 'interactive domains' (1982); Lakoff and Johnson on gestalts and 'domains of experience' (1980); Black's 'implicative complexes' (1979:31,32,34); Rumelhart on schemata (1979:90); Petrie on 'contexts of rules' (1979:440); also Levinson (1983:159,160)).

This comparison in fact raises a serious question about Gumperz and Levinson's focus on 'activity types' as the crucial macro-categories guiding action and interpretation (indeed in themselves these are rather indeterminate and fuzzy categories - see Levinson 1979:368; Gumperz 1982:166; also Brown and Yule on the utilisation of Hymes' etic taxonomy 1983:37,39). Given hierarchic knowledge organisation (cf. e.g. Gumperz 1979:207; Brown and Levinson 1978) the interpretation of categories much smaller than 'speech activities' can still have implications for the way in which lower level entities are enacted/understood: much of the literature on metaphor concerns interpretive re-orientations operating at sentence level (without alteration to speech activity) and indeed even whether a word is interpreted as a noun or a verb can affect its phonological coding. There is no reason why the interpretation of activity type should be the only behaviourally and interpersonally consequential frame perception. Negotiating a frame of interpretation is much more than agreeing on what activity is being enacted and a discussion in a seminar can go seriously wrong (e.g. tempers lost, animosities generated) if despite agreeing on its still being a seminar, there is disagreement about e.g. the meaning of the words 'Labov' or 'sociolinguistics'. What this in fact means is that in the definition of situational switching, we should not restrict ourselves to role-relations, topic and such like, and we should accept that interpretive frameworks exist at many levels, which regard to every conceivable phenomenon. A theory of switching need not confine itself to any particular type or level of category: which one one selects for attention will depend on the type of behaviour and the socio-cultural environment with which

one is empirically engaged. Category/frame specification is much better separated from theory, and left open for descriptive analysis in the ethnography of communication (see the remarks on the awkward relationship between code-switching theory and description in 16.2 above).

This discussion of categories and frames has further implications which will emerge in the course of the next section, where analysis focuses more fully on the interactional dyad.

#### 16.3.5 Intersubjectivity

So far, most of the theoretical framework (as opposed to the exemplifications) has been developed in relation to the Speaker at the moment of utterance (more or less).

However, S's conception of what H expects has been a crucial element in its formulation, and it is worth shifting our focus to take in both participants in the interaction. The assumption made by participants that there is reciprocal understanding is evidently fairly robust, and mutual comprehension may well be more 'a synchronisation of methods' (Heritage 1984) than 'a common intersection of overlapping sets' (Garfinkel 1972:320). Even so, it is useful to schematically set out the ways in which the speaker code uses outlined above may be misconstrued by the listener (this will also somewhat systematize the caveats that need to be borne in mind when it comes to analysing the empirical data below).

The first source of misinterpretation relates to S's conception of what H expects. S may simply get this wrong so that

- ° what S intends to be initiative switch, H construes as responsive

(so S might think: 'Some people are never surprised')

- ° what S intends to be responsive, H construes as initiative  
    (S thinks: 'Some people are surprised at the most obvious things')

- ° what S intends to be situational shift, H construes as figurative  
(H apologises: 'Sorry, I did not think you were serious')
- ° what S intends as figurative, H construes as situational  
(S thinks: 'Some people are amazingly prosaic')
- ° what S intends as ironic, H construes as situational  
(S repairs: 'I was only pulling your leg')
- ° what S intends as metaphoric, H construes as ironic, and vice-versa.

Another source of misunderstanding relates to attributions of intentionality:

- ° S may intentionally non-conform to H's expectancies, he may succeed in doing so, but H may consider this to be unintentional, with the result that instead of H thinking S is rude, witty, exciting etc., H thinks S is mad, incompetent, gauche etc.

Thirdly, misunderstanding may arise when S and H fail to synchronise their categorisations. With either situational or figurative switching,

- ° H may fail to recognise the category that S is trying to initiate
- ° the cognitive, evaluative and emotional components of a particular category may be very different for S and H
- ° and in figurative switching, H's conception of the connections between the initiated and the expected categories may be different from S's.

(You may not recognise when I put on a Scottish accent, mistaking it for Irish; you may think Scots are mean, bad and unlikeable, whereas my mother is Scottish; and you may read my use of this accent as signifying that the propositional content of what is being said is sententious nonsense, whereas in my view, a Scots accent emphasises its truthfulness and warmth.)

We can agree with Fishman and Giles (1978:385) that initiative shifting is quite a risky business, and depends on a fair deal of mutual understanding/trust for its successful accomplishment (see Labov 1972b:332,335,341 for some vivid illustrations). The risk factor here may be another reason for assuming that responsive styles are the norm for ordinary co-operative conversation (see Bell 1984:183; Grice 1975) (also see below 16.3.7).

Underlying the misinterpretation of situational switches as figurative initiatives (and vice versa), there is likely to be a problem of cross-level inferencing. To recap, both entail the introduction of categories/frames encompassing a new set of relevances; in figurative switching these are not offered as a basis for ensuing interaction; they are to be held as an adjunct to the dominant interpretive schema, not a replacement for it. However, speech production is a temporal activity and it is not always possible physically to express two category systems simultaneously (though this may be achieved through the use of paralinguistic cues, or proscenium arches). To comprehend the juxtapositionary effect of figurative switching, the hearer obviously has to hold the dominant frame fairly constant in his/her mind. If this is securely done, the figurative projection can carry on for a long time: the speaker can put trust in the hearer's understanding that this is not serious, and indeed the hearer can join in too, so both participate in an interaction which is jointly recognised to be figurative.

At this point, the meaning of 'dominant categorisation' becomes an issue and the definition of figurative switching as not guiding ensuing interaction needs qualification due to this possibility of joint activity embedded within a figurative frame (see 19.3 below on 'figurative situations'). Ultimately situational switching would need to incorporate the term 'serious' in its account of the initiated interaction and concomitantly, in the last analysis, the 'dominant categorisations' must be the actors' and their society's perceptions of what it is that is entailed in the 'real world', and the apprehensions they have of normal everyday reality (socially constructed in a way to which

they unwittingly contribute) (cf. Heritage 1984:212-232).

Within this perspective, questions of learning and socialisation can be readily drawn alongside the model outlined above. Learning can be viewed as encountering categories of knowledge and action which intra-individually are unconventional and unexpected (even though ordinary and consensual in some segment of the adult world) (Rumelhart 1979:80), and these encounters could be rephrased as 'coming across initiative shifts'. After that, some categories are adopted as a basis for further action and thought (i.e. situational initiatives are accepted), some may get forgotten, while others may become institutionalised as the jointly enacted non-real world activities otherwise known as play (Bateson's (1954) account of the double vision/dual framing of play closely ties up with metaphor (in the context of the ethnography of Afro-American speech, see e.g. Abrahams 1974:245; within educational studies, Walkerdine 1982; Petrie 1979<sup>9</sup>). From this angle, socialisation can also be seen as learning to determine which initiatives are figurative and which situational<sup>10</sup> - in the terms of the cross level-inferencing example above, learning to successfully co-ordinate your own sense of the higher order category framing the surface linguistic data with that of the speaker/writer. And reversing the focus, so that the learners are themselves seen as speakers rather than hearers, the model here offers a perspective on the growth of social competence and power. Departing from normal expectancy in such a way that people accommodate themselves to your initiative (i.e. successful initiative switching) is a mark of social influence; on the other hand proposing initiatives as a basis for serious interaction and then finding them treated as only figurative, can be a form of marginalisation<sup>11</sup> such as children must often experience in conversation with adults.<sup>12</sup> Indeed it scarcely needs to be pointed out that within the dyad (and beyond) not only can misunderstandings occur, but that initiatives can also be wilfully misconstrued along precisely this figurative-situational axis<sup>13</sup> (see Ch.22 for more uses such as e.g. covert subordination).

#### 16.3.6 Ego- and Alter-Identification

Both categorisation and intersubjectivity are integral components of the account I have given of initiative switching. The concepts discussed here, ego-identification and alter-identification, provide a fuller means of linking style shifting to the speakers' sense of their own position within society.

Both categories and category-enactments (behaviours) can be ego- or alter-identified:

- ° ego-identified categories are those (linguistic/cultural/social etc.) categories which a person feels to be congruent with his self
- ° ego-identified behaviours are those behaviours which a person feels to be congruent with his self
- ° alter-identified categories and behaviours are those which a person feels to be congruent with other people.

In essence, these identifications are a matter of the relationships between the category 'me', the category 'person X', and a host of other categories - the assumption is that, at least in Western industrial societies, how the category 'ego'<sup>14</sup> stands in relation to others categories is a very general and vital pre-occupation. The alter-categories may vary in their specificity and presumably e.g. a particular item of behaviour can be associated with very clearly defined persons or groups, or it may simply be seen as not related to the self (non-ego-identified). In line with what was said earlier about categorisation, the categories and behaviours with which this identification process is concerned can be phonemes, buses etc. etc. - anything that we know about. Also, of course, the ego-identified categories which are relevant to an interest in self-in-social-structure are those making up a person's knowledge of society - theoretically and in practice, ego-identifications can be with sociologically uninteresting items (e.g. teddy bears).

In addition, it is worth stressing that the relationship between the self and categories around it need not be one of complete identity for the term ego-identification to be used. I shall in fact remain vague about the precise relationship between the category 'ego' and other categories - the term 'congruence' used in my definition reflects this, and can be taken to mean some kind of 'fit', or association. The nature of this fit may vary in its character - again, some but not all of Word Grammar's formulation of the relationships between linguistic entities might provide a useful starting point for an analysis of these. And this fit will certainly vary in its intensity: variations in strengths and types of identification are a central concern in the investigation carried out by means of Identity Structure Analysis above. Indeed generally the theory of psycho-social development outlined in connection with ISA above (5.4) is broadly consistent with the approach here (see 16.3.7): the by-ISA-standards crude terms ego- and alter-identification can be seen as a concession to the analyst's (and participant's) uncertainty about self-other relationships in the course of interaction.

The notions of ego- and alter-identification are also introduced to serve roughly the same function as Bell's (1984) use of the notions of ingroup and outgroup and Gumperz's (1972,1982) we-code and they-code which likewise help to draw questions of wider social structure into the analysis. However, in several respects the terms here are preferable. The account here of categorisations clearly allows for some categories being collective (e.g. 'Germans', 'Londoners'), but there is no reason why all of them should be. One may equally strongly ego-identify with a singular category, like a gerbil, a great painting or a friend. Talking of ingroup and outgroup pre-empts this flexibility, and in Bell's case, one may add the criticism that group-membership seems to be unduly emphasised as the only important facet of social organisation (1984:187) - to his cost, he overlooks social role enactment in which a sense of collectivity inherent in the category being enacted may be absolutely minimal (in fact, Singh (1983) criticises the lack of integration of 'we'



and 'they' coding with social role enactments as well). 'We-coding' and 'they-coding' also over-emphasise the collective, and can be criticised for being too statically associated with institutional regularities (Auer 1984:91,92). Using the notion of ego-identification can of course still cope with collective-category memberships: one may self-identify with a group category, or alternatively identify with a particular alter and through that ego-identification, ego-identify with third categories, this third category-identification being intensified through being shared with the second. Indeed, talking of ego-identification may help to differentiate varieties of 'we-coding'/we-identification. More importantly, the present formulation allows exploration of the position of the individual, of 'me' vs 'them' and 'us' vs 'him/her', which at first glance at least neither Bell's nor Gumperz's can cope with (though see Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985:182 for a way out).

More complex questions arise however, when we try to connect up ego- and alter-identifications with what has been said of responsive and initiative design.

#### 16.3.7 Ego- and Alter-Identifications, and Response and Initiative Designs

These concepts are of different kinds, and bearing in mind that a range of categories and behaviours may be ego-identified (and alter-identified), it is not hard to imagine ways in which one may have the following:

- ° responsive style and alter-identified behaviour.

For example, S may think that H expects him to enact a particular category that S does not personally feel to be congruent with his self, but he conforms to H's expectancy nevertheless. This may involve a degree of effort and strain on S's part: the word-list reading Labov asked of his informant may be an instance of this. But play-reading and reported speech are pleasurable examples of responsive style and alter-

identified behaviour (and indeed also a form of figurative switching that has become so conventionalised as to be responsive rather than initiative based. In fact, this raises the complex issues of multilevel expectancy introduced above 16.3.5; see also the discussion of mechanisms of change in 18.3 and also 19.3 below)<sup>15</sup>.

- initiative design and ego-identified behaviour.

For example, when S breaks out of a fairly formal (either alter- or ego-identified) role into one that he feels (more/ also) congruent with his self, and he thinks H does not expect this. This need not necessarily cause offence (cp. Bell 1984: 187): whether offence is taken depends on a host of further factors, such as H's reading of the intentionality behind it, H's own access to similar behaviours, his evaluation of the initiated categories etc. etc.

- initiative design and alter-identified behaviour.

For example, putting on particular funny voices, mimicking the teacher when H does not expect it etc. etc.

- responsive design and ego-identified behaviour.

S conforms to what he thinks H expects, and feels this behaviour to be congruent with his self. Having a chat is probably the key illustration of this.

These combinations are then all logical possibilities. However, the account so far has simply been taxonomic: there are in addition theoretical interdependencies which need to be brought out.

Firstly, responsive design and ego-identified behaviour are probably unmarked and basic (at least in white bourgeois society: see e.g. Kochman 1983:335 on 'high' vs 'low-stimulus cultures'). The cornerstone of co-operative interaction has to be responsive style, in which interlocutors try to co-ordinate their categorisations, and reciprocate to what they take the other to expect. Initiative design achieves its foregrounding effect from its deviation from this norm (cf. Bell 1984:183-184; Blom and Gumperz 1972; Gumperz 1982). There are also grounds for assuming that ego-identified behaviour is the norm. For example, unless par-

ticipants assume that their interlocutor's behaviour is ego-identified, it is hard to imagine what call there could be for politeness imperatives, at least in the terms that these have been formulated by e.g. Brown and Levinson (1978). If the basic working assumption of interaction was that actors felt no congruence between their selves and their behaviour, there would be no need to consider H's positive and negative face wants, and a great deal of the communicative behaviour rather impressively explained in these terms would have to be reanalysed. Also Grice's quality maxim - 'Try to make your contribution one that is true - do not say that which you believe to be false' - would hold no sway in conversation. Goffman (1959:21,22,24,28) certainly considers that normally interaction proceeds on the assumption that speakers ego-identify with what they say and if this were not the case, it is hard to imagine what relevance conversation might have to getting to know people (often it is the only means).

Beyond this, co-operative interaction also entails each participant provisionally ego-identifying with the other and working on the assumption that some of their own categorisations are relevant to and potentially synchronised with their partners (cf. Brown and Yule 1983:30,80,148; Leech 1983:94; Heritage 1984:55; Habermas 1970:370). Fluent conversation, which lots of people enjoy and maybe wish they had more of, presumably involves shared ego-identifications with lots (but not all) of those categories which are most clearly at issue interactionally (e.g. being discussed), and as far as sociolinguistic theory is concerned, it is presumably on this level of shared ego-identifications with fairly explicit categories that the processes of Speech Accommodation can be found to operate. The implication here that needs to be spelt out is, of course, that as well as existing in different ways, with different degrees of intensity and with regard to different categories, ego-identifications exist at different communicative levels. Some may relate to aspects of social structure and other types of knowledge which simply remain implicit in and as a background to an interaction, and these are maybe quite permanent and stable. Others may connect with more

overt components in interaction, be more explicitly negotiated and potentially at least be more short-term and more flexible. When you know that you share ego-identifications with relatively implicit and stable categorisations, you don't have to bother with explicating your agreements overtly in communication and you can abuse and muck about with your mate with impunity (Heath 1983:150; Hewitt 1982:224; Leech 1983:144,145); it is when you are not confident of shared background ego-identifications and you have to establish these interactionally, that speech divergence becomes most risky and you maybe make efforts to converge linguistically (cf. Taylor and Giles 1979:236).

The interactional enactment of ego-identifications is a major factor not only in helping H see where S stands, but also in the process of S confirming, modifying or changing his ego-identifications (and how he sees himself). Ego-identifications are affirmed and strengthened when the speaker's ego-identified behaviours successfully anticipate and mesh with the hearer's categorisations (be they either explicit or in the background). When S generally ego-identifies interactionally with H but finds that his expectancies about H are in some respect incorrect and that the basis of their provisional interactional ego-identifications are partially challenged, he can either ignore this and explain it away, he can suspend the co-operation (proceeding interactionally on the basis of agreed alter-identification), or he can reconsider the extent to which the unsuccessfully tendered categorisation really is congruent with his 'self' (this formulation is misleading in making this process sound unduly conscious, which of course it need not be).

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's theory of projection is highly compatible with this view:

'Within this general theory we see speech acts as acts of projection: the speaker is projecting his inner universe, implicitly with the invitation to others to share it, at least in so far as they recognise his language as an accurate symbolisation of the world, and to share his attitude towards it. By verbalising as he does,

he is seeking to reinforce his models of the world and hopes for acts of solidarity from those with whom he wishes to identify. The feedback he receives from those with whom he talks may reinforce him, or may cause him to modify his projections, both in their form and content' (1985:181).

(See also 5.4.1; 5.4.3). If at this point we draw in the relationship described above between learning, socialisation and figurative and situational initiatives, we find that we have defined two of the key interactional processes which realise these 'acts of identity' and their ensuing reception, indeed in such a way that we can relate them with some precision to different types of social outcome. Acts of identity of course involve responsive design as well, but initiative switches, especially with ego-identified categories, may be particularly important to a person's sense of social self-positioning. The analysis of figurative and situational switching doesn't offer a systematic account of the repression of initiative, but it can distinguish diverging routes towards marginality and incorporation.

At the same time of course, the model need not only concentrate on the (mis)treatment of the initiator by the recipient/addressee: it also allows for tentative identifications sustained in play, and finally it also accommodates the socially acceptable defeasibility of ineffectual situational initiatives. If you seriously initiate a new identity/ego-identification and find it meets with a cool reception, you can always try and pass it off as a figurative switch.<sup>16</sup> Carefully elaborated, Gumperz' original distinction between situational and metaphoric switching offers quite a rich model for the analysis of 'strategic message construction as the key locus of the interface of language and society' (Brown and Levinson 1978:61).<sup>17</sup>

#### 16.4 The Implications of this Framework for Methodology

Such, then, is the theoretical framework that will form the basis of the empirical account of 'mimicry and imitations' which

follows. This has certain implications for descriptive methodology, and it is to these that we can now turn.

Interpreting figurative language involves (at least) two broad stages (Leech 1969:148; Mitchell Kernan 1972:174; Levinson 1983:157,158). The first stage, the simpler of the two, entails identifying the foregrounded/unexpected items. The second stage consists of trying to work out their relevance to the meanings that were expected. The interpretation of all implicature can be said to involve a comparable process (Leech 1983:31) though there is no harm in sticking to the terminology developed by Richards (1936) when trying to enact the second stage analytically. Richards' terms (which have already been introduced in part) are:

- (i) TENOR, which can be glossed as the occasion for the unexpected items; the tenor consists of the normal expectancies, upon which/from which the figurative items elaborate/deviate. (Discussing literary metaphors, Leech (1969) describes tenor as the 'topic' 'actually under discussion': my definition broadens but remains consistent with this, I think);
- (ii) VEHICLE - the unexpected items, the figurative forms and images themselves (in Leech's terms, 'the image or the analogue in terms of which the tenor is represented' (1969:151));
- (iii) the GROUND, which is the basis of the comparison/relationship, the grounds of their comparability and relevance to one another.

This means that altogether, the account of figurative language use given below will involve at least four steps:

- (a) identifying what has been foregrounded (i.e. spotting when 'initiative design' occurs);
- (b) looking at the tenor. This will entail considering the context in which initiative design occurs. It will often not be possible to spot a clear 'topic', since clues about what to expect in the normal progression of a discourse are probably much less frequently linguistically encoded in

conversational texts than in the written ones that Leech (1969) discusses. Instead, in considering the 'tenor' of a piece of figurative language use, I shall offer what a 'normal' reading of the situation suggests to be going on, prior to, or without taking cognisance of, the impact of the figurative item. The term 'frame' used to mean tenor in contrast to 'focus'/vehicle gives a better idea of the type of data to be scrutinised here.

- (c) Another step involves describing the nature and qualities of the 'figure' itself (the unexpected item, the 'vehicle'); and the last step
- (d) entails examining how they map together, how an item of figurative language use is appropriate to the context of its utterance (= GROUND).

This four stage approach can be used not only for looking at figurative switching (as I have defined it), but also at situational switching. As another form of initiative style, foregrounding is obviously also an issue in situational shift, and as it likewise entails both an expected and an unexpected categorisation, 'tenor' and 'vehicle' are also pertinent concepts. In situational switching the unexpected is not an adjunct to, but rather a replacement of the expected category, so discussion of 'ground' will need to take a slightly different shape from what is covered in relation to figurative switches. But it is still relevant, and can instead comprise consideration of how the expected prompts the unexpected, how the latter follows on from the former.

Richards' (and Leech's) outline of metaphor accounts to some extent for the structure of the empirical description that follows. Beyond this, theories of metaphor also provide an extra justification for two other features of what follows - uncertainty and breadth.

That there is an ineradicable element of uncertainty in the analysis of initiative design has been implicit in the remarks on situational switching in 16.3.2 above, and explicit in the discussion of intersubjectivity and the potential for misunder-

standing (and more) between participants (16.3.5). Indeterminacy for both actors and analysts is also frequently emphasised as an unavoidable component in pragmatics (see the references on p.43| above), but in figurative language use, this uncertainty is likely to be heightened (Levinson 1983:160; Leech 1983:43; Hawkes on Coleridge 1972:49-50; Mitchell-Kernan 1972:175). Leech points out in connection with poetry that it is often not categorically apparent whether or not a particular feature has in fact been foregrounded (1969:216-217); the separation of the 'tenor' from the 'vehicle' is often not very clear (1969:153); and identifying the basis of their comparability (the 'ground') is 'very much a question of personal intuition' (1969:155).

Of course, 'personal intuition' need not be unconstrained, but if one aspires to deal with figurative language in a disciplined way, breadth of focus is necessarily entailed in two ways. The first involves setting out a range of possible interpretations, not just a single reading. The second consists of trying to account for the socio-cultural context in which figurative language is set (on these two types of breadth within literary analysis, cf. Leech 1969:215; on the second, Leech 1969:226; Wellek and Warren 1949:196; within the pragmatics of everyday discourse, see e.g. Gumperz on situated meaning; on everyday conversational art, see Mitchell-Kernan 1972:166,169). My own texts are fairly numerous, and my aim will not in fact be to try to capture the meaning of every single text in as much detail and rigour as possible (in this way, it won't be like poetic analysis - ultimately I'll try to produce a general characterisation). However, quite often several readings of a text will be presented (usually together with the implications of each for the theoretical model above), and reference will also be made to social context, initially at the micro but gradually increasing to more macro levels as well.



### 16.5 A Note on 'Personae'

Finally, it is worth explaining my use of the term 'persona', which will prove very useful in empirical analysis. The meaning of the term is rather diffuse within sociolinguistics (though this vagueness will ultimately suit me here). On occasions, it is used almost as a structural concept: Scotton (1979:360) talks of a 'persona' as the 'status' held 'in a role-relationship';<sup>18</sup> similarly, Coupland (1984) talks of 'business-transacting travel-agency assistant' as a 'persona'. Elsewhere Coupland glosses it as a 'projected social image': in this case, rather than a structural concept (which Scotton's anyway seems to be), persona seems to refer more to the substantive details realising a structural position (apparently this variation is also found in writing on role (Banton 1965:21)). Hudson defines persona as 'some abstract type of person - e.g. "school teacher" or "Scotsman" or "tough guy"' (1985:13), which may also have some sociological precedents in role theory (Banton 1965: 26).

It isn't very clear why these writers don't actually commit themselves to the terms 'status' or 'role' (Scotton does in fact); I however have two reasons for not doing so. One reason for this preference relates to my method of empirical analysis. At least in the structural (anthropological) tradition (Banton 1965:21ff.), role is defined from the top down: roles are the realisation of (higher order) social structure, and accounting for 'role' necessitates both a close view of the social order at a more abstract level, and an examination of the relationship of one role to another. My approach is in contrast, to work from empirical speech data upwards to more or less coherent categories which it seems safer to simply designate 'personae' since my primary enterprise at this stage is neither to classify their precise location within social structure, nor their interrelation with equivalent categories (though see my remarks on symbols and symbolic systems below). That is certainly not to say that these personae bear no relation to social structure: rather it is to acknowledge that understanding that relation is in itself a very

complex task, which it would be pre-emptive of me to imply that I had effectively achieved.

The second reason for opting for the term 'persona' is its particular connotations of stylisation and the concealment of true identity behind some kind of ritual mask. This may be very appropriate for much of the data on figurative switching to be analysed below. Where this doesn't fit, then the vagueness in the use of the word noted above can be cited against charges that the issue is being prejudged.

Having explained my use of the notion 'persona', the level of category with which much of this analysis of situational and figurative switching will engage, should be apparent (cf. section 16.3.4, p.443 above on category and categorisation). Much of it will look at the images of people conjured/instantiated in speech shifts. These may comprise/have associated with them a greater or lesser variety of human traits (such as e.g. 'braininess', 'strength' etc. etc.), and the analysis will try to define these by looking at the sets of propositional and illocutionary meanings that co-occur with the phonological items which identify and differentiate personae in the first place. The speech acts that people perform when talking through a particular persona/guise, also provide clues to the characteristics they associate with it as a cognitive entity.

In general, my focus will be on persona-projection as a figurative activity - on speakers pretending to be a particular type of person for special rhetorical effects, on personae as 'vehicles'.<sup>19</sup> However, it is perfectly possible for persona-projection to occur in relation to responsive style shifts (where a person projects a persona to match their interlocutor's); in relation to situational shifts (where the speaker assumes that the social type he is initiating is acceptable/accessible to his addressee); as well as in metaphorical and ironic styles (see below). Indeed, it will not always be clear what stylistic function the persona-projections considered below are performing, and non-figurative uses will come into the reckoning as well.

It almost goes without saying that neither can the extent to which people agree on personae be taken for granted and may be a matter of dispute. The projection of a persona may of course be completely idiosyncratic, and even where a particular type is widely recognised, it cannot be assumed perceptions or enactments of it by different people will be identical in every respect. But at this point it is worth citing Wellek and Warren:

'an image may be invoked once as a metaphor, but if it persistently recurs, both as a presentation (i.e. as an object in its own right) and representation (i.e. standing for something else), it becomes a symbol, may even become part of a symbolic ... system' (1949:189; see also Leech 1969:162; Mitchell-Kernan 1972:167).

This intimates both my method, which will be to try to adumbrate consensual personae through the cumulative observation of specific instances of figurative language use, and one of my ultimate objectives, to identify the complementarity of different personae as elements in a symbolic system understood and exploited network-wide (cf. Mitchell-Kernan 1972). This is pretty much in line with Gumperz, who talks about 'underlying, universalised assumptions about social categories', 'the working of such symbols and the role they play in persuasion and rhetorical effectiveness' (1982:99). The theoretical and descriptive apparatus being offered here however, is, I think, a little more systematically elaborated in certain important respects.

#### 16.6 Summary

This chapter has set out a metalanguage for dealing with code-switched language use, and it has outlined some of the difficulties entailed in existing accounts of the metaphorical vs and situational switching distinction (these related to the definitions of 'situation' and 'metaphor' themselves, and to a tendency to mix description with theory).

The components in the framework here are several. The first

dichotomy is between initiative and responsive design, which concerns the issue of whether or not the speaker (S) conforms to what s/he thinks the hearer (H) expects. Deviation from H's expectancies can be accounted for along the lines of Grice's theory of conversational implicature.

Figurative and situational switches are usually types of initiative design, but in figurative switching, S intends the unexpected categorisation to serve as an adjunct to the expected one, while situational switching entails S initiating a new categorisation in the hope that H will adopt it as a replacement and that the nature of their interaction will thus be significantly redefined. Ironical and metaphoric switches are types of figurative design. Ironical switches involve the new categorisation serving as a contrastive adjunct to the expected/literal categorisation, while in metaphoric switching, this adjunct is complementary. A situational initiative need not only be 'big' and the difficulty for both analyst and participant in differentiating metaphoric figurative initiatives from situational switches was noted.

Categories and categorisations are the complexly inter-related units of knowledge essential for ordinary living, and they are a matter of anything that we know and perceive. In both types of initiative switch, the categories introduced bring with them a new set of conceptual relevances: both draw in new interpretive frames. It is limiting to a theory of codeswitching to insist that in situational initiatives these frames are equivalent to 'activity types': which level of category affects which type of behaviour is a matter for ethnographic description.

The account of intersubjectivity schematically laid out several sources of misinterpretation: switches can go wrong where S misreads H's expectancies, where H misconstrues S's intentionality and where interactants understand categories very differently (analysts err too). The opportunity for both to participate in figurative styles was discussed, and the framework was extended to cover issues of play, learning and the growth of social competence and power (together with its inhibition).

Ego- and alter-identification with categories concerns the extent to which a person feels categories (defined at any level) to be congruent with his self. Of course for sociolinguistics, the interesting categories are those comprising the representation of social structure, and with ego- and alter-identification we have concepts for seeing something about where people stand socially.

There are four possible combinations of responsive vs initiative style and ego- vs alter-identification, but it was proposed that the norm for conversation at least is responsive style and ego-identification. Provisional ego-identification with the other forms the basis for normal co-operative interaction and interactionally enacting ego-identifications is a means for self-definition. The framework here provides a way of linking this with (the management of) different outcomes.

Some implications of this framework for methodology were considered. An analysis in four stages was appropriate, covering 'foregrounding', 'vehicle', 'tenor' and 'ground'. The analyst can hardly avoid interpretive indeterminacy and his/her scope needs to be broad, both in setting out a range of possible interpretations and in placing code-switches in their socio-cultural context.

One type of socially interesting cognitive category was proposed: this was called a 'persona', with which a variety of human traits might be typically associated. Personae may be projected responsively, in situational, metaphorical or ironic switches. Finally, the way in which widely shared personae might become symbols was mentioned, together with the way in which they can become part of a community's symbolic system.

That, then, is the framework. What kind of status can it claim?

'A theory is a precisely specified, coherent and economical framework of interdependent statements and definitions, constructed so that as large a

number as possible of particular basic facts can either be seen to follow from it or be describable in terms of it' (Hurford and Heasley 1983:8).

As quite a precisely specified coherent and economical framework of interdependent definitions, the scheme outlined above can be called a theory (though it needs to be characterised as tidying and elaborating more than innovating). The task of generating a number of propositions and hypotheses from this model in order to test it, is not one I shall undertake, since it is a task of considerable magnitude; however, particularly in Chapter 18, I have tried to show how it can be used to describe quite a large number of 'basic facts' and elsewhere, it serves in the background as a coherent metalanguage guiding data analysis at a lower level.

The framework here is partly, to use Beaugrande and Dressler's terms, a 'procedural' model which accounts for code-switching as 'something being created via operational procedures of human interactants' (1981:23). It is framed in terms of the speaker's intentionality and the designs s/he has on the hearer's expectations. It presents more than a 'descriptive structural' account of code-switching, and does not merely approach its patterning as 'given and manifest'. Certainly, a good deal of what follows does involve trying to sort data at quite a low level of abstraction, working quite strictly within the limits of a particular corpus, trying to identify its patterning as simply, as generally and as consistently as that corpus allows (cf. 1981:33). However, 'though a central activity of investigation', 'the discovery of units and structural patterns' does not represent the complete picture: what is suggested by the framework outlined above is an account of the cognitive operations generating patterns in the data and indeed without this theoretical meta-level, the meaning of a particular code-switch cannot be satisfactorily considered. To account for that, you have to reckon with the speaker's intentions and cognitive orientations and it is largely in terms of these that varieties of code-switching have been conceptualised here. The framework also sets clearly explained limits on any attempt to engage with empirical data with the (ultimately futile and unrealistic) aim of

achieving a single and complete account of it. That does not mean that anything goes interpretively, and indeed the scheme here provides a set of terms for setting up coherent alternative possibilities with regard to particular items (see below). It is clear, however, that it is not possible simultaneously to seek both determinacy in data-analysis and 'human plausibility' and adequacy in one's explanation.

NOTES

1. See also e.g. Bell (1984:182) who describes situational switching in terms of its publicly observable, relatively macro correlates. Bell also incorrectly aligns his 'responsive style' with Gumperz's situational switching (1984:182,183) - see below for a revision of this.
2. Fishman (1972:42) makes exactly the same error.
3. Where other writers refer to metaphorical code-switching, I shall use the term 'figurative', since the same interactional mechanism can lead to more figures of speech than just metaphor (irony, litotes, hyperbole etc. etc.). Metaphorical code-switching as I use it will be just one form of figurative switching, though references to other people's discussions of metaphor will be held to apply to figurative language generally.
4. Figurative switching resembles Mitchell-Kernan's account of signifying, in which 'signifying is not focal to the linguistic interaction in the sense that it does not define the entire speech event' (1972:165). Where signifying introduces sustained verbal duelling (e.g. Labov 1972b: Ch.8), this would be a situational initiative (or more properly, it would be initiating a figurative situation (see Kochman 1983).
5. In ethnomethodological terms, these two types of switching differ in their 'sequential implicativeness' (Heritage 1984: 245,253,265).
6. At the level at which I am engaging with this issue, this chapter could be entitled 'constructs and construing' (cf. 5.4.1), though of course more intensive engagement with questions of cognitive organisation would need to address the bipolarity of personal constructs as enunciated by Kelly. As it is, however, the eclecticism here is slightly untidy, but not a serious flaw. The term 'category' is preferred here because it connects more directly with sociolinguistic writings.
7. Kelly's account is rather different (see Bannister and Fransella 1980:31-37).
8. The term 'frame' is loosely used here, not as in the hierarchy of units of e.g. Chafe (1977).
9. Petrie's (1979) model of the learning process could be re-interpreted as the learner moving from the interpretation of an initiative as figurative to seeing it as situational.



10. Or phrased another way, learning to tell 'fiction' from 'fact'.
11. Fishman (1972:153-154) relates metaphorical code switching to marginality, though his perspective is macro-socio-linguistic and lacks an explication of the interactional mechanisms producing it.
12. For a graphic illustration of this in the context of second language acquisition, see Trosset (1986:181).
13. The concept of intersubjectivity is clearly central to an account of initiative switching. It also helps in understanding how at least some of social structure enters, and is enacted in, co-operative interaction.

If communication is seen as a process in which each participant makes assumptions about, or indeed tries to reconstruct the network of categories existing within the other's head, it is first of all possible to see how a message that appears to pertain to one level is in fact addressed to another. S may select a phonetic item, not to show that he uses the same phonetic items as his interlocutor, but because he knows that his interlocutor will read that phonetic item as a message about e.g. pop music. One of the effects of S's picturing H's conceptual network is to enable him to anticipate H's inferential processes, and thus to send a number of diverse (perhaps simultaneous) meanings indirectly in this way.

A good many of the categories that S attributes to H will of course be social - S will make a variety of assumptions about/try to get a picture of, H's views of social relations and structure. He can therefore use lots of indirect means in such a way as to either challenge or endorse particular aspects of this view, and participants can end up either agreeing or otherwise both about the nature of the social order and their respective positions within it.

Any view of interaction that ignores this shared knowledge ends up with a poorer conception of the interpretation of interaction and social structure (for a comparable discussion see Goffman 1959:83ff; Silverman 1972:168). Bell, it seems, must take a simpler view of this kind, since otherwise it is hard to imagine how he can propose that 'Divergence is ... always ... a reaction against the addressee' (1984:185). This clearly takes no account of the cross-level inferencing entailed in the mutual knowledge perspective, which of course affords a way of conceptualising co-operation that appears superficially to be based on difference. For example, we can see that linguistic interaction that seems divergent on the phonological level is in fact collaborative in so far as S is conforming to the social stereotype of him that he perceives H to entertain; in turn, divergent role enactments can be seen to be co-operative in the way that they imply agreement on asymmetrical and distant social relations (see e.g.

Beeman 1976), With the possibility of both participants negotiating or agreeing on the macro-category within which particular messages are embedded, it is no longer acceptable simply to see e.g. phonological divergence and differentiation as social disagreement: co-operation may be taking place with reference to higher level categorisations.

Bell's view that divergence is always reaction to the speaker (or equally that switching to an ingroup code with an outgroup addressee will result in conflict) appears to rest on the assumption that (a) we converge for approval and we like what is similar to us, and that (b) conversely, we do not like what is different and diverge to show this (a magnet and iron filings view of society). This obviously is not compatible with the mutual knowledge perspective outlined above and it looks as though Bell's model of communication simply involves the encoding and decoding of information, with interlocutors simply as outside objects that happen to speak back.

This is close to the 'barrage-of-signals' view of interaction that Brown and Levinson (1979:292,293) attribute to social psychological accounts of speech marking, and the theory of speech accommodation certainly forms an important strand in Bell's paper, his own views clearly co-ordinating with the psychological theory of similarity-attraction underpinning much of the empirical discussion of convergence and divergence (see Giles and Smith (1979)). A number of writers within the social psychological paradigm accept the limitations of both similarity-attraction and speech accommodation (see e.g. Giles and Powesland, 1975:166; Giles and Smith 1979; Tajfel 1981:265 on perceived legitimacy; Beebe and Giles 1984:11 on situational norms; Taylor and Giles 1979, on the cognitive organisational function), and a frequently admitted drawback with experimental laboratories is of course that they may exclude a view of the more abstract levels of cultural organisation which may very often dominate actors' behaviour (Tajfel 1981; Ryan and Giles 1983). It would be wrong to parody the social psychological position, and accommodation processes based on similarity-attraction clearly have some role in communication. However, a more complicated conception is clearly needed, and the extent to which, for example, we engage in competitive games from a very early age suggests that divergence within a larger shared framework is a very central and very familiar experience, and that our mutual understanding is potentially very elaborate.

14. Precisely how the notion of ego-identification should be formulated in relation to the distinction made between 'I' (the perceiving and impulsive self) vs 'me' (reflected and more institutionalised) (Mead 1934; Cicourel 1973) is not clear to me at the moment, but is not a matter of immediate concern. Indeed more generally it should be stressed that my use of these terms is very untheorised (cp. e.g. Volosinov in Innis (ed.) 1985:54ff; Habermas 1970).

15. It is interesting to compare Bell's (1984) scheme, in which there is no slot for responsive alter-identified behaviour (which in his terms would be responsive outgroup referee design).
16. See below Ch.22 for further manipulations of the figurative vs situational dichotomy. Also in the context of 'signifying', Mitchell-Kernan 1972:168,169,170,176; Kochman 1983.
17. Just to complete this pulling together of strands, it is worth making one or two comments on how the irony vs metaphor distinction (see 16.3.3 above) fits in with this discussion of social self positioning.

Since a major means for working out where a person stands is through conversation, it is not very surprising that the type of figurative switch that a speaker makes customarily suggests different things to the hearer about the speaker's ego identifications. Metaphoric switches (defined as S non-conforming to H's expectancies, but wanting H to see the new categorisation as a complementary adjunct to the dominant categories operating in the interaction) seem to intensify S's commitment to what is going on and suggest sincerity. Ironical switches, where the new categorisation serves as a contrastive adjunct, suggest on the other hand that S is in fact not committed to the dominant categorisations, and that S is detached, even cynical (see Goffman 1959:28; Leech 1983:144). Conventionally, I think, we do associate metaphor with passion and conviction, and irony with coldness and alienation (Levinson 1983:161) and if it is true that we generally prefer the former, this lends some support to the idea that we generally like ego-identification to be the dominating principle in encounters. Irony in which the new perspective is clearly alter-identified for the speaker is relatively acceptable, since it does not threaten the interactional baseline of ego-identifications shared with the hearer; but irony in which the contrast is reversed, in which the new categorisation is obviously ego-identified, and the speaker is thereby declaring his distance from the framework ordinarily governing S H interaction - this is Leech's moral irony (1969:172) and we do not like this when we are its butt.

18. Though this implies that status is subordinate to role, not vice versa as e.g. Hargreaves (1967) presents it (see also Banton 1965:28).
19. In this and other respects, what follows overlaps a good deal with Mitchell-Kernan's account of Afro-American 'marking' (1972:176-179).

## CHAPTER 17

### ISSUES OF METHOD, DEMARCATION AND TERMINOLOGY

#### 17.1 Method

So far I have outlined a number of theoretical concepts which I shall use in trying to account for code-switching. I have also identified certain methodological procedures and some inevitable uncertainties that are identified within this framework. It is, however, necessary to discuss empirical methodology a little further, not in such general terms as before, but in more specific terms relating to the data collected, the ways it will be treated, and the extent to which these may give a fair picture of the particular network which it is part of my aim to portray. Whereas before indeterminacy was discussed as an essential/integral element in the phenomena being examined, here it is worth indicating ways in which my own practice introduces additional sources of uncertainty (essential unknowability compounded by researcher error).

The analytic method here is mainly 'inductive', basing general statements on accumulated observations of specific instances. Fieldwork involved several data-gathering approaches and as a result, we can try to set rhetorical code-switching in its broader socio-cultural setting. There are good opportunities for methodological triangulation.

However, the fit between various data sources with regard to any particular issue is not always perfect. Where, in spite of a lack of tight methodological complementarity, it seems worth proceeding, this necessitates (in addition to all the provisos outlined in Chapter 16), (a) a clear recognition of where the leaks are, and (b) still more conditional conclusions, acknowledging that there are only reasonable quantities of circumstantial evidence, not 'proof'.

I have not shied clear of the single (or just a few) in-

stance(s) as evidence of the wider patterning of knowledge in the peer-group (cf. Gumperz 1982:72) and there are two justifications of this.

Firstly, in line with the ethnographic tradition, the data derives from within a specifiable social network: the informants know (of) each other, and all know very many of the people that each refers to. A network comprises lines of communication, and knowing that all the informants belong to roughly the same network justifies attention to single items in so far as they have potentiality for a wider currency. Of course, this oversimplifies: conditions and constraints operate within networks to regulate the spread and exchange of knowledge and behaviours, and in earlier chapters, I drew attention to a few of these. Nevertheless, in this context single instances merit more attention than they do in studies in which the actual relationship between respondents is unspecified or unknown.

Secondly, single or just a few instances can be taken to have wider significance if they are grouped together at a higher level of abstraction, and this has also been done.

In the process however, I have sometimes imposed my own interpretations fairly close to the data (e.g. vis-à-vis how informants 'rate' various straight users of (NP)(VA)E, see Chapter 21.3.1). Of course, ethnography aspires for inter-subjective understanding and this centrally entails researchers checking their own interpretation back with informants as well as with other parts of the data. In Hymes's terms ethnography is 'dialectical', 'feed-back-sensitive' and 'interactive-adaptive' (1980:92) and as far as code-switching is concerned, Gumperz checks his own interpretations back with 'participants and with others of similar social and linguistic background' (1982:73, also 130). I have not done this, and by this standard these interpretations must be viewed as preliminary.<sup>1</sup> However, I have tried to establish the consistency of these readings with other sections of the data.

It is perhaps worthwhile looking at how my conclusions are likely to stand by the criteria of the ethnography of speaking. Grimshaw (1974) discusses various levels of adequacy, and the first is pertinent here:

'Observational adequacy implies that all relevant data needed for adequate structural descriptions and for the discovery of rules are collected, whether those data be speech utterances, kinesic accompaniment to speech, knowledge of social relationships, intended ends of speech events, or whatever (Hymes 1967, 1972). In my view, this appears to be a task of greater magnitude than "enumeration of the class ... of possible sentences" (Chomsky 1965:31), particularly since ethnographers of communication must select from a behaviourally rich universe of social interaction with only minimally developed theoretical cues as to what data are most needed.

In summary, to Chomsky's criterion that data be reported accurately, I want to add the criterion that all relevant data be collected if observational adequacy is to be achieved' (1974: 420,421)

The regularities involved in rhetorical language use should only very loosely be construed as a 'grammar' (cf. Levinson 1983: 112) and in Chapter 16 above, reasons were outlined why even with all the relevant data, there is bound to be some indeterminacy in the rules one posits to account for rhetorical code switches. Even so, given (a) Grimshaw's injunction to get all relevant data and (b) the fact that the data below emerged prior to even a 'first round' of sustained theoretical analysis, I don't claim that it has observational adequacy, or that it forms the basis for a full account of rhetorical Asian English in the locality I am studying. Rather more confidently, it is offered as a 'first step':

'Generally, it seems to me that fine-grained anecdotal description may be a first step (and a very critical one) in which identification of pattern and variation are undertaken. In brief, an interesting phenomenon is identified. Once pattern and variation begin to emerge, taxonomies seem naturally to follow.' (p.422)

Chapter 16 represents a step beyond perception of pattern and variation and it could be regarded as serving a semi-taxonomic role. It could well have theoretically valid implications beyond taxonomy, but, in treating the data, I am not whole-heartedly setting out to identify, for example, co-occurrence constraints and possibilities amongst its theoretical elements - indeed the view of interpretive indeterminacy entailed in the framework raises problems for taxonomy itself. In general, while I have partially proceeded beyond pattern and variation, this framework's main (and not insignificant) function will be to provide a coherent metalanguage against which the data analysis can be set. Much of that will be conducted at a lower level and regularities will often be proposed in fairly a-theoretical terms (i.e. I will not be working with an explicit theory of speech types, or persona traits).<sup>2</sup> Occasionally I will glance towards Grimshaw's next stage - the formulation of 'grammars' or 'proto-grammars' - but this will be done informally.

Summarising the methodological orientation here, what follows is not exhaustive. It is exploratory, interpretive and tries to set rhetorical speech acts within a particular ecological context. It uses several methodologies in order to identify and give preliminary description to 'an interesting phenomenon', which it considers partly in the light of a fairly general theoretical framework.

## 17.2 Demarcation

There are two questions of demarcation that need to be addressed. The first is more terminological, though it leads into the second which is more substantively concerned with issues of data classification.

### 17.2.1 Rhetorical vs Straight Language Use

I have already used the notion of 'rhetorical' language use and it is necessary to explain what I mean. By rhetorical, I roughly

mean 'high', 'artful', 'special'; by straight, I mean 'ordinary', 'normal'. In relation to the concepts outlined in Chapter 16.3, 'straight' and 'rhetorical' can be regarded as cover terms, clustering typically co-occurring factors.

Responsive and ego-identified language use were referred to as being basic, unmarked and the norm in conversation (Chapter 16.3.7). To that, it is worth adding the enactment of fairly loosely defined and flexible personae (or indeed no personae at all, depending on your definition). This combination of factors - responsive design, ego-identification and flexible personae - represents 'straight' style in an ideal form: of course, these components need not all co-occur, but this will not prevent the term 'straight' from being used in a fairly intuitive way.

The same is true of 'rhetorical' which, in contrast, can be ideally defined as initiative design, alter-identified categories and the projection of narrow, highly conventionalised personae. Again, these factors may only co-occur sometimes, and thus speaking of 'rhetorical' vs 'straight' styles is fairly arbitrary. In fact, that does not matter, since 'rhetorical' and 'straight' are not being used technically: they are convenient labels rather than analytic concepts, and in general, I shall introduce as rhetorical anything in which there is a suspicion that even only one of the characteristic features is involved.

#### 17.2.2 Normal vs Asian English

In the course of investigation, a line will initially be drawn between

- (a) informants' perception of Asian English as a special style available to people who in their eyes speak English normally (i.e. Asian English as a rhetorical variety), and
- (b) informants' recognition of Asian English as a way of speaking that is natural for some people around them (i.e. Asian English as a straight variety).



A number of points need to be made with regard to this distinction.

Firstly, the important definitions of normalness in English are those obtaining within this peer-group, not outside. From the perspective of RP and Standard English, a categorical distinction between some aspects of my informants' English and the English spoken by adults from the Indian subcontinent might seem artificial, to be described more accurately as a difference of degree rather than kind. But this is to elevate the descriptive linguistic above the psychological (the etic above the emic). If you do so, and if you ignore what is for many informants a categorical distinction, you lose the chance to explore the meanings and social psychological implications entailed in the rhetorical exploitation of an alter-identified code.

The issue becomes more complex than that however, since peer-group members themselves may not agree on what is normal as opposed to Asian English. At least some kids differentiate amongst their peers in terms of the ethnicness of their speech. Thus Olw, an ethnically Afro-Caribbean boy, singles out Jp and Lp as 'pronouncing letters with v's'; Fi, a Sikh, refers to Kp and Pp as having Pakistani accents, says he himself does not have a very good Indian accent, and judges Lp to be comparatively English. Such perceived diversity in speech production might well extend to intra-peergroup variation in receptive evaluations of what constitutes 'normal' vs 'non-normal', 'Asian' English.

When one combines this with the obvious fact that people are likely to differ in their abilities to imitate, there are two implications for the linguistic analysis of rhetorical Asian English. Firstly, to quite a degree rhetorical uses by different people will be linguistically dissimilar: indeed, in purely linguistic terms, one person's rhetorical use could resemble another person's straight use. This might be the case intra-ethnically as well as interethnically, and perceiving rhetorical use will depend on a knowledge of each speaker's normal use.

The second point is, however, that within the speech of a single individual, the linguistic realisations of rhetorical use may not differ very much from their non-rhetorical, straight use. This is the point made by Gumperz (1982:84ff; also e.g. McLure 1981:70) who indicates that a code switch may be indicated by rather subtle linguistic and pragmatic cues of a subculturally conventional kind and this returns us to the dichotomy between the psychological versus the descriptive linguistic mentioned above.

In the data below, informants cite a number of instances of Asian English specifically as such (see Chapter 18 in particular). At other times, my own judgment is involved in determining when rhetorical Asian English is being used, and it is therefore important to clarify the basis for these assessments. The majority of cuing features occur both within reported speech as well as in the course of ordinary interaction, and thus the former provides some validation for my classifications in the latter.

Informant reports of Asian English demarcate normal from rhetorical (citational) speech in a variety of ways. Exemplifications are normally introduced with '\_ go(es)' or '\_ say(s)' followed by a very short pause, and they often commence with a change in loudness, pitch and/or speed of delivery (see Appendix 20, extracts 1 to 10). These last three features also sometimes mark the boundary between straight and rhetorical language use in the course of ordinary interaction, though none of these need necessarily indicate that the new code is Asian English in particular. Another demarcation device can be a change in voice quality, roughly identifiable as 'creaky voice'.

Specific markers of rhetorical Asian English can be found at grammatical, prosodic and segmental levels. On occasions it is signalled through deviant verb forms and/or by the omission of auxiliaries, copulas and articles (see extracts 2,14,30 and 41 in Appendix 20). However, phonological cues are much more common.

Prosodically, a switch to Asian English is very often marked by stressing every syllable, and it is common for no nuclear stress to be apparent. Intra-sentential pitch changes sometimes seem abrupt, and unusually high tones may be used (see e.g. extracts 17g,19,27). A stressed schwa (or an equivalent) is sometimes placed at the end of utterances, thus adding an extra syllable to the final word (see extracts 6,7,11,18,49).

A number of consonantal features mark rhetorical Asian English. Retroflexion is extremely common, and the use of aspiration differs from normal peer-group English. Both voiceless and voiced plosives may be either strongly aspirated, or unaspirated completely. Where normal Bedford English includes a lot of glottal T's, these are rare in this rhetorical code. Similarly in certain cases, H-dropping is less frequent (e.g. extract 2). /w/ may be changed to [ʋ] or [b] and there are also instances of epenthesis (extracts 15,17g,50).

With vowels, nasalisation is common and normal English vowel lengths are sometimes altered (thus /i:/ might be converted to [i]). Most common of all here though is the monothongisation of diphthongs. This occurs very frequently in relation to /əʊ/ (as in 'go'), which is realised variously as [ɔ] [ʊ] or [o], and it quite often happens to /eɪ/ (as in 'day'), which changes to [ɛ]. [ə̃], roughly equivalent to RP /ʌ/ in 'cup', occurs commonly as a replacement for the normal English forms /ə/, /æ/, /ʊ/ and /ɑ:/ . An absence of schwa reduction also distinguishes rhetorical Asian English.

These then are the features most typically cueing one that this rhetorical code is being used.<sup>3</sup> But of course the point made earlier about differential proficiencies in imitation means that few of the utterances analytically designated as rhetorical Asian English contain only these features. Furthermore, some of these features may occur in non-rhetorical speech (see Part II on [ | ]). Sometimes Asian English coding carries over into

normal discourse (see extract 3), or alternatively, normal English coding enters before a rhetorically Asian English utterance is completed (see extract 5). Indeed, such admixture is more than a mere matter of speaker proficiency, and is surely influenced by a host of contextual factors.

In principle then, an utterance may psychologically/symbolically represent Asian English without bearing many of its surface linguistic features. Indeed in the data designated as such, there are one or two instances when the analytic classification rests on a single item.<sup>4</sup> However, this is very much the exception and, while there are often normal English intrusions, the rhetorical code is marked by a reasonable cluster of distinguishing features in the vast majority of cases. In the transcriptions in Appendix 20, I have given single underlining to utterances which I think represent rhetorical Asian English, and I have either phonetically transcribed all of it, or those features which identify it as such. Elsewhere within an extract, I have also often transcribed relevant normal features so the reader may compare the two. (These phonetic transcriptions will not however be presented in the main body of the text).

These then are the reasons why it might be difficult to distinguish normal English from rhetorical Asian English, together with an account of the basis on which my judgments are formed. However, one further demarcation issue arises: how is rhetorical Asian English to be differentiated from Punjabi and more particularly from Punjabi-English code-mixing?

Later on, differences in the symbolic meaning of Asian English and 'the mixed code' will be given some consideration. Here the concern is more technical. Given that code-mixing may vary a great deal in the ratio of English to Punjabi (Agnihotri 1979; Chana and Romaine 1984), code-mixed utterances may on occasions seem almost English (and pretty much like Asian English if some Punjabi phonology is retained). In order to distinguish them, the strategy will be to consider as Asian English only

those phonologically 'Asian' utterances made up entirely of English words: even if an utterance has only one Punjabi word in it, it will be viewed as code-mixing and excluded from the main focus. Questions about the arbitrariness of such a decision will be addressed in due course.

### 17.3 Terminology

So far, we have been referring to rhetorical Asian English. How appropriate a label is this to what we will discuss?

Although it may variously contain Creole or Punjabi ethno-linguistic features, the non-rhetorical English spoken by my informants is in my view simply Bedford English. To call it Black or Asian English would imply that 'in its heart', Bedford wasn't racially diverse and that there is some ideal Bedford speech independent of migration from overseas. I regard that view as wrong, and can therefore see that it might be adequate to describe the rhetorical code as Asian English.

However, that misses the element of exaggeration in its use. Also some kids may well say that they, or others, speak English with a little bit of an accent, without suggesting that it could be seriously equated with the rhetorical version. So for these reasons it would be better to call the rhetorical code Very Asian English.

That sounds rather clumsy. Are there no terms for the rhetorical code available locally? Unfortunately a ready-to-hand, widely shared term to describe 'Very Asian English' did not emerge in the course of interview discussions. This could have been because I felt cautious about broaching this topic with informants.<sup>5</sup> Alternatively, this may well have been because no agreed label for 'Very Asian English' was in common use.<sup>6</sup>

That in turn may have been because the relevant reference group - people using Very Asian English as a straight code - is

itself rather diverse.

In contrast to discussions referring to West Indian/Rasta/Black Language and Punjabi/Urdu/Indian/Pakistani, which identified the social groups deemed expert in these varieties quite clearly, the people and groups identified with straight use of Very Asian English were less apparent. There are instances in the data to indicate that this variety could be variously associated with Pakistani and Indian adults, and ethnically Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Indian youngsters. At different times rhetorical users and informants might be thinking of Bangladeshi English, Pakistani English or Indian English.

As an outsider's cover term, Very Asian English intimates this uncertainty and diversity. However, we cannot accept it yet, because there is another problem to be faced.

As well as ethnic markedness, a distinguishing feature often attributed to natural/straight users of this 'variety' is non-proficiency in English. Sometimes indeed this appears to be the most salient factor and rather than speaking of 'Very Asian English' (VAE), it may be more appropriate to speak of 'Non-Proficient English' (NPE). Actually, to speak of either exclusively would be wrong and could prejudge the issue of what kids have in mind when they use or talk about this other-identified variety. Sometimes ethnic marking may be its most salient feature and non-proficiency in English may only be incidental; sometimes this position may be reversed; sometimes they may be held in balance. But equally it would be misleading to hold them together in something described as 'Non-Proficient Very Asian English' (NPVAE) since logically and in reality, ethnic markedness need not be perceived as a lack of proficiency (e.g. Fi says of Kp 'Kp can talk very good English but his accent is different'; Lp says that Mp's father speaks and reads very good English with an accent - 'five-sixths of it is English, one-sixth of it is Pakistani'). Equally, lack of proficiency need not entail ethnic markedness (Ve describes himself as 'not knowing much

English' in the ISA self-rating of proficiency and he is ethnically Anglo).

Some kind of blend is required. Perhaps the best way to refer to this 'variety', while preserving its ambiguity, is to use brackets to indicate the optional inclusion of an element, at the same time as saying that at least one element has to be included: thus we might refer to

(Non-Proficient) (Bangladeshi) (Pakistani) (Indian) English. Even if abbreviated (NP) (B) (P) (I)E, this is too clumsy, so remembering that its meaning is ambiguous, we can stick with the term 'Very Asian' and instead refer to:

(NP) (VA)E.

Having this nearly all in brackets perhaps also has the advantage of reminding us that informants and others may not actually regard it as a 'variety' having, for instance, the same common properties that enables them to speak of West Indian English (see Hudson 1980:30). Also, in view of the way in which Foreigner Talk often has no generally accepted name (Corder 1981:83; Hinnenkamp 1983: 3), the virtual unsayability of this label makes it singularly appropriate.

#### 17.4 A Note on the Tone of What Follows

In fact, rhetorical (NP) (VA)E can be closely tied in with a number of serious social concerns, about which it is both difficult and wrong to remain neutral. (Complex) connections between rhetorical (NP) (VA)E and racism may strike the reader in the course of the next two chapters and (a) the failure to address this issue immediately and (b) the attempt made in these chapters to account for this rhetorical code in relatively detached terms may seem corrupt. The scope given for personal interpretation in qualitative data of this kind is considerable and bias stemming from my own social position will systematically influence the text in ways of which I am unaware. However, I think it would be a mistake to directly address questions of racism early on in these chapters since it could well pre-empt the conclusions.

Racism is considered quite fully in Chapter 22, but it is also suggested that it is not a relevant background to all of the data here: for this reason, it is in my view more important to hold back on these serious questions while the data is to some extent being given its preliminary sorting.

In the course of what follows, I sometimes refer to the rhetorical use of Punjabi and Creole within the peer-group and suggest that these are both fuller and more power-laden sources than (NP)(VA)E. Given this, the reader may ultimately wonder why I focused on the rhetorical variety which is arguably most closely connected with the subordinate position of minorities. There are three reasons: firstly, it is easier for me to analyse linguistically than Punjabi; secondly, studies of the use of Creole within poly-ethnic peer-groups are well advanced (Hewitt 1982). Thirdly, I have myself had a lot of professional experience as a teacher of ESL, and some engagement with its theory: thus, whether this particular qualification is positive or negative, in concentrating analysis on rhetorical (NP)(VA)E, I have been following some kind of autobiographical momentum.



NOTES

1. Saying that my interpretations are preliminary is not to concede that there can be final and single interpretations, only that certain methodological procedures, notably Gumperz's, provide a way of cutting down on the range of options (though for criticisms of retrospective participant accounts, see Leitner 1983; Auer 1984).
2. In fact, because these are not validated as member categories, not having an explicit theory of speech act types could be regarded as good. (a) Elaborate models would be premature and (b) might give an aura of objectivity when it is in fact important that the researcher's inadvertent cultural biases should be fairly transparent and accessible (see also Labov 1972b:298 on premature formalisation).
3. Most of these features described are referred to in the texts on Punjabi and Indian English cited in Chapter 9. It might be interesting to investigate which aspects of straight Asian English these kids didn't use rhetorically and why. However, that would lead into detailed linguistic analysis which is not the concern here.
4. See Lp's 'you're not meant to run in the corridor' in Extract 16. Only the realisation of 'to' as [thu] provides a linguistic indication that this may be rhetorical Asian English. In fact ultimately, the designation of it as such derives more from contextual, semantic and sequential features of the interaction.
5. I was wary that I might be misconstrued as associating with my informants a variety that for them was perhaps emphatically other-identified. I didn't want to be seen as sharing the pejorative stereotypes of British Asian English perceptible, for example, in some educational writing on the topic (cf. Rampton 1983); see also Chapter 22.1 and Appendix 23).
6. Informants and others used a variety of labels: 'Indian (accents)' (Ip, Hp, Fi); 'Asian Lingo' (Mr 04e); 'English that doesn't sound much like English'; 'a mix between a Punjabi accent and an English accent'; 'slang'; 'Punjabi English'; ('ESL Centre)English'; 'Pakistani English' (Lp). In fact, without a clear label, we had to use meta-linguistic vocabulary that may have caused problems of mutual comprehension in some cases (e.g. [Kp (Pr 4/MS     )]; Fi (Pr 5/MS 75     )]; Np (Pr 3/MS     )]; Jp (Pr 4/     )]]. Cf. Macaulay 1975:158-159.

## CHAPTER 18

### REPORTS OF RHETORICAL (NP) (VA)E

This chapter first of all presents reports about rhetorical (NP) (VA)E given in interviews by normal English speaking informants. Then, following the procedure for analysing figurative language outlined in Chapter 16.4, it scans these accounts to produce a preliminary description of (NP) (VA)E persona enactment. The focus then shifts to more detailed analysis of specific episodes, during which certain analytic concepts are sharpened. These in fact provide a means by which the characterisation of these anecdotes can be more coherently formulated. Some further analysis of specific extracts illustrates the viability of the framework in Chapter 16, as well as broadening the picture of rhetorical (NP) (VA)E as a local practice, and this chapter concludes with some remarks about code-switching typology.

For the assistance of the reader, a table summarising both the data and many of the conclusions relating to it, is presented on pp.513-515.

#### 18.1 The Data

(In the extracts that follow, underlining is used to show that an utterance has been expressed in rhetorical (NP) (VA)E - see Chapter 17.2.2, and Appendix 20 for phonetic transcription.)

Six ethnically Pakistani informants and one Indian reported (NP) (VA)E being spoken by people who by implication, usually spoke normal English. Three reports referred to a particular individual (01p), who perhaps is something of a specialist in this rhetorical style.

Lp was the first to report this individual:

EXTRACT 1

Lp in an interview

- Ben: and what about the fact that people often you know put on a kind of ... very Punjabi accent when they're saying things, have you noticed that, or not.
- Lp: yeah, people like .. um .. Olp
- Ben: yes yes
- Lp: he's erm em when yesterday um when (my) teacher ... he ( ) calling me names and then I called him names back and teacher told him to go ( ) out and he goes .. he he .. he spoke a ... a Punjabi accent and a English accent and he said um .. You tell this stupid fool .. (you know) to get out and all that
- Ben: he said that to who
- L : me
- Ben: uhuh
- L : he goes, first he (started going), you tell this stupid fool to get out then he goes, miss what about him he ain't getting out.
- Ben: uhuh
- L : and he and he and he was calling me names
- Ben: why did he switch like that
- L : He wanted, he wanted he ... um ... when he saw that Miss was um telling him to get out, he changed the accent, I don't know why, so she could understand it more clearly and said
- Ben: to her
- L : Yeah, and to tell the teacher to throw me out as well.
- Ben: But why did he use the Punjabi acc ... I mean normally when he speaks to you, he doesn't use that more Punjabi accent
- L : He was trying to be funny
- Ben: He was trying to be funny was he?
- L : He was trying to make the class crack up.
- Ben: Oh was was he was he
- L : Yeah and they use, they use a different accent ...
-

L also reports that 01p uses (NP) (VA)E to tease 02p, a fourth year ethnically Pakistani boy who had been to the ESL Centre.

EXTRACT 2

Lp in an interview (same as in 1)

Lp : And we make fun of him we go he sweeps (a shop's) floors

Ben: he what

L : he sweeps the floors at (shop name) and we make fun of him

Ben: Oh he doesn't really, he doesn't really

L : And 01p calls him

Ben: he doesn't really

L : he does

Ben: Oh he does

L : and 01p goes, er you got he he sweeps the floors at (shop's name) he stupid boy

Ben: 01p does that

L : yeah he teases him

Ben: and does he put on that Punjabi accent to tease him or what

L : yeah he don't use the West Indian, you know, he only uses the Punjabi there.

-----

In another interview, Ip refers to 01p:

EXTRACT 3

Ip and Hp in interview

Ip : 01p, he went to Mrs X

Hp : ( ) shouts

Ben: yes

I : Mrs X was strict too

Ben: yes

I : and no one messes about with her ...

Ben: yeh

I : but 01p, she's scared of him ... and he was going like  
this to her [rude gesture] like that in front of her face  
and she never done nothing

Ben: blimey

H : ( )

I : and she goes, er .. 01p sit down, he go, what did you say  
I did not hear I am independent and all this

H : [laughing]

Ben: he said he said what he's

I : yeah he's saying all these Indian words

Ben: I'm ind inde

I : indi a er independent Indian

Ben: he said what

I : I don't know something like that

H : Indian

I : my sister knows

Ben: No I just didn't hear, what did she

I : independent Indian

H : Indian you know

Ben: Oh I see did he I see .. and your sister what does she say

I : she's always laughing at him and she tells me when she  
gets home

Ben: oh he does that, so 01p does that when he's being naughty  
with teachers

H : mm

I : yes.

-----

I and H also have a story about H using (NP) (VA)E  
rhetorically.

#### EXTRACT 4

Ip and Hp in an interview (same as in 3)
--

H : (well) in the first year .. Ip and another person  
were getting chased [laughs]

Ben: yeh

H : and I was (scaring) then I go what is the matter

H : [laughs]

I : It was 05i he start looking in this girl's pencil case ..  
he goes come on guys let's nick something

Ben: yes yes

I : and it was ( ) lost property box and

Ben: uhuh

I : he start looking in it and a girl comes and she goes,  
what are you lot doing ... it was a big fourth year girl  
right ... it was a white one ... and she said what are  
you lot doing ... and ... and then Hp comes over from his  
class

H : [laughs]

I : and and and and we were shouting at her an everything,  
and he goes, what are you talking about, what what what  
what

Ben: yes yes yes yes

I : and she did(n't) beat him up after that

Ben: Uhuh did she yeh

I : Cos he didn't know what was going on he just come and he  
start talking like this.

Ben: Is it .. now which is .. I mean is it is it tough using  
that kind of Indian Indian voice or

H : ( )  
I practise at night to my brother

Ben: Oh do you

H : I make him really curse

Ben: You make him what?

H : Wild

Ben: Yes yes curse oh sorry.

-----

Ip has a third tale.

EXTRACT 5

Ip and Hp in an interview (same as in 3 and 4)

- Ben: Yes I see yeh yeh is there now ... so people do kind of jokey Indian voices quite a lot do they?
- Ip : Yeh like yesterday our next door neighbours ... my sisters was banging on ... they were fighting .. it was 12i she starts ... they're (religious group) next ( )
- Ben: They're what
- I : they're (religious group) .. they're Indian race ... but they're Christians ...
- Ben: Oh yes
- Hp : yeh Christians
- I : and they had had a girl called 12i and she starts screaming at night ... and so we ... heard what we were saying I think it ( ) my sisters and then they start banging on the walls so we listen ( ) what they saying ... and ... and we go, shut up you idiots and
- H : [laughs]
- I : my sisters were swearing at them
- Ben: uhuh
- I : and he and he goes, I don't know what you are talking about, it was 04i
- Ben: yes
- I : he ( ) he knows what we're talking about really but he just tried to be an Indian
- H : I use it sometimes
- Ben: This was the guy next door
- I : Yeah
- Ben: yeh
- I : yeh ... they keep on banging on our wall so my brother got up and start swearing at them.
- 

Np and Bi also report rhetorical (NP)(VA)E:

EXTRACT 5

Np and Bi in an interview

- Ben: like um people ... I have heard people saying, you know,  
playing a game and saying good shot
- Bi : .. yea sometimes they do init good shot, good shot, good  
shot
- Np.: very good shot very good shot
- B : very good
- Ben: yes
- B : that's what they say
- Ben: have you heard any other examples of that
- N : no
- B : when, you know this bloke called 01it, when he say what  
he said what do you mean what do you mean, and 13i,  
what do you mean
- N : [laughs]
- B : they kind of ... you know like er, if a Indian person  
didn't know English right he would speak, what do you  
mean init (it's people) like that init that's how other  
people try and make pretend right that, they didn't know  
English right and they go what do you mean all that
- N : they go, what do you mean
- B : what do you mean what do you mean
- N : and they go, go away go away go away
- B : go away
- 

This is an account from Pp,Qp and Bi:

EXTRACT 7

Bi, Pp, Qp in an interview

- Ben: ... somebody said to me in Luton that if they were talking  
to a ... an old Punjabi person, they they they're ... I  
mean not ... instead of just changing to Punjabi completely,



sometimes, while speaking English, they'd just talk with a more Punjabi accent. Do you think that's right, or you aware of that or not. Have you heard it

Pp : Yea some people do yea

Bi : Some people do

Ben: Yea ... like where or who

P : Well, well hear you know ... heard some people what's the name talking like that you know ... talking English right and then they ... they what's its name, if they were saying, road, they you know they start to say road in you know as if they were saying it in the Punjabi

Ben: yes

P : it would be like if they said road, like ... their what's its name it looked if their tongue got twist .. right and they said road something like that

Ben: yea yea

P : ... just peo you know people just start changing what ... what they say like ... you know ... you can hear some people say like instead of saying hotel, they say hotel and things like that  
[laughter]

Ben: like scottish hotel ... [to the others] are you ... have you heard that as well

Q : yea quite a few

B : yea quite a few

Ben: like where ... I mean is it

B : (London) well ( ) that old man that you know and was asking you ... where's your dad and all that ... and if you want to say he gone to work ... you say in a different way. So that they ... you know start ... kind of understanding

Q : Yea in Pakistani usually ... er ... when somebody comes and asks ... you know ... for where my dad is, cos I don't always talk that much Pakistani right ... so I talk a little bit Pakistani and I just say where the place is in English or something like that ... and they don't ... it doesn't sound that much like English a bit different though

... so they could understand it ...

Ben: yeh yeh

-----

One ethnically Afro-Caribbean boy reports rhetorical use of (NP) (VA)E:

EXTRACT 8

Rw and Sw in an interview

Ben: do you ev, do you ev, do you ever do an Indian voice to be funny

Sw : yeh ( ) done

Ben: like what

S : ( go) very very good (very good)

R : [laughs]

Ben: who, where, who do you do that with

S : I (only) do that with the teacher

Ben: Oh yes yes and what does the teacher, teacher do

S : just tells me off.

-----

Two ethnically Anglo informants report using (NP) (VA)E rhetorically themselves. This is We:

EXTRACT 9

Tm, We and O1e in an interview. They are discussing imitations of Punjabi

Ben: so tell me ... so ... give me another example of what you were saying ... you were saying We there

We : what

Ben: about about about

Tm : [ bäd, bäd ]

O1e: [ brd bädh ]

Ben: about some people doing it as a joke and some people  
doing it as swearing  
W : well some people could be racist doing it like that  
T : yea  
Ben: yes yes  
W : if they don't want it here  
T : [overlapping] black man, nigger  
W : in this country ... but some people  
T : nigger arseholes  
Ben: hang on hang on one second  
W : but some of the Pakistan boys they call themselves Pakis

----- [later] -----

Ben: what about other accents that you can imitate what  
W : he man, take it to me Mr T  
Ole: that's black though  
T : that's black though  
Ole: that's black  
Ben: what other ones can you do what what  
Ole: we've already done that  
W : I am a jolly buggy ... bud bud curry  
T : we call him  
Ole: [ bad bad ]  
W : (please try)  
T : I call my brother fat goat cos he's so fat and horrible  
W : please try, taste some of my curry, and I will guarantee  
when you finished my curry you will need to go to the  
toilet  
[laughter]  
Ben: and do you say that to, I mean you say that to everybody  
and people say it to you or or or  
W : well they call me ... dumpling and peas and that

-----

Ue reports:

EXTRACT 10

Ue and Ve in an interview

Ben: ... anyway, just coming back to this business of ... what I said about Oip, do people ever use, speak English with an Indian, accent, you know as an impersonation or ...

Ue : (( nonsense imitation of Punjabi))

Ve : yeh [laughter]

Ue : yes [laughter]

Ben: what's that, what's that [referring to imitation]

Ue : It sounds like an English accent but I don't know what it means, it's just ... what the Indian speaks which I can't make head or tail, if someone's ... speaking Indian ... you know to their friends

Ben: yes yes

Ue : (I go past) I go merry thank yous

Ben: uhuh I see yes, yes ...

-----

The evidence cited gives only a glimpse of rhetorical (NP)(VA)E but it is useful for two main reasons.

Firstly, it indicates that English phonologically coded roughly in the manner of Punjabi (and sometimes accompanied by non-standard grammar) is discerned as distinct from normal peer-group usage. Beyond that - and this will emerge in due course - it demonstrates that code switches into (NP)(VA)E are locally recognised as co-occurring with the projection of certain attitudes or character traits. In short, it indicates that (NP)(VA)E personae of one kind or another do have local emic currency.

Secondly, the amount of detail in these reports allows us to infer what this persona is like, and how it is used. We can begin to work out some of the meaning potential that (NP)(VA)E offers both to people who wish to exploit it for special effects, and to their audiences (indeed since much of the data refers to

people other than the informants themselves as using rhetorical (NP) (VA)E, the account below maybe relates more closely to the interpretive schemata available to witnesses).

Let us now try to make an initial summary of what these reports tell us.

## 18.2 An Initial Data-scan

As suggested earlier, four issues need to be considered in an analysis of figurative (and situational) switching:

- (a) what has been foregrounded - which are the unexpected items?
- (b) what is the nature of the 'vehicle' - how can the unexpected items be characterised?
- (c) what is the 'tenor'? - what sparks off the use of figurative language?
- (d) what is the 'ground' - how do the figurative items map into the context in which they occur?

Let us take each in turn, and start by asking: what has been foregrounded?

In all ten cases (NP) (VA)E has been foregrounded by a variety of linguistic devices which need not detain us here. A more pertinent question is however: how far and in what ways do deviations from normal phonological expectancies co-occur with the initiation of persona switches?

In five cases it is fairly self-evident that in changing from their usual pronunciation, speakers are, in one way or another, pretending to be different from what they actually are in more than just their habits of speech. Indeed in two cases, informants themselves state that rhetorical (NP) (VA)E users are 'putting on an act'. In Extract 5, Ip reports that contrary to what he said, 05i did know what they were talking about and in Extract 6, Bi and 01it (who is ethnically Italian) are explicitly seen to pretend that they're Indians who don't know much English.

In the three others, the speakers' use of unexpected pronunciations accompanies the adoption of identities which are at least partially other than their own. In Extract 3, 01p is Pakistani, not Indian, in Extract 9, W doesn't have any curry and in Extract 10, we may suppose that rather than being grateful as his utterance suggests, Ue is displeased at being cut out from interaction by his peer's use of a language he doesn't understand (generally, monolingual children say they don't like others to speak languages they can't understand).

So in half the data here, it is fairly transparently evidenced that we not only have linguistic switching but also persona switching. In fact, this is occurring in other extracts as well, though it is necessary here to give interpretation a more prominent role. The first step towards doing so, is to consider the nature of the rhetorical personae projected in these five explicit cases (i.e. consider the personae as 'vehicles'). What traits appear to be associated with them?

- (a) non-comprehension seems to be one. This is evidenced in actual expressions of incomprehension and in requests for clarification in Extract 3 ('what did you say, I did not hear you'), in Extract 5 ('I don't know what you're talking about') and in Extract 6 ('what do you mean, what do you mean');
- (b) being hospitable. This is implied in Extract 9: 'Please try, taste some of my curry ...'. Here however, though well intended, the hospitality does not conform to the normal standards of decorum and this suggests a degree of non-competence (consistent with (a));
- (c) being appreciative. This is suggested by the expression of gratitude in Extract 10;
- (d) autonomy and a dislike of interference: 'I am independent' in Extract 3, and 'go away, go away' in Extract 6.

Constructing persona-profiles on the basis of these five comparatively self-evident cases, it in fact becomes clear that other extracts probably also illustrate persona-switches. The

propositional and illocutionary meanings co-occurring with phonological initiatives are fairly consistent with the personae-descriptions above, so it is reasonable to think partly in terms of shared stereotypic personae in the following manner.

In addition to Extracts 3,5 and 6, non-comprehension is expressed in Extract 4 ('what is the matter'; 'what are you talking about, what what what what'). The praising in Extracts 6 and 8 ('very good (shot)') complements Extract 10 in suggesting appreciation as a persona trait. Both of these look consistent with 'stereotypes of black and brown people as being lovable but ridiculous' (Tajfel 1981:145). In contrast, the illocutionary force of Extract 2 (criticism) and 1 (complaint/counter-instruction) seems to be more in line with Extracts 3 and 6 in suggesting critical and self-assertive characteristics and so the emerging persona-portrait appears to comprise contradictory traits. Still, there is at least some initial basis for supposing that in many of the extracts, along with phonetic foregrounding, personae are being conjured which are at least partially coherent. In fact perhaps 'go away go away' in Extract 6 can be seen as a link between the assertive 'I am independent' and the polite and appreciative persona of 'very good very good' (Extracts 6,8), 'merry thank yous' (Extract 10) and 'please try some of my curry' (Extract 9). Certainly, 'go away, go away' is an assertion of independence, but (a) it noticeably involves no swearing (it is not 'fuck off') and (b) it is a response to being bothered: it does not involve imposing on or oppressing other people (it is not 'come here'). So while autonomy may be a feature here, it does not seem to be of a particularly 'tough' kind.

Initial analysis then, suggests a degree of persona coherence across these reports. There is though a very noticeable exception and this is Extract 7. There seems to be no obvious persona there: we must note this and return to it in due course. Now however, having given this preliminary view of foregrounding and vehicle, let us now turn to tenor. In what contexts are

these rhetorical utterances seen to belong?

There appear to be several answers. Teasing straight users of (NP)(VA)E seems to be one - this is explicitly stated in Extract 2. Annoying people is another - see Hp's remarks at the end of Extract 4. Both of these entail causing offence of one kind or another and this is recognised as a potential use for rhetorical (NP)(VA)E by We in Extract 9. Conceivably this also motivates Ue's 'merry thank yous' in Extract 10 (which could be in retaliation to social/linguistic exclusion).

However, a rather different purpose seems involved in Extracts 3,4 and 5. In one way or another, using (NP)(VA)E links up with getting out of trouble (Extracts 3 and 4) or defusing tense situations (possibly Extract 5). Arguably Extract 1 could also be included in this category.

Two of the extracts - 6 and 8 are hardly classifiable in terms of strategic purpose, so let us now consider 'ground' - how do persona and context map together? What is their strategic complementarity?

We can sum up this survey so far, in tabular form (see Table 18.1).

As it stands, this does not present an entirely tidy picture of how tenor and vehicle might mesh. There are however three clear starting points, all of them relating to Extracts 4 and 5.

Firstly, in these two extracts certain surface features of the rhetorical (NP)(VA)E persona match their 'real' contextual function quite neatly. In Extract 5, 04i seems at least in part to be using a non-comprehending persona to exculpate himself from his neighbours' complaints, and in Extract 6, this persona trait is possibly being used by Hp to exculpate his associates in some way. You can't be blamed if you're too incompetent to be held responsible.



TABLE 18.1 SUMMARY OF INITIAL ANALYSIS OF SURFACE MEANINGS AND CONTEXTUAL FUNCTIONS  
OF RHETORICAL (NP) (VA)E

Extract No.	Utterance	VEHICLE	TENOR
		Surface illocutions and (features of persona)	Function in context
2	'He sweeps the floor at _____. He stupid boy'	° criticism (critical)	teasing
4 [H's report re his brother]		-	annoying
9	I am jolly buggy. Please ... curry ... toilet.	° offering (obliging and non- competent)	insulting?
10	merri tank vous.	° thanking (appreciative)	(insulting?)
6	Very good shot. What do you mean. Go way.	° praising (appreciative) ° requesting clarification (non-comprehending) ° instructing (desiring to be left alone)	- - -
8	Very good, very good.	° praising (appreciative)	-

(contd)

TABLE 18.1 (contd)

Extract No.	Utterance	VEHICLE	TENOR
		Surface illocutions and (features of persona)	Function in context
3	What did you say. I did not hear. I am independent.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ requesting clarification (non-comprehending)</li> <li>◦ stating independence (autonomous)</li> </ul>	getting out of trouble
4 [report of en- counter with white girl]	What is the matter. What are you talking about.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ requesting clarification (non-comprehending)</li> </ul>	getting out of trouble
5	I don't know what you're talking about	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ requesting clarification (non-comprehending)</li> </ul>	getting out of trouble
1	'You tell this stupid fool to get out'.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ complaining/countering instruction (critical/self-assertive)</li> </ul>	getting out of trouble or complaining
7	road; hotel	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ explaining</li> </ul>	explaining

The second point is an elaboration of the first. If (NP) (VA)E is being used to connote non-competence, then Extracts 4 and 5 might be cases of deferential self-humbling (Brown and Levinson 1978:191), in which speakers are expressing their own subordinacy relative to their addressees in the hope of thereby appeasing them.

The third possibility relates to the comic value of rhetorical (NP) (VA)E. During interviews, reports of the code often evoked amusement and laughter, and (NP) (VA)E production and reception are explicitly linked with laughter by informants in Extracts 1,2 and 3. As far as getting out of trouble is concerned, this comic dimension to rhetorical (NP) (VA)E is conceivably helpful in defusing tense situations.

Each of these points is suggestive, and will be more fully addressed in due course. However, the majority of extracts remain unexplicated in terms of the relationship between vehicle and tenor. At this point we should terminate this rather rapid data scan, turning instead to consider particular extracts in more detail. In adopting a different tack, not only will points of intrinsic significance emerge, but our analytic vocabulary will be improved in such a way that the problem of 'ground' becomes more generally tractable. Extract 3 is of particular interest.

### 18.3 Extract 3: Opposition, Situational Switching and Modes of Persona-enactment

The first part of Extract 3 could fit with the analysis above of Extracts 4 and 5. By saying 'what did you say ... I did not hear you', O1p could be feigning non-competence to extricate himself from the responsibility of following the teacher's instructions. But in that case, the second part of the utterance would be rather at odds with the first part - confessing non-competence does not rest easily with an assertion of autonomy - 'I am independent'. In fact, it could be wrong to assume that

'what did you say ... I did not hear you' represents a confession of non-competence: it could in fact be intended as 'I did not hear you because I'm not interested in what you're saying - I've got interests of my own'.

There is little point in going into a detailed exegesis of this utterance in order to try to establish exactly what O1p meant: after all, we do not know that he said it (this report comes to us via I and his sister). Even so, it raises three points:

- (a) it marks overtly the oppositional potential of rhetorical (NP) (VA)E, with regard to school authority. This is the first time that an anti-authority oppositional exploitation of (NP) (VA)E - conceivably also underlying 4 and 1 - is overtly coded in the surface of a rhetorical (NP) (VA)E utterance.
- (b) Following on from this, it could be that here rhetorical (NP) (VA)E may not be initiating a figurative switch but rather a situational one. Pronunciation, propositional and illocutionary meaning would all appear to be foregrounded: one is generally not expected to contradict the teacher's authority, and the whole event is clearly very socially salient/memorable. However, a great deal of what O1p says in his Punjabi accented English may very well directly reflect his true feelings (except for his saying he was Indian).

This being the case, the persona he projects may not be designed to be viewed simultaneously alongside his normal self (= figurative switching); it could be intended to redefine the classroom situation as being one of inter-ethnic distance and enmity, with the phonetic foregrounding serving, maybe as in Accommodation Theory, as a marker of psychological ethnic divergence. Similarly, this may be going on when O1p says 'you tell this stupid fool to get out' in Extract 1.

- (c) A third (and here most relevant) issue that Extract 3 raises, concerns the manner in which personae are taken up and develop.

If we suppose that the predominant image evoked by rhetorical (NP)(VA)E is one of incompetence, one possibility is that in saying/reporting 'I am independent Indian', O1p, Ip and/or his sister are in fact blurring the distinction between (a) a persona (a social category incorporating a particular set of human traits and announced by specific linguistic characteristics) and (b) the context in which it is projected. On this reading, using an (NP)(VA)E persona is not simply stepping into a fixed and given role as befits the circumstances: the persona itself responds to and can incorporate into its own lines aspects of the context in which it is enacted. O1p's reported 'I am independent' may be incorporating into the persona an attitude that in fact originally derives from the arena in which it is performed.

This is precisely the interactivity between vehicle and tenor that Richards and others describe in relation to metaphor (see Chapter 16.3.2 above) and it has two clear implications.

Firstly, it illustrates another reason why it may be hard to differentiate situational from figurative switching. It goes without saying that in situational switching a persona is selected which can engage with and form a dominant part of the interaction: it needs to be 'permeable' to context. If in figurative switching, vehicle was always clearly defined and separate from tenor/context, the juxtaposition of the two would straightforwardly produce the double vision characteristic of metaphor. However, if vehicle is itself permeable to context, such positive duality is dissolved and the figurative risks misinterpretation as the serious. This is part of the excitement of metaphor and there are plenty of high cultural precedents for vernacular actions such as O1p's and/or vernacular narratives like I's (e.g. Prospero's epilogue in The Tempest,

or alternatively, at a 'lower' level, pantomime villains). However, in connection with the present discussion, it explains exactly why the interpretation made in (b) immediately above is plausible and almost unavoidable.

Secondly - and this takes us back to our corpus - this flexibility and permeability in figurative persona enactment offers us a way of comprehending the mesh between tenor and vehicle in those extracts which have so far remained unexplained. It provides us with a means of bringing more order to our analysis. Let's now go back to these.

#### 18.4 Reconsidering 'Grounds'

In Extract 2, 01p is reputed to tease 02p with (NP)(VA)E 'he sweeps the floor at Peacock, he stupid boy'. Given that vehicle is permeable to context and hence in this way flexible and sometimes 'messy', it is no longer necessary to see persona enactment as being wholly coherent and in particular, speaker and 'voice' as necessarily being one. This being the case, we may not have here the enactment of a first person persona: it may not be a case of 01p projecting 'I, 01p, the typical (NP)(VA)E criticiser/teaser'; rather, it may be 'He, 02p, the typical (NP)(VA)E fool'. In other words, 01p's (NP)(VA)E pronunciation may be intended to evoke a social category that is not so much relevant to the speaker (and producer of (NP)(VA)E sounds), as to the person he is referring to. In which case, this is some kind of derogatory and third person persona projection, not a 'theatrically' purer, first person one deployed for its connotations of superiority.

In item 1, where 01p is reported to have addressed the teacher in (NP)(VA)E 'You tell this stupid fool to get out', and then in local English vernacular, 'Miss what about him he ain't getting out', there are again two possible explanations. The (NP)(VA)E utterance may on the one hand involve a first person persona in which 01p is projecting either, 'I, 01p, the typical

(NP)(VA)E criticiser', or 'I, 01p, the typical (NP)(VA)E independent who rejects teacher commands/commands the teacher' (or indeed if we overlook the surface meaning and simply refer to the context, 'I, 01p, the typical (NP)(VA)E incompetent who cannot be expected to follow teacher's commands'). Alternatively, in view of persona flexibility we may again have a third person persona, which involves 01p in projecting 'He, Lp, the typical (NP)(VA)E fool'.

We cannot resolve the issue (without recourse to 01p, or L, or Ip or his sister) of which reading is correct. In view of the explicit 'independent Indian' connotation of (NP)(VA)E (also see below) in both Extracts 1 and 2, the first person persona interpretations certainly cannot be dismissed. However, my own preference is for the third person persona interpretations, and this certainly produces a neater overall picture of the data. The relationship between teasing/criticising and independence looks quite complex in terms of any normal association they may have, and leaves the data looking relatively diffuse. In contrast, the association of (NP)(VA)E with non-competence of one kind or another is economical, and would unite under one feature of persona Extracts 1,2, part of 3 perhaps, 4,5, part of 6, and 9.

Developing theory along the lines (and on from) Chapter 16 has enabled us to come to terms with several aspects of the data here. This could in fact apply beyond the discussion immediately above, though for a number of reasons, it is not sensible to attempt an exhaustive analysis of all these extracts.<sup>1</sup> One or two do attract a little more discussion however, and it is in the interests of the theoretical framework not to confine ourselves only to the figurative-situational dichotomy.

#### 18.5 Extract 4: Dramatic Irony?

Extract 4 is usefully analysed along the initiative-responsive axis (Chapter 16.3.1). In it, Ip tells how Hp came upon his

friends in trouble with a big white girl and said What are you talking about in (NP)(VA)E. To his friends this is an initiative style, deviating from the pronunciation they expect of him. However, if the big white girl doesn't know him and just regards him as a 'little Asian boy', H's utterance is clearly open to interpretation as responsive style, conforming to the girl's expectations.

It is not possible to ascertain whether H designed the utterance in this way, whether the girl's own interpretation of it as such became apparent later, or whether it is merely an implication in I's reconstruction. However, it is evident that with a dual (or indeed multiple) audience, a speech act can function as both initiative and responsive styles. More particularly, here we may have a case of dramatic irony in which those 'in the know' realise the speaker is mucking about (initiating and alter-identifying) at the same time as recognising that people unfamiliar with the speaker are getting the impression that the utterances are ordinary and sincere (responsive and ego-identified).

#### 18.6 Extract 7: Straight (NP)(VA)E?

The responsive-initiative axis is also relevant to Extract 7, although this extract has significance for a broader account of (NP)(VA)E as well.

Op, Pp and Bi all report use of (NP)(VA)E, but they say, this is to help their interlocutors understand what they are saying. Their interlocutors apparently do not speak much English (i.e. are straight (NP)(VA)E users) and it is possible they do not realise that Punjabi-accented English is non-normal for these boys. In which case, it may make little sense to view their switch to (NP)(VA)E as initiative switching, since if your interlocutor has no clear expectations about your pronunciation in English (due to limited ability to differentiate sounds in that language), your scope for contradicting their phonological ex-



pectations are relatively restricted. If these boys take the view that the adults whom they speak to in (NP)(VA)E do not realise that it is a marked code for them, then their use of it in fact represents responsive shift.

Another consequence of the addressees being adults relates to the enactment of (NP)(VA)E persona. It does not appear that any of the traits stereotypically associated with (NP)(VA)E in the other extracts are being projected here - (NP)(VA)E seems primarily to facilitate the communication of referential information. This makes sense on two grounds. Firstly, if the non-competent or indeed self-assertive persona derives some of its symbolic force from its juxtaposition to peer values and school culture, the likelihood of adults picking up on this is small and it wouldn't be worth trying to project. Secondly, if the non-competent persona was being projected, this might be rather rude since it would be open to construction as implying the non-competence of the addressees, for whom (NP)(VA)E is a natural code. But there is no suggestion that these encounters are other than co-operative.

The co-operative nature of these (NP)(VA)E transactions raises the third issue - is the (NP)(VA)E here ego- or alter-identified for these boys? Retrospecting in the interview setting, they may not feel it to be congruent with their selves, and indeed a feeling of incongruence might be involved in the (NP)(VA)E transactions themselves (thus we might characterise them as 'responsive' and 'alter-identified' - see Chapter 16.3.7 above). On the other hand, if co-operative interaction generally proceeds with interlocutors provisionally ego-identifying with one another, it is possible that in the course of these encounters, these informants did temporarily ego-identify with (NP)(VA)E. Furthermore, if encounters such as these are frequent, it is possible that (NP)(VA)E exists as a well-established component in their repertoire of non-rhetorical styles - non-rhetorical in the sense of being readily available for responsive use, and also being not closely associated with

the projection of a narrow and highly conventionalised persona. In that event, using (NP)(VA)E might have a very familiar and easy feel - it could be ego-identified (cf. Miller 1980:38; Clyne 1981).

Extract 7 differs from all of the others in being overall much less rhetorical than they, and it is most distinct in being responsive shift (probably). The other extracts involve at least some listeners who know that (NP)(VA)E is non-normal for the speaker and in a number of cases (1,2,3,4,5) the suggestion that (NP)(VA)E is unexpected is supported by the fact of its use being evidently fairly memorable (informants report specific instances), which implies that it is salient, which implies that it is unexpected. In contrast, the accounts given in Extract 7 are rather vague and generic.

The relevance and applicability of the theoretical framework in Chapter 16 to data is by now apparent<sup>2</sup> and it is worth now briefly considering its implications for typology.

#### 18.7 Code-switching Typology

Gumperz (1982) offers an initial typology of the functions of code-switching and specifies quotation, addressee specification, interjection, reiteration, message-qualification and personalisation vs objectification as effects accomplished by code switches (1982:75ff). Comparably (or perhaps at an even less abstract level), my own accounts describe things that people (are reported to) do by switching to (NP)(VA)E - e.g. try to get out of trouble, tease, request, quote etc. (see also Chapter 19).

These uses are of interest in a fairly a-theoretical description of particular communities, but it is mistaken to view these categories as anything more than an open descriptive list. Really these are a set of 'structural descriptions' and they lack a systematic view of code-switching itself as a procedural, in-

tentional, indeed negotiated activity (cf. Chapter 16.6). They miss out on the different meanings achieved by different types of code-switch and this kind of list cannot form the basis of an adequate account since before you can classify the functions performed by code switches, you have to have an adequate classificatory scheme for code-switches themselves.

For example, if situational and figurative code-switching have not first been adequately distinguished at a conceptual level, one may proceed directly to data to identify uses and in the end classify under one heading speech acts which are in fact likely to be intended in very different ways and to achieve entirely dissimilar impacts. For example, objectification achieved by switching to a they-code will have the intention or effect of undercutting the message if it is designed as an ironic initiative, it will amplify it if it is metaphoric and prompt an alteration in role-relations if it is situational. On its own a list of structural descriptions is not adequate to the interactional complexity of code-switching.

### 18.8 Summary

This chapter has explored empirical applications of the theoretical framework in Chapter 16 and has also introduced aspects of rhetorical (NP) (VA)E within this particular social setting.

It first presented reports of (NP) (VA)E and ultimately construed these persona enactments at a variety of levels.

Several features appeared to be associated with the (NP) (VA)E persona. Being appreciative and hospitable, non-competent and not understanding emerged as traits: these seem to be non-tough and probably lie at some distance from the dominant values of peer culture. This pattern is not straightforward however: independent, self-assertive and critical aspects were also in evidence and may be stronger than I have so far inferred.

The (NP)(VA)E persona (or its use) appears to have marked comic resonances.

It looks as though the (NP)(VA)E persona is exploited in at least two broad ways. It is appropriate to teasing, mocking or giving offence, and to getting out of or defusing trouble.

The manner of the enactment of the persona qua persona was considered. A persona can be flexible: it is not completely 'pre-scripted' or totally regulated in terms of its sensitivity to the context of its enactment. It can encode in its surface features dimensions that are not prespecified but derive from the time and place of performance. This is in line with Richards' conception of the interactivity of tenor and vehicle in metaphor and it indicates why it is difficult to say how far assertiveness is part of the (NP)(VA)E persona. Also, if negative connotations of (NP)(VA)E are being revaluated positively and oppositionally by Oip, Ip and/or his sister in Extract 3, this permeability of persona may be a major facilitating element in the process.

It was suggested that there can be third person as well as first person persona enactment. You do not have to pretend to be a straight (NP)(VA)E user yourself: you can use (NP)(VA)E if this is appropriate to the explicit object of your attention.<sup>3</sup>

A possible instance of dramatic irony was discussed in terms of the concepts in Chapter 16 ( Extract 7 ). The case of this latter also raised further issues. In contrast to most of the rest, Extract 7 did not appear to admit analysis in terms of two levels of meaning and it appeared to illustrate the straight use of (NP)(VA)E by people who at school generally speak normal English (i.e. for them (NP)(VA)E may be amongst a repertoire of straight styles).

Finally, the relevance of the theoretical framework to code-switching typology was noted. Table 18.2 summarises the data so far, and also discussion where it has related to specific extracts.

TABLE 18.2 SUMMARY OF EXTRACTS 1-10, AND SPECIFIC POINTS MADE IN CONNECTION WITH EACH

Item No. and reported speaker and reporter	Item	Reported setting and participants	Aspects of persona	Function in context of enactment	How do personae fit their contexts of enactment?	Further analysis
1. 01p (Lp)	You tell this stupid fool to get out	Classroom: Lp and other	Self- assertiveness (first person persona)	↔	Intensify self- assertion or self- differentiate inter-ethnically	↔ First person persona, situational initiative ego-identified? or
			Non-competence (third person enactment)	↔	Intensify derogation of another	↔ Third person persona, metaphoric initiative and alter-identified?
2. 01p (Lp)	He sweeps the floors at _____, he stupid boy	02p Lp	Non-competence (third person persona) ----- Self- assertiveness (first person persona)	Teasing	Intensifies/ imitates non-competence of referent?	Third person and alter- identified persona enactment: Metaphoric initiative
3. 01p Ip	What did you say I did not hear you, I am independent	Classroom: (Ip's sister) Teacher	Non-compre- hension Assertion of autonomy	Getting out of trouble	As in 4? ↔ or ----- Self-differ- entiates inter- ethnically? Oppositionally revalues low prestige items?	↔ Metaphorical initiative ----- Situational initiative

(contd)

TABLE 18.2 (contd)

Item No. and reported speaker and reporter	Item	Reported setting and participants	Aspects of persona	Function in context of enactment	How do personae fit their contexts of enactment?	Further analysis
4. Hp [Hp and Ip]	What is the matter; what are you talking about	Empty class- room: big white girl 05i, Ip, Hp	Non-compre- hension	Getting out of trouble	Provides excuse of non-competence?  Defuses tension with comedy?  Polite self- humbling?	Alter-identified initiative to friends and responsive ego- identification to other ⇒ dramatic irony?
5. 04i Ip	I don't know what you're talking about	Home: 04i and his family (sister); Ip and his	Non-compre- hension	Defusing tense situation?	As in 4	Ironic alter- identified initiative
6. Bi Np	Good shot very good shot  What do you mean  Go way, go way		Appreciative- ness  Non-compre- hension  Polite protest (bridging self- assertive vs polite and appreciative personae?)			

TABLE 18.2 (contd)

Item No. and reported speaker and reporter	Item	Reported setting and participants	Aspects of persona	Function in context of enactment	How do personae fit their contexts of enactment?	Further analysis
7. Pp Bi Qp [Pp, Bi, Qp]	Road, hotel, giving directions	At home, with straight (NP) (VA)E speakers	No clear persona traits (Flexible and non-stereo- typic persona)	Explaining		Responsive Temporarily/generally ego-identified straight code?
8. Sw (Sw)	Very good Very very good		Appreciative- ness			
9. We (We)	I am a jolly buggy ... please ... curry ... toilet		Hospitable- ness Non-compe- tence Polite scatology	Potentially offending	Derogatorily intimates distance from peer culture?  Expropriates code associated with ethnic outgroup?	Ironic initiative Alter-identified persona
10. Ue (Ue)	Meri tank yous	When someone is speaking Indian	Appreciative- ness	Offending?	As in 9	As in 9

## NOTES

1. An exhaustive examination of each extract would be a long and cumbersome task, since (a) there inevitably is indeterminacy in analysing initiative shifts; (b) such an exercise would involve resting more heavily on intuitive reconstructions of the backgrounds than is appropriate to the space it would take; (c) the number of possible interpretations is considerable, as the variables involved are interacting. Thus, with Extract 1 for example, if you tell this stupid fool to get out entails first person persona enactment, it makes sense to see it as a situational shift (redefining the setting as interethnic), in which the speaker is projecting an assertive and ego-identified persona. If, on the other hand, it represents third person projection, the persona involved would be evoking an alter-identified incompetence, and the shift would be metaphoric, the speaker's (NP)(VA)E pronunciation amplifying/lending colour to his view that L is a fool.
2. The metaphoric-ironic dichotomy (Chapter 16.3.3) has not been exemplified to any degree in this discussion, and it merits a brief footnote. The switches in Extracts 5, 9 and 10 are presumably figurative: it is hard to imagine how the speakers are trying to initiate serious recategorisations of ongoing interactions or what recategorisations it would be that their addressees complied with. More specifically, 5, 9 and 10 look as though they are ironic - contrastive adjuncts to the speaker's main meaning. In 5, the overall ironic effect appears to be to defuse the situation comically; in 9 and in 10, it looks as though it may serve to give offence. If 1 and 3 are figurative switches, then along with 2, they are probably metaphoric, intensifying propositions about stupidity by bringing into the reckoning appropriately non-competent personae.
3. Perhaps, if you are using (NP)(VA)E to get out of trouble, you should not use a third person persona (it makes less sense, in so far as it is your own non-competence which is (a) the excuse, or (b) is emphasised perhaps to communicate your relative lowliness). However, there is no reason why a third person persona should be the only one employed to give offence. You could use the first person persona like We in 9, in which case this would be an instance of direct mimicry - an example of the 'personal-centre switch' 'point-of-view operation' described by Brown and Levinson (1978:124) being turned on its head, and serving as the opposite of a politeness strategy.



CHAPTER 19  
RHETORICAL (NP) (VA)E IN USE

The last chapter worked through the framework in Chapter 16 in quite a bit of detail. Here I shall look at the data-base a bit more (though not exclusively) in terms of the light it sheds on the peer-group being studied. Chapter 18 was a useful preliminary to this in two respects.

First, as underlined in section 18.1, it indicates that some kind of rhetorical (NP) (VA)E persona has emic currency. We are not in pursuit of a mere analytic illusion.

Secondly, it intimates some of the complexities which we can expect to encounter. These lie in at least two areas. Firstly, there may well be contradictions and tensions within a persona: indeed we may ask whether in fact more than one persona is associated with (NP) (VA)E.<sup>1</sup> In the second place, not all Punjabi-accented English need be seen as initiative design. In situations of language contact, minority languages commonly borrow and incorporate majority terms, and for children brought up in the contact setting here, these loan words may be as integral a part of Punjabi as English. So English words in Punjabi pronunciation cannot always be unambiguously regarded as (NP) (VA)E<sup>2</sup> (cf. Gumperz 1982:66ff).

This brings another difficulty to mind. In contact settings, code mixing may develop along with a set of rather different symbolic connotations from Punjabi-accented ESL. The linguistic criteria used to delimit the corpus here are designed to exclude lexically mixed Punjabi-English utterances, but the line analytically drawn may not always coincide with the divisions which participants themselves would make. So in this respect as well, Punjabi-accented English isn't necessarily emically (NP) (VA)E.

Overall, while there are firm grounds for looking at

naturalistic data in terms of rhetorical (NP) (VA)E persona projection, it is foolish to assume that this will automatically produce a complete account, and other perspectives may be needed in addition. On this note of very cautious optimism, it is worth proceeding to a consideration of the data.

### 19.1 The Data

This chapter will be differently structured from the previous one, in so far as all of the data-transcripts are presented in Appendix 20, only selective illustrations being cited here.

But first, several points need to be made here about the reliability of the data and the manner in which it was collected.

The data relevant to this chapter is presented in four parts in Appendix 20, each reflecting a different data source.

- (a) the first presents data collected by radio-microphone or in interviews in which the verbal interaction is very clearly focused on the microphone itself (or myself at the other end). This type of data obviously derives from very special circumstances, and it is not possible to extrapolate from this to how rhetorical (NP) (VA)E is deployed in natural contexts. Nevertheless, rather like formal linguistic elicitation tests, it does afford one some view of people's knowledge, and so as long as one takes care not to make extrapolations about 'performance', one may make inferences about 'competence'.
- (b) The second part describes radio-microphone data in which the microphone is not the central focus of attention. One is never able to say that a person wearing a radio-microphone is completely unaware of it (cf. Romaine 1984:22) and indeed, because of this the demarcation between data presented under (a) and (b) is a little arbitrary. Nevertheless, under (b) data are presented in which (NP) (VA)E fits in some way with an interactional context that is independent of the tape-recording microphone. Thus this gives

a better idea of how rhetorical (NP)(VA)E may actually be used.

- (c) presents rhetorical use of (NP)(VA)E that occurred in the course of interviews, but which was not deliberately elicited. Following Grimshaw (1974:421), this can be seen as '"natural" speech (and other communicative behaviour) observed in contrived settings which can become natural.' Of course, as with (b), it is impossible to say just how 'natural' this is.
- (d) This presents data that were not tape-recorded, but which were collected through participant observation and recorded in a field notebook. I either observed it as a Youth Club helper, or I was involved in it in my capacity as a Youth Club helper rather than a language researcher.

A lot of the data is not as perfect as it might be: aside from some of the intrinsic problems raised above, the RM data is sometimes hard to decipher and not all the participants can be identified. Equally, the entries made in my field notebook are often not in as much detail as would have been ideal. However, I hope the inferences do not monstrously overreach it.

Table 19.1 presents a summary of the data, together with discussion in relation to each extract, for the assistance of the reader.

## 19.2 Features of Persona

It is once again helpful to try to analyse rhetorical (NP)(VA)E at four levels: foregrounding, vehicle, tenor and ground.

I shall take the first step for granted and start with an account of the rhetorical (NP)(VA)E persona as vehicle. A number of the characteristics suggested earlier as defining the (NP)(VA)E persona are corroborated in the data on use, at least if the arguments concerning the flexibility of persona performance are accepted (see Chapter 18.3, 18.4).

Being appreciative/approving was suggested as one feature, on account of thanking and praising attributed to (NP)(VA)E users in the reports. This is supported by Extracts 13,18,20,21,35, and perhaps parts of 17. Extract 21, for example, is as follows:

21      Participants: 03i, Mr 17i (summer school teacher),  
                         Bi, Ben, others.  
         Setting      : Outside during a summer school  
                         cricket game. 03i and Mr 17i are  
                         in the same cricket team.  
                         Bi is wearing the radio-microphone.

Mr 17i: 03i  
03i : yes sir  
Mr 17i: if you don't make ev at least twenty runs  
03i : yes sir  
Mr 17i: I'll punch your nose, and flatten ( )  
03i : (yes sir) very good very good ... [turns to Ben]  
03i : Sir guess how much I made this morning

The requests for clarification in Extracts 3,4,5 and 6 suggested non-comprehension as another feature, and (accepting second person persona enactment) this is supported by Extracts 24,27 and part of 14. This is Extract 24:

24      Participants: Tm, Rw, 05e (male, 17 year old Youth Club helper).  
Setting      : Junior Youth Club, after school.  
                 Tm is trying to get a team together.  
                 He is wearing the radio-microphone.

Tm: Ain't it, ain't Rw's supposed to be playing on our  
side ... [to O5e?]: go and wank a sausage ... Rw,  
I thought you said you was playing

Rw: [shouting] I said nothing

Tm: yes you did

Rw: I did not say nothing

Tm: yes you did  
Rw: Nothing ... (don't you) understand English  
don't you understand English  
Tm: no  
Rw: move then  
Tm: don't push me right  
Rw: I did  
Tm: do you want me to push you again then  
Rw: Go on then ... doesn't do much to me ... just push  
me in the same direction  
Tm [to someone else]: where's the ball for this

Non-competence, inferred on the basis of Extracts 3,4,5,6 and 9 (and partly related to non-comprehension) is intimated by Extracts 18,34,31,33 and part of 32. This is Extract 34:

34

Participants:	05e (17 yrs old), with his friends (02i, 07e, 06e - all male). [Ben: observer.]
Setting :	Youth Club (evening). 05e was playing pool; he played a bad shot and said in a Punjabi accent 05e: <u>'I make fuck-up'</u>

The (NP) (VA)E persona had scatological associations in Extract 9, and these are corroborated in Extracts 14 and perhaps 32. Noticeably, the scatology in each of these three cases is comparatively polite (we have 'toilet', not shit, turd etc.; and indeed relatively polite protest (or swearing), inferred on the basis of Extract 6 ('Go way, go way') is maybe reflected in Extracts 32,43,44 (31 is also superficially polite).

This is Extract 14 (dotted underlining indicates speaker approximation to Creole; double underlining indicates Punjabi or Punjabi-English code mixing):

14

Participants: Tm, 06i, Anon 1, Anon 2  
 Setting : The dinner queue. Tm is wearing a radio-microphone. Ben is at the receiver end (a distant over-hearer).

Tm: speak some Pakistani language in there [into the radio-mike]  
 06i: what?  
 Tm: speak some Pakistani [shouting:] language  
 06i: [ä phvdhu ē] Tm  
 ((Trans: Tm's a (vulgar) ))  
 Anon 1: Wait a minute [starts to sing:] I want to do it, I want to do it with you  
 06i: Tm [t'ü phvdhi: ē:] Tm [t'u ba:stadh ē]  
 ((Trans: Tm you're a \_\_\_\_\_, Tm you're a bastard))  
 06i: [be:n t'u phu:dä mä'lälä|ē]  
 ((Trans: Ben you're a vulgar vulgar ))  
 Tm: ( ) [laughs]  
 06i: (Let me do something last word) One word  
 Tm: go on  
 06i: Ben I'm sorry to say this  
 Tm: ( )  
 Anon 2: no I'm not you're friend  
 06i: you're a  
 Anon 3: let me do it  
 06i: a what do you call it again do you go toilet  
often do you eat often no no no no booo  
 Anon 3: 06i let me too ... your bum stinks boy you fuck it here you donkey breath  
 06i: you fucker. Ben is a bastard. Ben is a  
[kɜʔhə]  
 ((Trans: dog ))

These are Extracts 32 and 44:

32

Participants: Anon (I, aged 15? or older, or P9, Mr 04e ( adult, youth worker), and others. [Ben: observer.]

Setting: Friday evening Youth Club: 04e and other youth workers were closing the club, and asking people to leave. Anon came back in, and said in a very Punjabi accent:

Anon: 'I go toilet'

04e heard this, and called out after him, as he went downstairs to the toilet, in a very Punjabi accent:

04e: 'Oh you bloody loony you'

There was a further response from the kid from downstairs but I didn't catch it.

34

Participants: Lp and Ben

Setting : outside school office, in the corridor. Looking at a mark made on a shelf by a damaged plant pot, L in (NP) (VA)E remarked,

Lp: 'Goodness gracious'

It was suggested that the (NP) (VA)E persona was associated with values that were not highly fashionable within (opposition-al) peer culture: an association with/orientation towards school values is suggested by Extract 16.

Also associated with the (NP) (VA)E persona however were more self-assertive qualities (see discussion of Extract 3, Chapter 18.3). Extract 17, in which Np commentates, praises and criticises, seems more in line with this. In fact, the relatively polite protest mentioned just above, was construed as partially related to this more assertive characteristic, and data item 26 may be quite close to 6. A self-assertive persona is certainly projected in Extract 19, though this example may be quite complex (see the discussion of the relationship of Creole to (NP) (VA)E personae in section 19.3 below).





the substantiality of the data on each (including the reports from the previous chapter).

- being appreciative: seven (eight?) instances from four data sources
- not comprehending: seven instances from three data sources
- non-competence: nine instances from three data sources
- polite scatology: two (or three?) instances from two data sources
- polite/swearing protest: four (or five) instances from two data sources
- distance from peer culture: inferred on the basis on several features and evidenced clearly in one instance
- self-assertiveness: five (?) instances from two data sources.

### 19.3 Rhetorical (NP)(VA)E, Creole and Punjabi

In Extracts 14,27,19 and 28, (NP)(VA)E pronunciation is juxtaposed to Punjabi and Caribbean Creole lexis and pronunciation (a dotted underlining is used to indicate (approximations to) Creole, and a double underlining shows Punjabi or Punjabi-English code mixing). Apart from illustrating the range of codes amongst which local kids switch, it is worth paying particular attention to these for two reasons. Firstly, the contrast between them suggests procedures for the definition and validation of several ethno-linguistic personae, as well as indicating a little of the system that they form in relation to each other. Secondly, an important area of uncertainty about Punjabi-accented English is illustrated.

Extract 14 is cited in section 19.2 on p.522 above. This is Extract 27:

27

Participants:	Fi, Anon, Jp, Sw and others.
Setting:	Dinner queue at school. Anon and Jp have been playing 'self-incrimination traps' (Opie and Opie 1959:86). What other parts refer to is not clear.

Anon: I went don't stairs

Jp : Just like me

Fi : S, you're here

Anon: Looking through the window

Jp : Just like me

Anon: I saw a great big gorilla

Jp : Just like er ... [laughs]

Fi : What's wrong with you

Anon: nothing

Fi : you (face then,  
facety

Anon: so did I

Fi : I do the shits, I do the shit in my pants ...  
so did I

Anon: So did I

Jp : So did I ...

... ( )

Fi : [sucks teeth], blerd clart what you ( \_ \_ \_ )  
done bushy head

Anon: rasclat

Anon 2: rasclart

Fi : gonna box her eyelid

Anon: ( )

Fi : (like that) understand you know what I mean ...  
[sucks teeth] ([ i: |äqē ]) ... ah she's melted  
((Trans: ? ))

Fi : it ... could you move out the way na ras

This is Extract 19:

19

Participants: Qp, 06p  
 Setting: Playground during Summer school.  
 Qp is fielding during an informal cricket game and either 06p, who is younger and smaller, comes near, or Qp approaches 06p.

- Qp : You (<sup>dumb</sup><sub>damn</sub>) tool why you no catch [sings:]  
 -----  
 the fatter monkey came from India ... India ...  
 they say  
[o jē: twãdã kĩ nã: Ē] what do you  
 ((Trans: oi you what's your name ))
- Qp : think you doing
- 06p : [laughs]
- Qp : what is your name
- 06p : uh?
- Qp : what is your name
- 06p : 06p
- Qp : you want to die
- 06p : no
- Qp : what is my name
- 06p : Q
- Qp : right I'm the king
- 06p : er
- Qp : Man who see perfection persist on Walker's crisps  
so tasty so monkey [laughs] Monkeys always  
eat Walker's for crisps ... [sings] they say he  
 came from India

Here is Extract 28:

28

Participants: Jp, Kp, Ben  
 Setting: Interview about the neighbourhood (ISA groups). Ben has asked about shaming up. Kp is answering: Jp has been niggling him quite frequently in the course of this session, though they are best friends.

Kp : ... you drop from your character  
 Ben: uhuh ... what you get a bad reputation you mean  
 Kp : yeah  
 Jp : yeah  
 Ben: how do you mean, drop from your character  
 Kp : Like if ... say if you've been good right, people  
       know you as good  
 Ben: and then after ... [to Jp:] shut up, shut up  
       [laughter] ... and afterwards um yes, and then you  
       drop from your your reputation, yes I see yes yes  
       ... ya  
 Kp [referring to Jp]: he's kind of dumb  
 Jp : shut up nigger  
 Ben: anyway  
 Kp : Charlie  
 Ben: I think that's actually about ... also somebody  
       told me  
 Jp : [ɛ pʰvdi:] [laughter]  
       ((Trans: he's a (vulgar) ))  
 Ben: what about  
 Kp [to Jp]: it's recorded  
 Jp : big [ɣɔ:ɾ] , big [ɣɔ:ɛ]  
       ((Trans: big thief, big thief ))  
 Ben: oi, oi, psst what about  
 Kp : Jp [big ɣɔ:ɹ]  
       ((Trans: J's a big thief ))  
 Jp : ( ) [mesi kɛmɔ hɛ̃]  
       ((Trans: ? my ? is ))  
 Kp : Jp [big ( ) ɣɔ̃]  
       ((Trans: J's a big thief ))  
 Ben: what about  
 Jp : do you know what he said  
 Ben: no, say it again  
 Kp : Jp [big ɣɔ:ɾ]  
       ((Trans: J's a big thief ))  
 Ben: no I don't know

Jp : he said I'm a big thief [laughs]  
 Kp : big time thief ((=[bɪg tʰaɪm θi:f]))  
 Jp : big time thief what di blerd clert na ras you do  
 Ben: okay yes, now listen what about ...  
 Kp : [bi baɪ]  
 (( = nonsense Creole?))

Let us first consider the relation between (NP)(VA)E and Afro-Caribbean Creole. With Extracts 14 and 27 (and indeed with 28), it is very noticeable that approximations to Creole accompany the expression of much plainer obscenities than (NP)(VA)E (in Extract 14, (NP)(VA)E 'do you go to the toilet often' vs Creole 'you bum stinks boy'; in Extract 27, Creole 'you blerd clat', 'rasclat'; in Extract 28 'what di blerd clert na ras you do'). In Extract 27, Creole is used for the expression of physical threat ('gonna box her eyelid'), whereas (NP)(VA)E is reserved for phatic checking, with the implication that the addressee is stupid ('You know what I mean'). These are the first signs of the contrastive functions of rhetorical (NP)(VA)E vs rhetorical 'West Indian' and from them emerges a simple test of commutation (Hymes 1980:67,63,65). How would informants react if the phonological codings which realise these Creole and (NP)(VA)E speech acts, were swapped (clearly certain overt lexical markers would need to be neutralised to ). Perhaps instances 19 and 28 provide a clue.

In Extract 19, (NP)(VA)E is used to express threats, albeit in good humour ('you want to die'). Q is playfully asserting himself over O6p, who is considerably junior to him. To what extent is he making a mistake/departing from normative expectation in this use of (NP)(VA)E? On one reading anyway, Q feels that he is, and corrects himself accordingly. He starts with requests for clarification that are quite typically encoded in (NP)(VA)E ('What do you tink you doing', 'What is your name', 'What is your name', 'What is my name'), and these have been associated with self-assertiveness elsewhere. However, as the interaction proceeds the threats and self-assertion become very briefly en-

coded in the (NP)(VA)E speech acts 'you want to die', and, when Q gets to 'Right, I'm the king', (NP)(VA)E is dropped, and finally, concluding the interaction, Q switches to a TV jingle in (mock) Creole. Does he feel 'West Indian' to be more appropriate to the character of this interaction? Why doesn't he carry on in (NP)(VA)E?

The data here is inadequate as a basis for working out the symbolic system in Q's head, so this question is obviously unanswerable. However, this piece of self-assertion in (NP)(VA)E does appear to differ from the other instances in these data. Both Extracts 3 and 16 are (NP)(VA)E utterances encoding self-assertiveness with their personae expressions ('I am independent' and 'golden rule, do not bump teacher'), but neither of these are as strong as 'I am the king' ('independence' is freedom from other people's rule, and the golden rule applies equally to all - neither claim to be the law-makers). Extracts 6 and 26 were identified also as self-assertive, but both of these are the protests of people being imposed upon ('Go away'; 'What do you want'), not the threats from the people doing the imposing ('You want to die'). Extracts 2 ('he stupid boy'), 1 ('you tell this stupid fool to get out') and 31 ('Sorry you lose') are all self-assertive in using (NP)(VA)E to denigrate others via second and third person persona enactment, but their self-assertiveness is implicit in their denigration and not explicit as the self-vaunting of 19 ('I am the king'). Finally, nowhere else in the data are physical threats (or the physical strength these imply) directly encoded in (NP)(VA)E utterances as they are here.

All of these instances are consistent with the interpretation that explicitly encoding threats and one's own superiority in rhetorical (NP)(VA)E expression violates the 'rules' of acceptable use, and this may be the reason why Q drops (NP)(VA)E. Item 28 allows a little further speculation on such limits to (NP)(VA)E use.

Kp says 'Big time thief' in (NP)(VA)E, J recodes this in approximate Creole, adding swear words and then K rejoins with what is most probably a Creole pastiche (constricted voice quality quite often occurs in imitations of Creole, and alliterated 'b's beginning nonsense words figure elsewhere in mock toasts).

J: 'big time teet ... what di blerd clert na ras you do'

K: [bi baɪ]

Does J feel that Creole is more appropriate to discussion of this kind than (NP)(VA)E, and is K concurring? Alternatively, in order to top K in what has developed as quite a competitive dialogue between them, is J switching to Creole and in doing so, invoking the associations of Creole with vernacular power (by the same token, has K blundered in using (NP)(VA)E)? These are the kinds of issue that a 'grammar' of rhetorical styles should address and these items give clues as to the types of data that might be relevant to its construction.

Let us turn now to the question of Punjabi and (NP)(VA)E.

Extracts 14 and 28 contain instances of Punjabi being used to exclude people (in both cases, myself). In Extract 28, the theme of theft is introduced in Punjabi, presumably because it is initially regarded as too sensitive for the interview context. In Extract 14, the way O6i swears in Punjabi

[bɛ:n t'u phu:dä mälaɪlə]

is in line with the quite common and much celebrated practice of swearing at white adults in a language they don't understand. Here and in Extract 28 we can see the role that Punjabi sometimes plays as an oppositional secret language, expressing distance between peer culture and white adults.

In both cases, the use of Punjabi leads into Punjabi-accented English, and Extract 28 is particularly interesting in this regard. Above, we hypothesised that (NP)(VA)E [bɦɪg' t'äɪm θi:]

might be a mistake, or at least a less appropriate selection here than Creole. Indeed, read in terms of the appreciative and non-competent persona it could be. On the other hand, for K, rather than encoding English in a Punjabi accent, the crucial linguistic operation here may be the introduction of English lexical items for the benefit of the non-Punjabi-speaking addressee. In other words, he may be staying with the phonological system used in and appropriate to the implicitly oppositional stance immediately beforehand. On this interpretation, this utterance is not a persona switch from oppositional Punjabi to non-competent (NP)(VA)E, but merely a code-slide to accommodate the interviewer within a sustained persona frame. Of course after that, it is perfectly possible that K retrospectively recognises that he is open to misinterpretation, and that he then tries to make some kind of repair via pastiche Creole.

Extract 14 is not interesting in quite the same way. Due to the element of polite scatology, 06i's use of accented English appears more in line with other rhetorical (NP)(VA)E persona enactments and therefore seems to be more clearly a persona-switch. However, having (a) illustrated that Punjabi sometimes has tough and oppositional uses within the peer-group (like Creole), and (b) that there may be occasions when lexical switching is required in cross-ethnic communication, it is possible that sometimes people might use English words with a Punjabi accent in a stance of defiance (see 01p in Extracts 1 and 3).

This is not to retract on the suggestion above that in general, rhetorical (NP)(VA)E would accompany expressions of verbal aggression to a lesser extent than Creole: the evidence of there being a broadly non-competent and appreciative persona associated with rhetorical (NP)(VA)E is quite strong. However, it offers an angle on the assertive elements sometimes associated with rhetorical (NP)(VA)E usage. It also illuminates one



strand in what we shall ultimately have to accept as diverse symbolic resonances for Indian English code switches, and in doing so, raises the question of whether it is appropriate to speak of several (NP) (VA)E personae. And finally, in our speculation about K's attempts at repair in Extract 28, the possible competition and collision between (NP) (VA)E-relevant interpretive frames emerges.

The discussion here has focused on particular instances, and taken us beyond questions of 'vehicle' to consider 'tenor' and 'ground'. Let us move back to more general observations about the data on rhetorical (NP) (VA)E in use, returning to the question of tenor.

#### 19.4 The Contexts in which Rhetorical (NP) (VA)E is Enacted

Generally speaking, on what occasions does rhetorical (NP) (VA)E seem to be used?

Teasing, as before, appears to be one function (see Extracts 16 and 31). (NP) (VA)E is also used in such a way as to cause annoyance in Extract 24, though Extracts 21 and 35, if they are cases of teasing, are good humoured (as I recollect).

There appear however to be no cases of using (NP) (VA)E to get out of trouble and often the uses to which it is put are quite diverse and not easily classified.

Verbal display or showing off seems a reasonable explanation for some instances, though this is sometimes obviously for the sake of the microphone; so, as far as use is concerned, this provides more questionable data than elsewhere (e.g. Extracts 14,18).

The cricket commentary in Extract 17 may be an instance of straight verbal play, and also contains what may be more instances of rhetorical (NP) (VA)E being used for teasing or insulting

('you are rubbish'). On the other hand, these may simply be realised via (NP)(VA)E because they are part of the (NP)(VA)E commentary.

(NP)(VA)E is also used to express genuine approbation (Extract 20), for self-criticism (Extract 34), and in reported speech (where the users of (NP)(VA)E have been specified in preceding parts of the utterance, and (NP)(VA)E adds expressiveness to the account): see Extracts 18 and 30.

The function emerging most consistently here is however that of requesting - Extracts 22,25,32,36,37,38 and 39. There also appear to be cases of (NP)(VA)E chivvyng (Extract 33) and challenging (Extract 26). Extract 23 appears to involve some kind of echoic endorsement.

In Extract 11, we might have an instance of (NP)(VA)E used for summonings and in Extracts 12 and 13, the informant may also feel it is appropriate for greeting. However, in all three instances, rather than evoking the kind of (NP)(VA)E persona described above, informants might be simply switching to a variety of Punjabi, into which English words have been borrowed (several informants reported addressing uncles and aunts as uncle and aunty, rather than chacha etc.) Also 'hello' is apparently also widely used as a Punjabi greeting (especially on the phone); conceivably in these instances, from a participant's point of view, these code switches might be as much into Punjabi as into (NP)(VA)E.

#### 19.5 How the (NP)(VA)E Persona fits these Contexts

I shall not in fact consider 'ground' carefully with regard to each item: a number of the matchings between persona trait and function in context are relatively unsurprising, and it would be repeating a good deal of the discussion in Chapter 3 to go into these in detail. There are however two matters worth drawing out.

Firstly, the cricket commentary in Extract 17 involves an assertive persona which, rather than e.g. deriving this assertiveness from the subversive context in which it is enacted (see Chapter 18.3), may originate in the association of Indian English with the highly successful participation of India in World Cup Cricket internationals. Equally, it may connect with code mixing amongst Asian adults in inter-ethnic settings: certainly Np uses a lot of Punjabi alongside and intermingled with (NP) (VA)E. So this could be another strand in the connotative range of rhetorical (NP) (VA)E, differing from others in its enactment of a specifically cricketing persona, and potentially prestigious in both peer and public spheres (on the relationship between cricket settings and inter- vs intra-ethnic domains for bilinguals, see Chapter 21.4.2; also extract 31).

The second matter requiring particular attention concerns the use of rhetorical (NP) (VA)E for requests. This merits quite full analysis, focusing on Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness and on the figurative vs situational switching dichotomy.

#### 19.6 Rhetorical (NP) (VA)E, Politeness and Figurative vs Situational Switching

Here are some examples of rhetorical (NP) (VA)E being used in requests (see Appendix for Extracts 22,25,32,36):

##### Extract 37

Participants:	Gi, Ben
Setting:	Junior Youth Club. Towards the end of the session, around the time that I was pre- paring to leave, Gi came up and asked:  Gi: <u>'you could take me in your car.'</u>  This was in a very Punjabi accent: the intonation contour was fairly

straight, it was clearly syllable tuned and there was an unusual degree of consonantal aspiration.

Extract 38

Participants: Mr 08i (adult youth worker), Ben  
Setting: Youth Club.  
I was standing behind the snack-bar counter: Mr 08i needed to come in past me. In a very Punjabi accent, he said:  
08i: 'excuse me please'

Extract 39

Participants: Mr 10i (adult youth worker), 06e (16<sup>+</sup>)  
Setting: Friday evening club.  
06e came up to Mr 10i who was behind the counter serving, and asked for some crisps in (NP) (VA)E. Then, when he was given his change, he started counting out:  
06e: [ɪk dʌ]

To consider the relationship of the (NP) (VA)E persona to requests, it is helpful to reintroduce the distinction between figurative and situational switching. Indeed, looking at switches within the context of requests adds a new dimension to the theoretical discussion in Chapter 16, and suggests a degree of complementarity between that framework and Brown and Levinson's (1978) theory of face-repair.

The first question must be: in what sense can one really consider requests in the light of 'figurative switching', since as the examples above illustrate, the speaker wants to get the hearer to adapt his categorisation of the situation, and in doing so, alter his behaviour accordingly. The speaker introduces the category 'S is in need of something' in the hope that the hearer

will accept this and supply what is required. It looks as though any request initiatives are bound to be 'situational' (see Chapter 16.3.2).

At this point it is necessary to separate one's perception of these speech acts as wholes, from one's view of the specific element which is being foregrounded. Within a 'macro' situational initiative, it may in fact be possible to identify micro-effects which could be construed as either figurative or situational.

In the data above, first of all pronunciation is foregrounded. Let us also suppose that some persona is being evoked (without wanting to attempt any substantive definitions of it as yet). The crucial question is (as intimated in Chapter 16.3.3) whether that persona is selected by S because it offers it a clear role and in doing so, prestructures H's response to some extent. If the initiated persona does take a conventionally recognised 'companion', we have situational shift and H is being asked to accept a specific place within the 'world' created by the initiated element/persona. If however the vehicle/element is not being selected with a view to H taking up a clearly designated role vis-à-vis the new categorisation, we have a figurative switch. H can see the new category/persona, he can infer its relation to the old but he is not being cued to abandon the old for the new.

At this point it is useful to quote Brown and Levinson's definitions of positive and negative politeness:

'Positive politeness is oriented toward the positive face of H, the positive self-image that he claims for himself. Positive politeness ... 'anoints' the face of the addressee by indicating that in some respects, S wants H's wants (e.g. by treating him as a member of an ingroup, a friend, a person whose wants and personality traits are known and liked). The potential face threat of an act is minimised in this case by the assurance ... for example that S considers H to be in important

respects 'the same' as he, with group rights and duties and expectations of reciprocity ... Negative politeness, on the other hand is oriented mainly toward partially satisfying (redressing) H's negative face, his basic want to maintain claims of territory and self-determination ... negative-politeness strategies consist in assurances that the speaker ... will not (or will only minimally) interfere with the addressee's freedom of action. Face threatening acts are redressed ... with ... softening mechanisms that give the addressee an "out", a face-saving line of escape, permitting him to feel that his response is not coerced' (1978:75).

Within macro-acts such as requesting which pose a threat to face, micro situational initiatives can be broadly aligned with positive politeness, and micro figurative initiatives with negative politeness. In common with other positive politeness strategies, situational switches carry 'expectations of reciprocity', they assume that S and H are/can be co-members in the same scheme of things, they co-opt H. Figurative switches in contrast take much greater cognisance of H's autonomy and the intention is not for H to adopt what S initiates. Indeed, the process of figurative interpretation itself leaves H a good deal of leeway in his response to S.<sup>3</sup>

This argument places switching which occurs in the context of requests well within Brown and Levinson's scheme, and we can now turn to a full consideration of (NP) (VA)E requests, taking varieties of (NP) (VA)E persona more substantively in view.

There are at least 4½<sup>2</sup> possible and not all mutually exclusive explanations for why rhetorical (NP) (VA)E should occur in this context. One possibility is that in selecting (NP) (VA)E, S is primarily concerned to select a persona that is not himself. In this reading, the most important thing is its being alter-identified, and by distancing himself from his request in this way, the loss to face is reduced if the request is turned down (this is in the interests of both participants' face, since in co-operative interaction a threat to H's face also threatens S's

and vice versa (Brown and Levinson 1978:72; see also Heritage 1984:219)). In Brown and Levinson's terms, this projection of an alter-identified persona could be regarded as an 'impersonalisation' strategy (1978:195). Impersonalisation strategies are negatively polite and in this reading, they could be being compounded by negatively polite 'micro' figurative switches.

That does not answer the question of why in particular the (NP) (VA)E persona has been selected.

Perhaps the (NP) (VA)E persona has been selected for its connotations of non-competence, and by this means, S hopes to emphasise his need and to intensify the force of his request. Whether it is a figurative or situational initiative depends on the extent to which feebleness is felt to necessitate assistance. If weakness and non-competence do not conventionally elicit help, selecting such a persona, S leaves H a free hand in deciding on a response. This then would be a negatively polite figurative switch, which would partly offset the way in which the particular persona selected 'impolitely' makes the request seem more urgent.

Another possibility is that the (NP) (VA)E persona has been chosen in a strategy of deferential self-humbling (Brown and Levinson 1978:191; also e.g. Beeman 1976). The relevant features of persona might still be non-competence, or non-comprehension, but for S, what makes this appropriate is what it implies about S's relationship to H. Self-humbling as a form of deference is considered by Brown and Levinson to be negatively polite, and indeed it does imply that H has the power and the superiority to do what he likes. However, in its clear designs on H's role, a deferential self-humbling initiative would be a situational shift, locking H into a particular relationship with subtle coercion. S and H may be asymmetrically related to one another, but S nevertheless intends to co-opt H into shared agreement on this. Despite the negative politeness made fairly explicit in the deference, the situational initiative is posi-

tively polite and thus H is placed in a double bind, his freedom being invoked at one level and his duties at another.

Further interpretations have these (NP)(VA)E requests as wholly positively polite. Conceivably the switch to (NP)(VA)E is designed as either (a) a code switch to Punjabi which has simply not been achieved at all linguistic levels, due perhaps either to S's or H's lack of proficiency; or (b) a switch to the Punjabi-English mixed code. In this case the relevant persona would be Punjabi or Punjabi-in-interethnic-contact (not (NP)(VA)E as outlined above). S would be claiming in-group co-membership with H<sup>4</sup> (Brown and Levinson 1978:115) and the switch would be construed as situational, S channelling the factors H takes into account in determining his reaction.

Alternatively, the co-membership S is claiming might not be ethnic, but instead, in using rhetorical (NP)(VA)E, S might be claiming a shared appreciation with H of (NP)(VA)E as a rhetorical, indeed figurative style (S and H both belonging to the set of those people appreciating rhetorical (NP)(VA)E). In Brown and Levinson's terms, S would be claiming common knowledge/attitudes with H (1978:129), and we might have the complex position of (NP)(VA)E as a figurative style being embedded/exploited in a situational switch.

Which of these readings accounts for the (NP)(VA)E requests in these data is hard to say, and I shall not attempt to answer this question seriously, even though Brown and Levinson's theory provides a guide for preferring one interpretation above another with regard to individual instances.<sup>5</sup> But three points are worth making. Firstly, the notions of figurative and situational switch are compatible with a scheme that is detailed and systematic enough to allow one to start formulating testable hypotheses and constructing 'grammars' of social interactions vis-à-vis particular communities.

Secondly, the framework of analysis developed in Chapter 16,



adds an additional element to Brown and Levinson's scheme. Negative vs positive politeness in code-switching is not merely a matter of the substantive nature of the persona you conjure (Brown and Levinson 1978:115): it is also a matter of whether that switch is figurative or situational.

Thirdly, it is worth pointing to the possibility that in the data here, (NP) (VA)E may be serving as a politeness strategy not merely in requests. In other extracts where speakers' real intentions coincide with the propositions and illocutions expressed through the (NP) (VA)E persona, it could also be seen as down-toning or lightening face-threatening acts, such as the challenge in Extract 26, the chivvy in Extract 33, the self-criticism in Extract 34 and indeed the approbation in Extract 20. The model of code-switching developed here could combine with Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness quite extensively.

#### 19.7 Joint Participation in Figurative Styles and Figurative Situations

I mentioned above that shared knowledge of figurative (NP) (VA)E could be alluded to in positively polite situational shifts. In fact, joint participation in figurative styles is exemplified in the data on several occasions and it is worth briefly considering these instances, since they represent speech which is both responsive and alter-identified (see Chapter 16.3.7).

This is Extract 32 again:

32

Participants:	Anon (i, aged about 15, or P), Mr 04e (adult youth worker - first name used -), and others. Ben: observer.
Setting:	Friday evening Youth club: Mr 04e and other youth workers were 'closing the club', and asking people to leave. Anon came back in, and said in a very Punjabi accent:  Anon: <u>'I go toilet'</u>

04e heard this, and called out after him, as he went downstairs to the toilet, in a very Punjabi accent:

04e: 'Oh you bloody loony you'

There was a further response from the kid from downstairs but I didn't catch it.

Following the logic of section 19.6, Anon's 'I go toilet' could be a positively polite situational switch and indeed 04e's response supports this - he seems to read it as co-opting him into the group of those who appreciate rhetorical (NP) (VA)E and he reciprocates accordingly. 04e's is a responsive shift in reciprocation of Anon's situational initiative, although the resulting style is hardly ordinary and it is hard to conceive of 04e's speech as being seriously ego-identified, even temporarily.

What we have is 'play'. 04e is entering the imaginary world offered by Anon, maintaining the dual perspective characteristic of figurative use and possibly partly enjoying the game of transforming the ordinary so that it is appropriate in the imaginary and vice versa. In view of what is probably a sincere desire to shut up the club and get home/off to the pub, the 'fun' may be a bit strained, but even so he has hit on some of the right features of persona - relatively mild complaint - to express this impatience while at the same time sustaining the style Anon initiated. The effect operating here resembles e.g. theatre: a figurative mode is initiated in which the audience/addressee is expected to participate, for the duration turning on and off their disbelief but not confusing this with reality at the finish (cf. Bateson 1954:137,141). The only difference is of course that here these 'figurative situational initiatives' are occurring in an informal vernacular context.

The cricket commentary in Extract 17 may also represent the creation via (NP) (VA)E of a 'figurative situation'<sup>6</sup> in which the people listening can participate if, when they take up their po-

sitions by the stumps, they entertain Np's depiction of themselves as international cricketers. The use of (NP)(VA)E in the direct speech of the narrative in Extract 18 similarly constitutes a short figurative situational switch: it recreates the events on the train and helps the audience become more absorbed in the tale, while at the same time, if they prefer, the audience can step back and enjoy it as a performance by their friend. Indeed, in so far as the discourse sets up certain expectations and the tale recalls an experience shared by members of the audience, this is a responsive style conjuring a figurative situation.

#### 19.8 Summary

After considering the data used here, this chapter has made the following points:

- (i) being appreciative, non-comprehension, non-competence, polite scatology and protest, and distance from peer culture were corroborated as connotations of the rhetorical (NP)(VA)E persona. But so too was the self-assertive element.
- (ii) The function of rhetorical (NP)(VA)E in its contexts of enactment were also considered. Getting out of trouble was not evidenced, and teasing and requesting emerged as the most consistent uses. Other uses seemed to be commentating, verbal display, expressing approval, reported speech, chivvying, challenging and endorsing.
- (iii) The question of rhetorical (NP)(VA)E's relationship to Caribbean Creole and Punjabi was considered. It was tentatively proposed that Creole was more likely to be used in the expression of threats and self-vaunting, and that uses of rhetorical (NP)(VA)E to enact these functions broke with normal expectancy. However, a glance at code-switching into Punjabi suggested that on occasions, Punjabi-accented English might be pri-

marily designed as the projection of a Punjabi persona, lexical adjustments merely being made in order to accommodate non-Punjabi speaking addressees. Though a persona featuring e.g. non-competence appeared to be the major connotation of (NP)(VA)E, other personae might also be projected in English with Punjabi pronunciation.

- (iv) Whether or not it should be seen as merely a (radical) variant of, or an alternative to, the main (NP)(VA)E persona, one linked to cricket was also identified, which likewise might have stronger symbolic links with Punjabi or Punjabi-English code mixing than English. Similarly in requests, the persona realised via (NP)(VA)E might be more usefully designated Punjabi.
- (v) The use of figurative and situational switching in requests was discussed and, drawing on Brown and Levinson's (1978) theory of politeness, it was suggested that situational switches could here be classified as essentially aligned with positive politeness, while figurative switching represented a negative politeness strategy.
- (vi) Lastly, it was shown how in play and in quotations in narrative, figurative switches can initiate imaginary worlds in which the addressee is welcome to participate, thus making it necessary for us to speak of switches initiating 'figurative situations'.

Of course, on a variety of these issues, the adequacy of the analysis could be increased with more extensive feedback from informants themselves.

Table 19.1 summarises the data referred to in this chapter, and also the discussion where it has related to specific extracts.

TABLE 19.1 SUMMARY OF EXTRACTS 11-44, AND SPECIFIC POINTS MADE IN CONNECTION WITH EACH

Item No. and speaker	Summary of item	Setting and participants	Aspects of persona	Function in context of enactment	Further analyses/discussion
11. Np	Ben	Interview room: Ben, Bi, Qp	Assertive- ness	Summoning	Loanwords in Punjabi?
12. Np	Hello	"		Greeting Verbal display	Loanwords?
13. Np	Hello aunty very good aunty	"	Appreciative- ness	Greeting Verbal display	Loanwords?
14. 06i	What do you call it again ... do you go toilet often, do you eat often no no no	Dinner queue: Tm Anon, -n Radio-mike	Incompre- hension Polite scatology	Verbal display?	
15. 03p	Jingle Bell jingle bell	Playground: Gi Anons Radio-mike		Verbal display?	

(contd)

TABLE 19.1 (contd)

Item No. and speaker	Summary of item	Setting and participants	Aspects of persona	Function in context of enactment	Further analyses/discussion
16. Lp	You cause trouble I cause trouble we get trouble	Playground: NH(p) SK(p) EP(w)		Teasing	
Lp	You not meant to run in corridor	01b, Jp, Kp Sw			
Kp	School rules, listen school rules, not to fight against teacher, not to run in the corridor	01b, Jp, Lp Sw	Orientation to school values	Teasing	
Lp	Golden rule: do not bump teacher		Orientation to school values		
17. Np	Cricket commentary	Playground B1, Tm	Cricket- loving, appreciative- ness? Self- assertiveness	Playing, verbal display, teasing? insulting? requesting?	(NP) (VA)E as a prestigious cricketing persona. Roots in mixed Punjabi-English? Rhetorical (NP) (VA)E creating a 'figurative situation'.

(contd)

TABLE 19.1 (contd)

Item No. and speaker	Summary of item	Setting and participants	Aspects of persona	Function in context of enactment	Further analyses/discussion
18. Pp, Np	This is Indian medicine, very good	Playground: Anon, Ai, Di, Ci	Appreciative- ness Non- competence	Reported speech	(NP) (VA)E being used (responsively) to elaborate a figurative situation.
19. Qp	What do you tink you doing; what is your name; you want to die; what is my name	Playground: 06p	Self- assertive- ness		Compare the role of Creole. Inappropriate use of (NP) (VA)E persona?
20. 03i	Very good very good	Classroom: Ben, Anon 02e, 03e	Appreciative- ness	Approving	Actor's perceptions = persona's. Downtoning?
21. 03i	Very good, very good	Mr 17i, Bi, others: cricket game Ben	Appreciative- ness	Good humoured teasing?	
22. Hp, 07i	me want to play	Playground: Anon, Ai, We		Requesting	Actor's wishes in tune with persona's. Politeness strategy?

(contd)

TABLE 19.1 (contd)

Item No. and speaker	Summary of item	Setting and participants	Aspects of persona	Function in context of enactment	Further analyses/discussion
23. We	He didn't do nothing	02b, Ben: handing back radio-mike		Endorsing	
24. Rw	Nothing-under- stand. Don't you understand English	Youth Club Tm, 05e	Non-compre- hension (2nd person persona)	Causing annoyance	
25. Gi	Put the coffee on	Youth Club: 05e, 06e, 07e		Requesting	Actor's wishes = persona's wishes - politeness strat?
26. Gi	What do you wnat, what do you want	Playground: Fi, Anon, 01w	Self- assertive- ness	Challenging	Actor's wishes = persona's? Downtoning?
27. Fi	You know what I mean	Dinner queue: Anon, Jp, Sw	Non-compre- hension (2nd person persona)		Compare the role of Creole.
28. Kp	Big time thief	Interview: Jp, Ben			Compare the role of Creole. In- appropriate use of (NP) (VA)E persona? A Punjabi persona with lexical accommodation to Anglo addressee?

(contd)



TABLE 19.1 (contd)

Item No. and speaker	Summary of item	Setting and participants	Aspects of persona	Function in context of enactment	Further analyses/discussion
29. Bi	Aunty in England, Uncle in Bradford	Interview: Ben			Loanwords in Punjabi?
30. Ue	I going church everyday	Interview: Ben	Religious- ness	Reported speech	Ethnically specialised aspect of persona?
Ve	I go to Mosque				
31. Jp	sorry you lose	After cricket: other children (Ben)	Non-compe- tence (2nd person persona)	Teasing	
32. Anon (Asian)	I go toilet Oh you bloody fool you	Youth Club: others, Ben	Polite scatology? Non-compe- tence (2nd person personae) Polite protest. Self- assertive- ness?	Requesting	Actor's wishes = persona's politeness strategy? (NP) (VA)E in a positively polite situational shift, and then used responsively within this figurative situation.
Mr 04e					

(contd)

TABLE 19.1 (contd)

Item No. and speaker	Summary of item	Setting and participants	Aspects of persona	Function in context of enactment	Further analyses/discussion
33. Mr 04e	Come on, you fool	Youth Club: (Ben) Mrs 09i	Non-compe- tence (2nd person persona)	Chivvyng	Actor's wishes = persona's Downtoning?
34. 05e	I make fuck- up	Youth Club: - friends  (Ben)	Non-compe- tence	Self- criticising	Actor's perceptions = persona's Downtoning?
35. 01i	Bali, very good shot	Youth Club: Others 02i (Ben)	Appreciative- ness	Good humoured teasing?	
36. Kp	Ben can I come	School corridor Ben, Jp		Requesting	Actor's wishes = persona's wishes Politeness strategy?
37. Gi	You could take me in your car	Youth Club: Ben		Requesting	Actor's wishes = persona's wishes Politeness strategy?
38. Mr 08i	excuse me please	Youth Club: Ben		Requesting	Actor's wishes = persona's wishes Politeness strategy?

(contd)

TABLE 19.1 (contd)

Item No. and speaker	Summary of item	Setting and participants	Aspects of persona	Function in context of enactment	Further analyses/discussion
39. 06e	Asking for crisps	Youth Club: Mr 10i (Ben)		Requesting	Actor's wishes = persona's wishes Politeness strategy?
40. 03p	I eating nan kababs	Youth Club: Ben, Op			
41. 04p	you no pack yet	Youth Club: Ben Mr 11i			
42. 05p	/la:st /	Cricket game: others, Ben			
43.	oh blimey	Summer School: Ben	Polite swearing Self- assertive- ness		
44. Ip	good gracious	School corridor: Ben	Polite swearing Self- assertive- ness		

NOTES

1. Variation raises the analytic question: do we have two systems mixing, or one system with variable rules. As the analysis progresses this issue will become more salient: do (NP)(VA)E linguistic items conjure one persona with inbuilt tensions, or several discrete ones. In fact, no systematic efforts will be made to resolve this, and discussion may slip between talk of a variable persona and personae-mixing.
2. See Extract 7 above which may be explicable in terms of borrowing. Also parts of Extracts 17 and 42.
3. See Mitchell-Kernan (1972:171) on 'signifying' as essentially negatively polite: 'less bold and presumptuous and ... permissive of a response ... in a similar ... impersonal fashion.'
4. It may seem odd that Punjabi could be used to claim co-membership when the interaction was cross-ethnic (i.e. with a white person and an Indian, for example). However, friendship can obviate differences of race to some extent, see Hewitt (1982).
5. Specifically, they propose that the selection of strategies depends on the degree of the imposition (entailed in the request), and on the relationships of Power (P) and Distance (D) obtaining between S and H. Thus, for example, where D (and P) is greater, as in Extract 25 perhaps and in Extract 36 (which occurred before Kp had become a regular informant and was therefore relatively unknown to me), we are likely to have negatively polite alter-identification and figurative switching. In Extract 22 however, where P and D values are clearly low, it is much more likely that we have positive politeness (see also Brown and Levinson 1978:129 on joking). Of course, more closely controlled elicitation and introspection would be needed to take this further empirically.
6. The distinction here between figurative switches and 'figurative situations' can be usefully drawn alongside Labov's (1972b:327,350) distinction between 'applied' and 'ritual sounding'; also between Mitchell-Kernan's account of 'signifying' as a game activity vs 'signifying' as 'a way of encoding messages ... in natural conversations' (1972:165).

CHAPTER 20

EXAMINING PERCEPTIONS OF STRAIGHT (NP) (VA)E  
AS A STEP TOWARDS FURTHER UNDERSTANDING OF THE  
SOCIO-ECOLOGICAL FUNCTION OF RHETORICAL (NP) (VA)E  
- AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE

In the next chapter, I will look at my informants' perceptions of (NP) (VA)E as a way of speaking that is straight/normal for some people. This chapter is a bridge, affirming the relevance of straight to rhetorical (NP) (VA)E while at the same time insisting that the relationship is by no means simple. It would be a mistake to assume that the rhetorical code was straightforwardly modelled on straight users and further considerations from outside the local setting will be adduced in Chapter 22 which will finally suggest more complex connections.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, the assumption being made is that rhetorical (NP) (VA)E isn't just 'any old silly voice' but that in one way or another, it is an integral part in a sociolinguistic environment in which proficiency in English is unevenly distributed. An Anglo actor may pick up 'Stage Irish' from his fellows and when he uses it, his main acts of identity may be towards whatever 'stars' he has seen deploying it. Even so, Irishness is one of its indexical resonances and without prejudging what the relationship might actually be, it is worth looking closely both at his own and his audience's attitudes towards people who speak in this way naturally.

So the focus of the next chapter will temporarily shift from code-switching towards the area of language attitudes, prior to the attempt to draw them together with some additional considerations in Chapter 22.

NOTES

1. In relation to Afro-American 'marking', see Mitchell-Kernan's remark: 'The marker('s) ... performance may be more in the nature of parody and caricature than true imitation' (1972:176).

## CHAPTER 21

### PERCEPTIONS OF STRAIGHT (NP) (VA)E

#### 21.1 The Data-base

The data cited in preceding chapters allow inferences to be made about who the straight users of (NP) (VA)E are that rhetorical (NP) (VA)E is intended to connote. Inferring on the basis of references to particular ethnic items within the propositions expressed through (NP) (VA)E personae; on the basis of references to co-ethnic kin; from references within the surrounding discursual environment; by identifying the ethnicity of the person being teased through (NP) (VA)E; or because (NP) (VA)E is explicitly labelled as such, we can initially suggest that straight users are held to be:

Punjabi	- 1, 2, 7 <sup>2</sup>
Pakistani	- 7 <sup>2</sup> , 14, 13 <sup>2</sup>
Indian	- 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 18, 29 <sup>2</sup> , 30
Pakistani and Indian	- 17
Bengali	- 16, 21, 23
Asian	- 33

These data fairly explicitly connect rhetorical (NP) (VA)E with various Asian ethnic groups. Taking it more or less for granted, I propose to get a fuller picture of straight users and how they are evaluated by using two further data sources: the ISA rating booklets and data from interviews. This affords a degree of methodological triangulation though the problem of leakiness referred to in Chapter 17.1, does arise. I shall indicate where I feel such holes to be.

Let us proceed by looking at the ISA data first, both in terms of the categorisations and evaluations. In the course of doing so, interview data may be invoked from time to time, where this is relatively straightforward. But the bulk of attention to interview data will involve fuller qualitative analysis, and this will follow the ISA account.

21.2.1 Whom Do Informants Perceive as Using Straight (NP) (VA)E?  
The ISA Data

The ISA questionnaire booklet contained the construct 'don't know much English' vs 'speak normal English' and 21 informants (6 ethnically Indian, 9 Pakistani, 2 Afro-Caribbean, 1 Mixed, 3 Anglo) had the chance to express whether and to what extent they saw themselves and a variety of other individuals and groups around them as either not knowing much English, or speaking English normally.

Before discussing the emerging patterns however, it needs to be briefly affirmed that this data is relevant to a discussion of straight (NP) (VA)E, though a degree of 'leakiness' must be admitted. The ISA data is not perfectly suited to answering 'who is perceived as a straight (NP) (VA)E user' and two initial difficulties relate (a) to the meaning of the rating scores (1 = a bit, a few, a few times; 2 = quite, some, sometimes; 3 = very, a lot, often; 4 = very very, all, always); and (b) to the extent to which it is reasonable to suppose that if people are classified as not knowing much English, they actually speak any English at all (some of those classified under 'don't know much English' may only speak e.g. Punjabi). This leak can however be largely patched up (see Appendix 21) and we can proceed, if a little hedgily.

(Guardedly) assuming therefore that ISA data on who 'doesn't know much English' gives an idea of who speaks straight (NP) (VA)E, we may next ask how ratings under the heading 'speaks normal English' can be of use. In fact, the opportunity given to informants to indicate degrees of normalness is productive here, though the absence of firm evidence on the conception of 'normalness' with which informants are operating is a flaw. We cannot be absolutely sure that entities construed as less normal than themselves are generally done so on the basis of their speech being more ethnically marked; informants might have a range of linguistic features in mind - stammering, lisping, absence or



presence of swearing, different varieties of regional British accent etc. etc. However, it is reasonable to imagine that where Bangladeshi kids or older Asians are construed as speaking less normal English than the informants themselves, this often has something to do with (NP)(VA)E. Indeed, interview comments support this.<sup>1</sup> The fact that such speakers were classified as 'normal' rather than not knowing English, is unsurprising. Normalness in terms of linguistic capability needn't exclude ethnic markedness (there is VAE which isn't NP).

We can now turn to the ISA data on this construct itself. Table 21.1 shows the mean ratings of all entities on the construct 'speaks normal English - don't know much English'. The scores are here shown ranging from 1 to 9, 1 being the extreme of the 'don't know' pole, and 9 being the extreme of the 'speaks normal' pole. Informants are grouped together by ethnicity and then clustered into the larger categories 'ethnically Asian/Punjabi bilingual' and 'non-Punjabi bilingual'. Graph 21.1 converts part of this data back into the scale on which it was elicited, and shows much more clearly when an entity is on average classified as speaking 'normal English' or not (the graph also differs from the table in so far as it arranges entities in sequence according to their overall ranking) (for raw scores, see Appendix 22).

A number of interesting patterns emerge from this, concerning the difference between bilinguals and monolinguals in their ratings of co-ethnic kin, and in their ratings of themselves and their outgroup peers. These will receive some attention in the concluding chapter: here the task is to consider those most closely associated with straight non-proficient English (NPE) use. To identify these, a useful method is to concentrate on those categorised on average as not knowing much English in Graph 21.1 (those rated with a mean less than 5 in Table 21.1). Taking informant ethnic subgroup ratings, and presenting these NPE-using-entities in rank order, patterns emerge which are shown in Table 21.2:

TABLE 21.1 MEAN SCORES (ON A 1 TO 9 SCALE) ON THE BIPOLAR CONSTRUCT 'DON'T KNOW MUCH ENGLISH' (=1)  
vs 'SPEAKS NORMAL ENGLISH' (=9), BY ETHNIC AND LANGUAGE SUBGROUP (n IN BRACKETS)\*

Entities	OVERALL (n=21)	LANGUAGE GROUPINGS		ETHNICITY OF INFORMANTS				
		Punjabi: Bi- linguals (n=15)	Mono- linguals (n=6)	Pakistani (n=9)	Indian (n=6)	Afro- Carib. (n=2)	Mixed (n=1)	Anglo (n=3)
1 Current self	8.2	8.5	7.5	8.4 (0.5)	8.5 (0.7)	7.5 (1.5)	8.0	7.3 (2.4)
2 Ideal self	8.4	8.6	8.0	8.8 (0.4)	8.3 (0.7)	8.5 (0.5)	8.0	7.7 (1.9)
3 Past self	6.1	5.6	6.8	5.2 (2.5)	6.7 (2.0)	7.0 (2.0)	7.0	6.7 (1.2)
7 Admired person	7.7 (n=20)	8.0 (n=14)	7.0	7.5 (2.5)	8.7 (0.5)	7.5 (1.5)	5.0	7.3 (1.7)
8 Disliked person	6.9	7.1	6.5	6.7 (2.4)	7.8 (1.8)	7.5 (1.5)	5.0	6.3 (0.9)
9 Me speaking English	7.5 (n=17)	7.8 (n=14)	6.0 (n=3)	7.3 (1.7)	8.6 (0.5; n=5)	5.0 (1.0)	8.0	-
10 Me speaking Punjabi/Paki- stani/West Indian	5.8 (n=18)	5.7	6.0 (n=3)	5.8 (2.2)	5.7 (2.1)	6.5 (1.5)	5.0	-

(contd)

TABLE 21.1 (contd)

Entities	OVERALL (n=21)	LANGUAGE GROUPINGS		ETHNICITY OF INFORMANTS				
		Punjabi: Bi- linguals (n=15)	Mono- linguals (n=6)	Pakistani (n=9)	Indian (n=6)	Afro- Carib. (n=2)	Mixed (n=1)	Anglo (n=3)
11 Bangladeshi kids	3.5	3.3	3.8	2.4 (1.2)	4.7 (2.6)	4.5 (0.5)	5.0	3.0 (2.0)
12 English kids	8.2	8.7	7.0	8.7 (0.7)	8.7 (0.7)	7.5 (1.5)	5.0	7.3 (1.7)
13 Indian kids	6.3	7.3	3.8	7.5 (1.6)	7.0 (2.1)	5.0 (0.0)	5.0	2.7 (1.7)
14 Italian kids	5.9	6.7	4.2	6.6 (2.9)	6.8 (2.1)	5.0 (0.0)	5.0	3.3 (1.7)
15 Pakistani kids	6.2	7.1	4.2	7.3 (1.6)	6.7 (2.0)	5.0 (0.0)	5.0	3.3 (1.7)
16 West Indian kids	7.4	7.9	6.2	8.1 (1.2)	7.7 (2.0)	5.0 (0.0)	5.0	7.3 (1.2)
17 Teachers	8.1	8.5	7.0	8.5 (1.3)	8.5 (1.1)	8.0 (1.0)	5.0	7.0 (2.0)
18 Ingroup adults	4.8 (n=20)	4.3	6.6 (n= 5)	4.0 (2.7)	4.7 (2.2)	6.5 (0.5)	-	6.7 (1.7)

(contd)

TABLE 21.1 (contd)

Entities	OVERALL (n=21)	LANGUAGE GROUPINGS		ETHNICITY OF INFORMANTS				
		Punjabi: Bi- linguals (n=15)	Mono- linguals (n=6)	Pakistani (n=9)	Indian (n=6)	Afro- Carib. (n=2)	Mixed (n=1)	Anglo (n=3)
19 Dad	6.0	5.3	7.8	5.7 (3.4)	4.7 (2.4)	7.5 (1.5)	5.0	9.0 (0.0)
20 Mum	5.4	4.4	7.8	4.6 (2.9)	4.2 (2.9)	7.5 (1.5)	5.0	9.0 (0.0)
Siblings	8.0 (n=36)	8.1 (n=25)	7.7 (n=11)	8.4 (0.8; n=16)	7.4 (1.4; n=9)	7.5 (1.5)	5.0	9.0 (0.0; n=5)
Friends	8.2 (n=26)	8.3 (n=19)	8.0 (n=7)	8.1 (1.4; n=11)	8.6 (0.5; n=8)	8.0 (1.0)	5.0	8.7 (0.4; n=4)
Uncles and Aunts	5.9 (n=22)	5.2 (n=16)	7.8	4.7 (3.0; n=10)	6.0 (2.7)	7.5 (1.5)	5.0	9.0 (0.0)
Real Cousins	6.0 (n=20)	5.2 (n=14)	7.8	4.0 (2.4; n=8)	6.8 (2.3)	7.5 (1.5)	5.0	9.0 (0.0)

(contd)

TABLE 21.1 (contd)

Entities	OVERALL (n=21)	LANGUAGE GROUPINGS		ETHNICITY OF INFORMANTS				
		Punjabi: Bi- linguals (n=15)	Mono- linguals (n=6)	Pakistani (n=9)	Indian (n=6)	Afro- Carib. (n=2)	Mixed (n=1)	Anglo (n=3)
Kind of cousins	4.9 (n=10)	4.9 (n=10)		4.0 (3.2; n=7)	7.0 (2.8; n=3)	-	-	-
Nans/ American kids				-	-	-	-	9.0 (0.0)

\* Sometimes two entities were combined (e.g. siblings), or an informant might not have the same entity as the rest. So the number of responses counted within each ethnic category vary. Where these differ from the n. at the top of the column, differing n.'s are stated.

GRAPH 21.1: MEAN SCORES ON 'SPEAKS NORMAL ENGLISH' vs 'DON'T KNOW MUCH ENGLISH', BY ETHNIC SUBGROUP

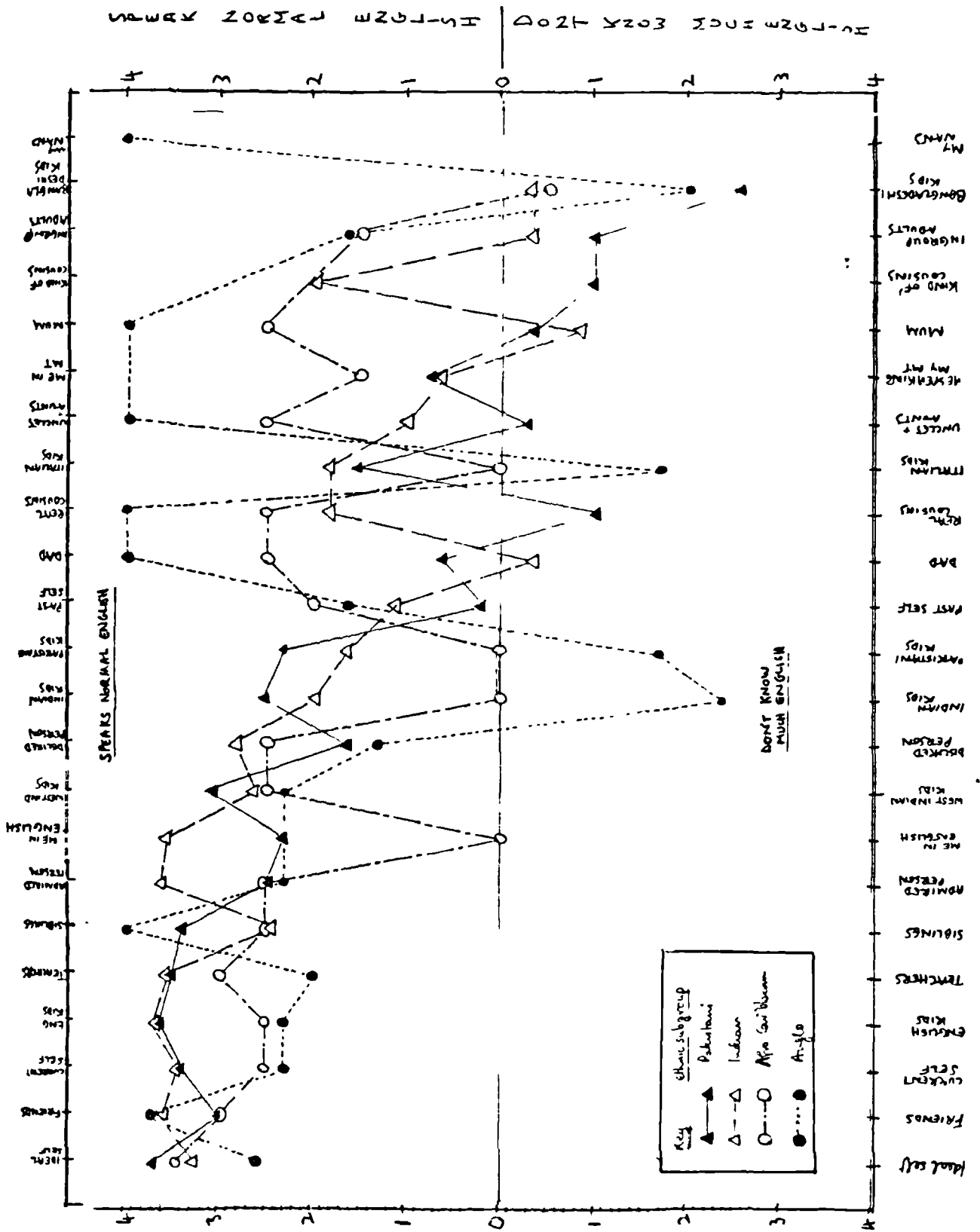


TABLE 21.2 ENTITIES RATED ON AVERAGE AS 'NOT KNOWING MUCH ENGLISH' IN RANK ORDER  
(BY INFORMANTS' ETHNIC SUBGROUP)

Informants of Indian parentage (n=6)	Informants of Pakistani parentage (n=9)	Informants of Afro- Caribbean parentage (n=2)	Informants of Anglo parentage (n=3)
1= ( Bangladeshi kids Mum  3= ( Dad Ingroup adults	1 Bangladeshi kids  2= ( Real cousins Kind of cousins  4= ( Mum Ingroup adults Uncles and aunts	1 Bangladeshi kids	1 Indian kids  2 Italian kids  3= ( Pakistani kids Bangladeshi kids

There is unanimity about ethnically Bangladeshi kids not knowing much English, and for Punjabi bilinguals, co-ethnic adults and a number of adult (and for ethnically Pakistani informants, non-adult) kin also on average fall into this category.

Without necessarily assuming that figurative (NP)(VA)E is directly modelled on these entities, we can nevertheless take a cue from language evaluation studies, and investigate how informants generally view these speakers, as this emerges through ISA. It is often proposed that people's assessments of a language variety are in large part influenced by their evaluations of the people whom they take to be its speakers. While there are doubts as to whether this represents the truth in all its complexity (e.g. Giles and Ryan 1982:212; Giles, Scherer and Taylor 1979:365), there is a fair degree of consensus about the importance in language evaluation of the process by which speech cues are matched up with social categories and then judged in terms of the attitudes evoked by the particular social categorisations (Lambert 1967; Robinson 1972; Trudgill 1983: 219; Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985). The methodology being used here obviously is not along the lines of conventional matched guise, and in talking about non-proficient English we cannot properly say we are looking at a single straight variety - straight Bangladeshi English is different from Punjabi English, and indeed, North Indian English may be clearly different from Pakistani English. Nevertheless it is still worth looking at how general perceptions of 'non-normalness' in English match up with attitudes to particular groups of non-proficient speakers.

#### 21.2.2 How Are These Straight Users of (NP)(VA)E Evaluated? More ISA Data

To assess this, it is worth referring back to the ISA identity indices used in Part Two. Table 21.3 shows how much informants currently identify with the NPE groups outlined above: it does so by presenting both a mean index score, and by reporting the rank position of the entity in question. This rank position



TABLE 21.3 MEAN CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH NPE ENTITIES (BY ETHNIC SUBGROUP)

NPE Entities	Ethnicity of Informants							
	Indian		Pakistani		Afro-Cari.		Anglo	
	Rank out of 19	Index score	Rank out of 20	Index score	Rank out of 17	Index score	Rank out of 20	Index score
Bangladeshi kids	18	.61	19	.52	12	.46	17	.39
Indian kids							4=	.58
Italian kids							19	.30
Pakistani kids							4=	.58
Ingroup adults	13=	.70	17	.56				
Dad	8	.79						
Mum	12	.73	7	.74				
Uncles and Aunts			13=	.62				
Real Cousins			11	.66				
Kind of cousins			18	.53				

TABLE 21.4 MEAN IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH NPE ENTITIES (BY ETHNIC SUBGROUP)

NPE Entities	Ethnicity of Informants							
	Indian		Pakistani		Afro-Cari.		Anglo	
	Rank out of 19	Index score	Rank out of 20	Index score	Rank out of 17	Index score	Rank out of 20	Index score
Bangladeshi kids	19	.34	16*	.35	15	.33	19=	.18
Indian kids							14	.29
Italian kids							16=	.24
Pakistani kids							16-	.24
Ingroup adults	14	.43	15	.37				
Dad	9-	.49						
Mum	12=	.48	8-	.41				
Uncles and Aunts			16=	.35				
Real Cousins			11	.40				
Kind of cousins			19	.28				

TABLE 21.5 MEAN CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION WITH NPE ENTITIES (BY ETHNIC SUBGROUP)

NPE Entities	Ethnicity of Informants							
	Indian		Pakistani		Afro-Cari.		Anglo	
	Rank out of 19	Index score	Rank out of 20	Index score	Rank out of 17	Index score	Rank out of 20	Index score
Bangladeshi kids	1	.35	1	.32	1	.49	5=	.23
Indian kids							2	.28
Italian kids							9	.19
Pakistani kids							1	.29
Ingroup adults	5=	.22	9=	.25				
Dad	9=	.20						
Mum	9=	.20	11-	.24				
Uncles and Aunts			17	.19				
Real Cousins			18	.18				
Kind of cousins			7=	.27				

shows how strong identification is with the entity, relative to the scores for the other (non-self) entities for which the ISA idexnomo programme produced output. So in Table 21.3, the ranking '12' for Indian informants' mean current identification with the entity 'mum', indicates that 11 mean current identifications are greater than this within this ethnic subgroup.

Table 21.4 presents rankings and index scores for idealistic identification with entities who on average are seen as not knowing much English.

Table 21.5 does the same for contra-identifications.

In general, ethnically Bangladeshi kids are the entity with which informants identify least (though there is some variation across and of course within subgroups on this). On the whole, their orientation towards Bangladeshi kids emphasises difference (this ISA result receives some support from conversation and observation). However, focusing particular attention on informants of Asian parentage, some of the other NPE entities are the targets of quite strong - or at least moderate - positive identification. For the ethnically Indian subgroup on all three mean indices, 'dad' has an intermediate rank position (closely followed by 'mum'), and for ethnically Pakistani informants so too does 'mum' (followed by 'real cousins'). As a result it is fair to say that there is some ambiguity in the way in which Asian informants see people regarded as 'not knowing much English' - towards Bangladeshi kids they feel fairly distant, while with at least some kin there is quite close identification. If we follow the logic of the language evaluation studies mentioned above, we must conclude that in view of this data, genuine non-proficiency in English is not assessed in a unitary way by informants of Asian parentage.

21.3 Who Are Perceived as Straight (NP) (VA)E Users, and  
How Are They Evaluated? The Interview Data

From the ISA data, we inferred that both ethnically Pakistani and Indian kin and Bangladeshi kids were straight users of (NP) (VA)E and that if the assessment of a variety is influenced by who its speakers are, (NP) (VA)E has rather contradictory associations.<sup>2</sup>

It is worth turning to the interview data now, as it relates to straight (NP) (VA)E. Firstly, it partly corroborates the broader quantitative picture ISA affords. It indicates again the number of different types of person perceived as straight (NP) (VA)E users (Bengalis - Extract 45; co-ethnic Pakistani peers - Extracts 46,50; ESL Centre children - Extracts 45,59; younger siblings - Extract 49; fathers - Extract 56; mothers - Extracts 47,48; 52,53,54,55; 57,58; Pakistani men - Extract 50; and Asian people on TV - Extract 51). Secondly, because interview data gives much more contextual detail than the ISA procedure, it provides an opportunity to understand a little more about how this contrary evaluation arises.

Thirdly, it also enables one to address a very specific question vis-à-vis the ISA evaluations. (a) Do people's positive evaluations of e.g. their mothers lead them to evaluate (NP) (VA)E positively in the context of its use by their mothers; or (b) despite generally positive estimation of e.g. their mothers, does (NP) (VA)E remain a relatively isolated aspect of their mothers' behaviour which they still don't like (i.e. their negative evaluations of that variety are highly impermeable).

Let us begin by considering data Extracts 45 to 59, which are presented in their totality in Appendix 20. These report the straight use of (NP) (VA)E in several settings and an analysis of the 'situational valency' that straight (NP) (VA)E seems to have will allow us to develop the relevance of the notion of domain to the contradictory evaluations revealed by ISA. Afterwards,

this can be amplified by items 60-71, which report informants' relationships as these are specifically affected by (NP)(VA)E.

21.3.1 The Settings In Which Straight (NP)(VA)E is Reported To Be Used, and An Interpretation of the Associated Evaluations

Extracts 45-59 contain informants' descriptions of, and stories about, straight (NP)(VA)E use. It is worth looking at the situational contexts which they feel to be relevant to (NP)(VA)E in a little detail. The contextual 'valency' of straight uses of (NP)(VA)E at first seems to be quite varied in this data, but if we look closely there is a degree of systematic patterning in it (patterning we will be more confident about when we draw in other data relevant to (NP)(VA)E).

If we look at the settings described in connection with (NP)(VA)E, we can see that three types cover most of the data:

(a) encounters around the school (Extracts 45,46 and 59).

This, for example, is Extract 46:

46

Lp in an interview. Discussion concerns 02p, a fourth year boy who had been to the ESL Centre.

Ben: you said that sometimes he makes ... he makes ...

I don't know

Lp : yeah he go he go you cucumber head

Ben: does he do that as a joke or deliberately or what by mistake

L : he he always says that (he says) shut up you and all that

Ben: do people tease him

L : yeh they call him (( ))

(b) Another group covers commercial transactions - Extracts 47,53,54,55. This is Extract 55:

55

Fi, Gi and O1w in an interview - the same as  
Extract 54

Fi: like if I go to my mum, buy me chocolate right, she  
says what ki ... she don't say what kind of chocolate,  
she just buys any one ... if you tell her to buy a  
Marathon, she go and buys Mars ...

Gi and O1w: [laugh]

Fi: she don't really know the difference you know, even  
though she could ... she knows she's good at maths ...

- (c) A third set concerns interactions within the family -  
Extracts 47,52,56,57 and 58. This is Extract 58:

58

Gi and F1 in an interview - as in Extracts 52  
and 57

Ben: and your mum picks up English from you

Gi : and my brother and my sister cos I

Ben: and and and does she som ... were you going to  
say that she sometimes picks up swearing words  
as well

G : yes, cos once I said

Ben: Does she know yea yea

G : Once I said to 14i to my brother 14i, fuck off  
right, and (she) said I'll tell you what ...  
this er

[mã dānu dās di]

fuck off and

that means

I'll give you fuck off

Ben: she said that to you

G : yes she said half in half each

Ben: aha I see

G : and I was astonished

Those not fitting these three groups are:

- 48 - Op's account of how his mum deals with one of his brother's friends coming round;
- 50 - Pakistani men at cricket matches;
- 51 - TV interactions.

Unsurprisingly perhaps, the types of straight user of (NP) (VA)E mentioned above dovetail quite neatly with these situations, so that

- Bangladeshi kids, co-ethnic Pakistani peers and Language Centre children are accounted for in school settings;
- mothers are described in commercial settings; and
- mothers, fathers and little sisters are described in family settings.

The next step is to try and make an assessment of the spirit of the encounters involving straight use of (NP) (VA)E, the degree of success involved, and the evaluations made by the informants reporting these (this is not a very coherent set of objectives, but the current data necessitates a bit of adhocery).

In the school settings, encounters involving Bengalis and a Pakistani straight user of (NP) (VA)E appear to have a conflictual adversarial element in two cases (Extracts 45 and 46; Extract 59 is much less easily classified).

In commercial transactions, Fi's (NP) (VA)E-using mother appears to be unsuccessful in two cases (Extracts 53 and 55). In both instances however, Fi stresses his mother's competence in other respects: the problem appears to be with brand names.

In the two other instances, the transactions are successful: in Extract 47, Lp evaluates his mother's English as 'first class Pakistani English'. In Extract 54, where Fi's



mother says 'Can I have a bag of aloo', this meets with success since the Anglo vegetable salesman is reported to know Punjabi words. In family settings, Gi's mother's use of (NP) (VA)E is associated with the business of asserting control over her children (Extracts 57 and 58), and in the second instance, she appears to have won the initiative emphatically when Gi reports that he was dumbfounded. Fi's accounts of parental use of (NP) (VA)E cause much amusement in Extracts 52 and 56. (In view of the way Fi makes efforts to defend his mother's competence in English in e.g. Extracts 53 and 55, and rates his father's competence positively elsewhere, the laughter evoked would seem to be friendly rather than critical, appreciative rather than ridiculing. This is certainly my subjective recollection of the way in which Fi recounted Extracts 52 and 56). Jp's account of his little sister's use of (NP) (VA)E relates to her learning to participate in wider family interactions and as such, though this is not explicit, it is not unreasonable to infer a degree of approbation on the part of Jp.

Let us summarise the fifteen data items, under three main headings: setting, type of straight user involved, and thirdly, 'rating', a very loose and ad hoc category, encompassing 'spirit of encounter', success of encounter, and implicit or explicit evaluation by the informant, all under the terms 'favourable' and 'unfavourable'.

TABLE 21.6 SUMMARY OF REPORTS OF STRAIGHT (NP) (VA)E IN USE, AND AN  
INTERPRETATION OF ASSOCIATED EVALUTATIONS

Item and informant	Summary of item	Setting	Straight users	Rating (spirit of encounter; success; evaluation)
45 (Lp)	Bengali boys responding to aggro; saying 'what is your name'	The school and its environs	Bengalis and Language Centre pupils	Unfavourable
46 (Lp)	'You cucumber head' 'Shut up'		02p (co-ethnic peer: ex Language Centre)	Unfavourable
59 (Rw)	Saying 'yes yes' in dinner queue		Language Centre pupils	?
53 (Fi)	Mum going to the shops on her own	Commercial Trans-actions	Mother	Unfavourable
55 (Fi)	Mum buying Mars instead of Marathon		Mother	Unfavourable
54 (Fi)	Mum asking for a bag of 'aloo'		Mother	Favourable
47 (Lp)	Mum handling newspaper bill		Mother	Favourable

(contd)

TABLE 21.6 (contd)

Item and informant	Summary of item	Setting	Straight users	Rating (spirit of encounter; success; evaluation)
52 (Fi)	'put the /d d/bottles outside'	Within the family	Mother	Favourable
56 (Fi)	Father saying 'fuck off' to cough		Father	Favourable
49 (Jp)	Teaching sister to say 'goodbye'		Little sister	Favourable
57 (Gi)	Mum learning E terms of abuse		Mother	Favourable
58 (Gi)	Mum reprimanding son for E swearing		Mother	Favourable
48 (Op)	Telling brother's friend he isn't in	On doorstep with brother's friend	Mother	Unfavourable
50 (Kp)	Pakistani men saying 'played'	At cricket	Pakistani men	?
51 (Ip)	People on Asian Magazine; and L driver	On TV	Asian lady	Unfavourable

On the basis of this data we can begin to advance the suggestion that straight (NP)(VA)E's contradictory evaluative connotations are related to 'domain'.

It appears to have negative associations at school, where normal behaviour is in English, and (NP)(VA)E therefore is quite likely to be seen as failure (Saifullah Khan 1985:26). Also at school, (NP)(VA)E is most frequently associated with outgroups, whether these are defined either ethnically (Bangladeshis), or institutionally (the local ESL Centre - see below Chapter 21.3.2.2).

It appears to have more positive associations in the home, where normal behaviour, at least for parents and young children is in Punjabi, so that (NP)(VA)E is much more likely to be viewed as an achievement. Also in this setting, (NP)(VA)E is used by kin.

#### 21.3.2 Home and School Relationships, As These Relate to Unequal Abilities in English

The relevance of the notion of domain is further suggested if we look at what informants say about their relationships with people who clearly speak less English than they.

##### 21.3.2.1 Some Home-based Relationships

Data extracts 60-67 (Appendix 20) afford a glimpse of how awareness of (NP)(VA)E can form an active element in informants' relationships with various people and groups associated with their home lives. The data also suggests that (NP)(VA)E is not regarded as an isolatedly disliked feature in the behaviour of people with whom they otherwise identify (cf. Chapter 21.3 above).

Several informants reported on how they behaved with their parents and with co-ethnic adults, due to these groups' lack of proficiency in English.

Three reported switching from English to Punjabi in deference to adult non-competence in English. For example, this is Bi:

61

Bi in an interview, reporting bilingual code selection with different interlocutors

Ben: when you're at the Gurdwara do you speak ... which of these do you speak mainly.

Bi : Well I speak ... to my friends right I speak English, but to whoever I know in the Church or Gurdwara, I speak in Punjabi

Ben: I see okay. All Punjabi or

B : It feels bit a bad speaking them in English cos ... well not bad right, but cos they don't understand it init and I feel a bit sad cos when they don't understand it and (you) just and they think that you're swearing at them init.

Ben: if you speak English

B : Yes, cos some people don't understand, understand it

Ben: Uhuh, that's right may think it's rude if

B : They think it's really.

Ben: yes yes

B : That's why mum tells me to speak English ... I mean speak Punjabi at home and at school you can speak English

(See also Qp and Ai in Extracts 60 and 62).

In these three cases, the use of Punjabi does not appear primarily motivated by the speaker's desire to convey referential information to their addressees. It seems to derive from politeness to adult overhearers who, it is recognised, might feel improperly excluded if kids talked English. When ingroup adults don't know much English, it is good manners to speak Punjabi.

It is probably because his parents don't know much English that Ei does a lot of phoning on their behalf (Extract 63) and reports of adult non-proficiency in English leading to bilingual children helping in various aspects of domestic administration are quite common (Ballard 1979:119; Helweg 1979:59). Conceivably kids find such tasks onerous, though Ai seems to find quite rewarding the role that his mother's lack of English casts him in. This is Extract 65:

65

Ai in an interview.

Ben: ... do you know, do you know some people who don't who don't speak ... kind of ... er ... who don't know much English. Well I mean some people here

Ai : My grandmother

Ben: And is that difficult for her

A : Difficult, she never learnt it. My mum help ... I learn my mum ... my mum learns me Punjabi, I learn her English

Ben: What you sit down, how do you do that, what you just tell her words and that kind of thing or

A : One hour she tells me Punjabi, one hour I tell her English

Ben: Oh really you do you do you just you do talk I mean what do you mean you tell her

A : Tell her these words that she has to know in work ... and

Ben: And what ... (that's yours, that's yours)

A : Yea ... and I could tell her the things that you need in the shopping centre, what you say up there ... That's all yeah

Ben: Oh I see

A : And she learns me oora alra eerie sirsa haha

Ben: Does she find it, does she find it, does she find it kind of she needs it does she at her work.

A : Yea she does.

Fi found some benefits in his mother's not knowing English (Extract 53a) and Bi indicates that his mum's NPE results in shared amusement:

66

Bi in an interview, reporting bilingual code selection (LUI)

Ben: ... when you talk to your mum, what do you talk to her in

Bi : All Punjabi

Ben: All Punjabi

Bi : Yea

Ben: And what does she ... you talk to her all in Punjabi

B : Yea

Ben: What does she speak to you in

B : Sometimes she can speak English but I laugh

Ben: Do you ... why do you laugh, what do you

B : She can't say it properly man ...

-----

Ben: Why, why do you why do you take the mickey of her when she speaks English?

B : I don't take the mickey out of her

Ben: You laugh at her, you laugh at her

B : She bloody laughs herself when I laugh cos she speaks it a bit like that Mr —— was ((a local adult known to both of us)).

These cases show four informants' personal involvement with adults not knowing much English. They show them making concessions to this and also sometimes deriving benefit and enjoyment from it. There are also instances of informants saying they take an active interest in their younger siblings not knowing English - see Extracts 49 and 67.

In and about the home, these informants appear to have a degree of solidarity with straight (NP) (VA)E users qua straight

(NP)(VA)E users. Quite a different picture emerges however in a school context, and here discussions of the local ESL Centre are relevant.

#### 21.3.2.2 Some School-based Relationships

Next door to the school which all my informants attended was the local ESL Centre,<sup>3</sup> and this was discussed in interviews with twenty-three informants. Over half explicitly connected the Centre with not knowing much English, and about a quarter identified it as being a mainly Bangladeshi school. Others said Pakistanis and Indians also went there, and some mentioned Italians and French. Some did not express evaluations, and a small proportion made neutral evaluations ('not dunces' Ci; 'alright' Tm). The majority however, reported characteristics that were in one way or another, negative. ESL Centre children were reported as 'mad' (Bi), 'dopey' (Qp, Mp), 'lazy' (Mp), 'dumb' (Ve), 'dumb in the head' (Pp), 'greasy' (Ip), 'stinking' (Ai), 'wearing odd clothes' (Ip, Op). When asked, four informants said they were teased (Hp, Ip, Rw, We). Two said they weren't (Jp, Ue). Two said 'not much/it depends' (Gi, Ci) and one said it wasn't even worth it (Ue). Some ESL Centre kids were reported to make trouble (We, O1e, Tm). Significantly, no one actually praised or spoke positively or sympathetically about ESL Centre children and this evidently contrasts with a number of the remarks made in connection with (NP)(VA)E straight users around the home.

#### 21.3.3 Preliminary Explanation of this Contrast Between Home- and School-based Evaluations

In one domain, the response to straight (NP)(VA)E appears solidary, in the other it seems stigmatising and this is in fact broadly in line with research on evaluative reactions to accented Mexican English conducted by Ryan and Carranza (1975).

From an experimental study, they concluded that Mexican



Americans preferred standard to Spanish-accented English in both home and school domains, but that in the home domain, this preference was not as clearly marked. Similarly, on rating scales designed to differentiate status-oriented from solidarity-oriented valuations, standard English was also preferred on both, but again, the preference was much less marked on solidarity scales. Concerning the type of English that my informants would prefer for themselves, the ISA data on the entity 'me as I would like to be' indicates that Asian informants would not personally like to speak English more like either ethnic Bangladeshis, their parents or co-ethnic adults, and this is roughly<sup>4</sup> in line with Ryan and Carranza's finding of overall preference for non-accented English. But at the same time, domain appears to make a difference and, as far as kin and co-ethnic adults are concerned, reactions are much more solidary than they are with regard to the Language Centre children.

In fact, the interview data allows us to go beyond Ryan and Carranza in two respects. Firstly, it tells us, as I have said before, that awareness of language difficulties can itself be an element in this solidary reaction: in Ryan and Carranza, respondents could simply be expressing their reactions to people associated with accented English in each domain, accented English being itself irrelevant to the processes by which solidary relationships are formed. Secondly, it gives an empirical indication of some of socio-structural influences on these language attitudes. Ryan and Carranza (1977:78) observe that for Mexican Americans, 'official recognition and support for a group and its language are lacking'. Within an educational context, Mexican Americans appear to have little support of Spanish but it is unclear however whether educational provision is made in such a way as to stigmatise accented-English. This may have been the case with (NP)(VA)E, at least on the evidence of my informants' evaluations. The Language Centre may have affected their views in much the same way that Cohen and Swain describe the effects of 'submersion' programmes in North America:

'If English as a second language (ESL) lessons were offered, the programs were of a pullout nature, that is, the students were segregated for ESL instruction. Pulling students out for ESL classes has often resulted in stigmatising the students as possessing a "language handicap" or a "cognitive deficit", labels which are damaging to student self esteem' (1979:145).

Certainly describing ESL children as 'dopey', 'mad' and 'dumb in the head' indicates that non-competence in English is being at least partially reconstrued as mental con-competence, and perhaps this is not surprising in any education system which is (a) monolingual and in which (b) a person's relative academic position in their year group is read as an indication of their intelligence (on the way in which 'intelligence' is institutionally constructed, see Hargreaves 1967). It would be simplistic to regard ESL withdrawal as the only reason for this response (D.E.S. 1985:386, 395); but as the institutionalisation of more deeply rooted attitudes, it probably intensified the stigma of ESL (Saifullah Khan 1985:10; see Chapter 22 below).

In contrast, accounts of parents and kin in connection with (NP) (VA)E often relate in one way or another, to the furtherance of family interests (paying bills, Extract 47; getting the milk bottles ready, Extract 52; shopping, Extract 54; sorting out arguments and promoting harmonious relations, Extracts 57,58; cementing the yard, Extract 63; work and earning, Extract 64; being agreeable to kin, Extract 49). Even when (NP) (VA)E is not used successfully, efforts to benefit the family may be involved (shopping, Extracts 53 and 55; and also perhaps Extract 48), and this may be a social influence on a more positive evaluation of (NP) (VA)E in this sphere.

#### 21.4 Domains, and a Summary of Their Relevance to Perceptions of Straight (NP) (VA)E

I have at several points referred to domain and it is now appropriate to draw back into focus the model of domains developed in Chapter 6 above. To recap: as a sociolinguistic concept, domains

are a higher order psycho-social category clustering together typically co-occurring interlocutors/role relationships, locales, topics and value-systems. They both constrain and guide the interpretation of action (Fishman 1972:49-51) and they can be seen as a kind of frame superordinate to Gumperz's activity types (see Chapter 16.3.4 above). For this field context, four domains were proposed and described: the home, the adult ethnic community, the recreational peer-group and school. Supported by data on bilingual code selection, these were clustered into two meta-domains, the first characterised as intra-ethnic in its value orientation and the second as interethnic.

These two meta-domains provide a useful way of organising the data so far on how straight (NP) (VA)E speakers are perceived:

In Intra-ethnic domains

(At Home and in the adult ethnic community)

Straight (NP) (VA)E is associated with co-ethnic and family adults (and infant kin), with whom there is sometimes moderately close ISA identification (Chapter 21.2.2). Attitudes towards such speakers seem solidary specifically with regard to NPE (Chapter 21.3) which may mainly be used for the furtherance of family interests.

Since the language normally used by adults is Punjabi, it is conceivable that any ability in English is regarded as a bonus and as an achievement.<sup>5</sup>

In Interethnic domains

(At School and in the peer-group)

Straight (NP) (VA)E is associated with an ethnic outgroup with whom there is generally remote ISA identification (Chapter 21.2.2). It is also associated with pupils at the ESL Centre, who are withdrawn from normal schooling because of (NP) (VA)E. Attitudes towards these children are disparaging overall.

Since the language normally used is English, it is likely that an inability in English is regarded as a deficit and a failure.

This is not a pattern that I have tested out with regard to each of my informants; it is however consistent with most of the data so far and indeed, extracts which at first seem relatively unusual, can be rendered consistent in the light of this model. These extracts (Extracts 68-71 below) can be seen as test cases.

21.4.1 Some 'Test Cases' (cf. Fishman 1972:49)

As far as (NP)(VA)E straight use by mothers is concerned, Np expresses the most negative evaluation:

68

Np and Op in an interview
---------------------------

Np : my mum she can't speak English at all, so I have to speak, when I go down ((the road to the shops)), I have to speak mainly thing ((Pakistani)) and you feel sort of shameful

Op: If someone hears you

Ben: Do you, speaking Urdu

N : Yea you feel sort of shameful in front of sort of your friends and that

Ben: Do you

N : yes but with my dad I speak English when I go down town.

Here there is a disjunction between mother and home, and it may be this that is the source of N's shamefulness. Home is presumably the locale in which N is both most familiar with and can best anticipate all his overhearers, whereas the street is more public and less predictable. This may be the source of his discomfort here, on the assumption that publicly N prefers to align himself with school evaluations of (NP)(VA)E.

N's kinsman O reports a similar feeling in connection with friends who can't speak much English:

69

Np and Op in an interview (the same as in Extract 68)

Ben: What how about do you agree with that Op,  
feel a bit shameful

Op: Yea, when I'm with my friends who can't speak  
English that much, I feel shameful, cos my friends  
go past all the time ... and girls go past sometimes  
and all that in our school.

O does not in fact say where his (NP) (VA)E friendships were established, though it is reasonable to imagine that they are intra-ethnically based. At home, or in the presence of other intra-ethnic domain relations, there might be no shamefulness, but of course 'domains' are not hermetically sealed and people associated with different domains, with whom you connect different value-systems, may come into close proximity.

Also of course, people cross locales and thus kinship need not automatically entail solidary or supportive attitudes to (NP) (VA)E. This is evidenced in Lp's report of his argument with Mp:

70

Lp in an interview (the same as in Extracts 45,46)

Ben: ... what do you think is bad English apart from ...

Lp : All this 'I eating bread today' and all that ...

Ben: Yea yea yea

L : Yea right we were going to town ... do you know Mp

Ben: And what ... yes yes

L : Um we were going town and we were on the bridge and  
he said a sentence like er ... he said something  
like I eating bread today and I corrected him

Ben: Uhu

L : and he got angry

- Ben: Did he  
L : He goes we ain't in school now  
Ben: Did he, did he yes yes and what do you think that  
do you think he's right or do you think do you  
think you were right to correct him or  
L : Yea I was right to correct him cos he's always  
boasting that he's in group 1 for English and  
Maths ...

Evidently, situational norms in a peer setting can be a matter of contention, and M believes that strict attitudes to (NP) (VA)E are appropriate only in school, whereas L disagrees. It is clear however, that there is agreement on what school evaluations are, and that these form a reference point: indeed, L frames the final justification of his criticism in terms of M's claims vis-à-vis the school status system.

Extract 71 contains an example of a school (NP) (VA)E user being evaluated positively, but it is noticeable that praise is framed with reference to intra-ethnic domain values:

71

Lp in an interview
--------------------

- Ben: And do you know anybody who who has ... who doesn't  
speak much English who doesn't speak English well  
you know and who has problems with English  
L : ———— , the one in the third year  
Ben: He has problems actually with English  
L : yes  
Ben: I mean he's go I mean he's good at Pakistani but  
L : Yes he's brilliant at Pakistani because he's goes to  
Mosque and if you if you ... um ... er ... he he's  
been he reads Urdu which is the posh language ... and  
um he's you know ... he knows a lot of that because  
his parents ... you know ... they're very ... they're  
you know they're they're they're regarded as holy if  
you know what I mean ...

So the basic model of straight (NP) (VA)E being negatively valued within interethnic domains, and positively or at least solidarily valued around the intra-ethnic still holds. Of course life sometimes presents combinations of people and places which do not conform to the co-occurrence expectations comprising a particular domain, and thus evaluations of straight (NP) (VA)E as used by mothers, friends and school kids vary: nevertheless, there appears to be an underlying regularity.

#### 21.4.2 Shifts in Domain Specific Evaluations?

This regularity need not be permanent of course, and as a result of/in at least one activity - sport - evaluations operative within the adult ethnic community could shift across to perceptions of straight (NP) (VA)E within the peer-group, producing a more positive orientation.

Conceivably in cricket, (NP) (VA)E could be gaining more prestigious public connotations. This would operate at two levels, one national and the other local. India's repeated successes in one day international matches have involved the defeat of England and the West Indies (amongst others): these have been victories in a high profile and prestigious event consisting of a game that has a lot of prominence in local male peer culture. The image of (NP) (VA)E speakers interethnically projected is very different from the appreciative and non-comprehending persona of much figurative (NP) (VA)E use: in public view are competitive and very successful Indian (and Pakistani) sportsmen. At local league level, cricket teams which involve ethnically Asian adults and which are observed by youngsters, may similarly present straight (NP) (VA)E in a prestigious interethnic setting.

There are several pieces of evidence which are pertinent here. In Extract 50, Kp reports Pakistani men saying 'oh played' in (NP) (VA)E, but this is in the context of a victory in which he appears to take a keen personal interest (and which he regarded as 'hard' = good - he clearly supports these (NP) (VA)E senti-

ments). Awareness of (NP)(VA)E simultaneously with public support for a joint cause in an interethnic setting was evident in a day trip to watch England vs Sri Lanka, when Lp and his brother amused themselves copying the retroflexion, aspiration and labiodental /w/s of Sri Lankan supporters' English, but supported Sri Lanka to the extent of making it awkward for the ethnically Pakistani boy who supported England. Finally, (NP)(VA)E prestige in a cricketing context could very well motivate Np's commentary in Extract 17 (e.g. 'Kapil Dev is batting now and Np is the wicket keeper for Pakistan').

Although it has a high public profile and quite a lot of cultural influence, sport of course is not one of the key institutions in the management of British society and it would make little sense to argue that the discussion here on its own demonstrated (or augured) a major alteration in the general pattern of domain-specific (NP)(VA)E evaluations. However, it usefully illustrates that the organisation of values into domains is not necessarily either categorical or static.

#### 21.5 Summary

Without yet trying to specify the nature of the relationship, this chapter has set out to place rhetorical (NP)(VA)E in the wider context of informants' own attitudes to straight (NP)(VA)E use. To do this it has drawn on two data sources, the ISA rating procedure and interviews.

The ISA data first permitted the identification of people commonly associated with straight (NP)(VA)E (or here more strictly NPE) use: ethnically Bangladeshi peers were seen by all ethnic subgroups as not knowing much English, and informants of Indian and Pakistani parentage on average also saw co-ethnic adults and some kin in the same category (the three ethnically Anglo informants on average also regarded Indian and Pakistani kids in the same light). But whereas ISA identification with



Bangladeshi kids was generally rather remote, ethnically Asian informants identified with some NPE users quite closely. Hence for these informants, attitudes to people associated with NPE can be characterised as mixed.

Analysis of the interview began with reports about straight (NP) (VA)E use, most of these relating to three settings - around the school, commercial transactions and around the home. An interpretation of the evaluations associated with each suggested that in the first, these were unfavourable, in the second, they were mixed, while in the last (around the home), they were generally favourable. Closer attention to some Punjabi-bilinguals' home-based relationships with (NP) (VA)E users suggested that (NP) (VA)E was sometimes an active element in attitudes that were at the very least solidary: informants made concessions to a lack of proficiency in English amongst co-ethnic adults, they sometimes benefited from it and positively (i.e. in a non-malicious way) enjoyed it. Around the school, however, (NP) (VA)E was linked with ESL Centre pupils about whom informants were rather disparaging. An account of this contrast could in the first instance refer to the way in which co-ethnic adults often made the effort to use (NP) (VA)E in the furtherance of family interests, while with the ESL Centre, informants might find it difficult to remain independent of the education system's forceful equation of set placement with intelligence.

The model of domains developed in Part Two was then drawn in to make sense of these data: positive and/or solidary assessment of (NP) (VA)E were linked with intra-ethnic domains, in which ethnically Asian informants had kinship ties with straight (NP) (VA)E users and in which any English usage might be viewed as an achievement since Punjabi was the (adult) norm for language use. In contrast, the negative evaluations of (NP) (VA)E were specific to interethnic domains, in which it was connected with an outgroup and in which, since English was the norm, any inability to use it fluently was more likely to be stigmatised. Reports and evaluations of straight (NP) (VA)E which seemed

anomalous (e.g. negative evaluation of parental (NP) (VA)E use) could be accommodated within this model: at the same time however, the connection between (NP) (VA)E evaluation and domains should not be regarded as necessarily static, and cricket was described as one instance of an activity which might act to improve the status of straight (NP) (VA)E in interethnic settings.

NOTES

1. Five of the informants who classified various entities as speaking normal English, indicated in interviews that some of these entities also spoke in an ethnically marked way (Lp, on his father, his mother, at least one of his uncles, and one of his cousins; Ai, on his father; Bi, on his mother; and Fi on his sisters and some ethnically Pakistani kids; Kp, on Pakistani men).

2. The question presents itself: has the label (NP)(VA)E at this point become a source of confusion? Should we in fact distinguish two or three varieties - Bengali English which is maybe negatively assessed, and Pakistani and Indian Englishes which are much less negatively assessed?

In fact, this is not necessary because it is not attitudes to straight uses of (NP)(VA)E that is the prime object of our enquiry. If it were, then we ought to have had tape-recordings of local Bengali English, local Pakistani English and then local Indian English. We would need to see the extent to which informants correctly categorised speakers, and then proceeded to evaluation from there. The purpose here however is to come to grips with rhetorical (NP)(VA)E, and in terms of their linguistic realisations and of the features of persona associated with them, there is virtually no basis for distinguishing a Bengali persona from an Indian or Pakistani persona in any of the evidence cited so far.

3. This has now been closed, and all ESL staff are deployed within schools.
4. I stress roughly, since normal English (as per ISA) is not necessarily the same as R and C's Standard (American) English (see Chapter 17.2.2 above); and R and C's preference results relate to the speech of (non-specified) others, not to the speech that respondents would prefer for themselves - rating person A's accents above person B's doesn't mean you yourself want to speak like A.
5. This view is supported by Lp's accounts:

L : you know in our family, if you speak English ...  
like erm ... there was this man ... my ... mum's ...  
no er my mum's sister's ... daughter's brother, he  
came over from Pakistan and he's a Councillor over  
there and my mum said that when he come here, test  
him out if knows any English ... because if you  
speak good English, they regard you as you know um  
... brainy ...

Ben: uhuh, in Pakistan

L : Yeh

-----  
[MS50:495:62]

L : ... you know when our uncle, he's a quite important man, ————— who go to Birmingham

Ben: Yes yes yes

L : Whenever he comes, um my parents tell us to speak in speak in English

Ben: Uhuh

L : To you know, so you know, we you know they can understand that you know you know we're you know we're being taught in English and we know a bit about it.

Ben: Ya ya ya, and that's, everybody does that do they?

L : Erm, not other ... most families do, but others don't ...

----- [MS81:586ff:63]

On the prestige of English in the Indian subcontinent, with which there are strong connections in the Asian intra-ethnic domain, see e.g. James (1974:70); Helweg (1979:88); Pandit (1979); Bhatia (1982). Qp also talks of being asked to show off his English on a visit to Pakistan.

## CHAPTER 22

### RHETORICAL (NP) (VA)E IN A SOCIETAL CONTEXT

So far, the uses of (NP) (VA)E as a rhetorical code within the peer-group have been described, and these have been set next to an account of who informants perceive its straight users to be, and the ways in which they evaluated them. The connection between rhetorical and straight uses of (NP) (VA)E is not simple however, and the error of assuming that the former are all modelled on the latter should emerge in due course. To understand more fully the origins of the rhetorical code (and its link with the straight variety), it is necessary to broaden the analytic focus beyond local ethnographic description to consider societal processes such as language shift and migration, as well as racism and the perception of ESL speakers within key British institutions.

First, I shall consider macro-social processes as these affect English within migrant minority communities. Then I shall look at some ISA data on the impact of majority sociolinguistic prejudice on the informants here. The third section attempts to explain the collective function of rhetorical (NP) (VA)E within this peer-group. The chapter concludes by affirming the relevance of the model in Chapter 16, both to interethnic actors themselves and to macro-social analysis.

#### 22.1 Macro-social Processes and (NP) (VA)E

In the attempt to draw together the data on rhetorical and straight (NP) (VA)E and to understand the rhetorical code's functions and origins, the analytic perspective offered in Hall and Jefferson (eds) (1976) and Hebdige (1979) can be particularly useful.

In their view, youth subculture requires analysis along two dimensions. Firstly, in relation to the 'parent' culture (in their writing, the class culture) from which subcultural partici-

pants derive, and secondly, in relation to the dominant culture to which both the subculture and that larger class culture are subordinated (Clarke et al. 1976:14). Subcultures are held to differ in important ways from their 'parent' culture - they have 'generational specificity', members encounter different sets of institutions from those of their parents (Clarke et al. 1976:49), and 'the symbolic aspects of a particular style are constructed out of a specific matrix of group concerns, centring around a particular set of activities, which take place within a characteristic set of institutions' (Clarke 1976:180). Yet in certain crucial respects they share the same 'fundamental and determining' 'problematic' of the parent culture, and the same 'focal concerns' (see also in fact Opie and Opie 1959:Chapter 16; Bernstein 1960).

In accordance with this perspective, I shall first outline the generational specificity of rhetorical (NP)(VA)E users in relation to their 'parent' culture (much of this has already been intimated). In the course of this, some of their shared focal concerns vis-à-vis (NP)(VA)E will emerge and then attention will shift to rhetorical (NP)(VA)E's direct relation to the dominant culture. In subsequent sections, its emergence and use will be in part interpreted as what Clarke et al. and Hebdige (apparently after Levi-Strauss) call 'bricolage'.

The generational specificity of ethnically Anglo youngsters is a complex issue which I shall not address in any detail: part of it must relate to their much greater contact with black ethnic outgroups. As far as (NP)(VA)E is concerned, the difference for them between white working-class parent culture and the interethnic subculture may be in the adjustment from uses of rhetorical (NP)(VA)E which are entirely derogatory to ones in which despite sometimes carrying echoes of deprecation, are legitimated through interethnic friendship (see below Chapter 22.4). How ethnic minorities which are non-Asian are involved in 'generation' specific uses and reactions to (NP)(VA)E is a complex question on which I offer no suggestions.

The generational specificity of evaluations of (NP) (VA)E for Bedford-born/educated children of Pakistani and Indian parentage has been implicit in the model of domain-specific (NP) (VA)E assessments: it related to their more comprehensive participation (from an earlier age) in majority society and racially mixed institutions (school and peer-group) and partly to the shift in the sociolinguistic status of English resulting from migration.

In Pakistan and India, English exists as a prestigious language (Pandit 1979; Bhatia 1982) and in rural villages the ability to speak it is not ordinarily expected - when it is spoken, this is likely to be regarded as an accomplishment. In Britain, fluency in English is the norm and any inability to speak it fluently is stigmatised. With regard to English, one may say that migration to Britain entails moving from a situation approximating diglossia with elite bilingualism, to one of minority bilingualism without diglossia (Fishman 1972:Ch.VI).

The children of migrants are situated more centrally in this status shift than their parents to the extent that their participation in interethnic institutions is greater. Home and the adult ethnic community to a degree preserve the evaluation of English current in the Indian subcontinent, and in intra-ethnic domains children can be sympathetic and supportive when their parents lack proficiency in English (see Chapter 21). Fluent but accented English in co-ethnic adults may be regarded with respect and the pride that parents may have in their children's superior proficiencies can be enjoyed. Furthermore, (NP) (VA)E may be used by children as a straight style in talking to co-ethnic adults (see Chapter 18.6 above). At school however, a lack of proficiency in English can lead to segregation in special classes and it is associated with children recently arrived in Britain who are not only viewed as lacking academic competence but also, often coming from rural settings overseas, are highly inexpert with regard to the norms of local interethnic youth culture.

To a degree then, the 'generational specificity' of these youngsters' cultural perspectives on English can be seen as the product of recent migratory history and in some respects, this generational difference might result with any group which moves to a foreign industrial centre (e.g. the children's greater familiarity with the new language, their fuller participation in majority institutions, their sensibility to the stigma of withdrawal for classes in the second language). However, such population movements are often structured to a high degree by particular long term political and economic relationships. In the instance of migration from India and Pakistan, this relationship shows up in certain majority perceptions of Asian English and to a degree, rhetorical (NP) (VA)E can be seen as a local response to still powerful, historically rooted, sociolinguistic stereotyping. In part, rhetorical (NP) (VA)E is addressing itself to an element in the cultural legacy of colonialism and in this light, the generational continuity of peer-group activity emerges. These points require elaboration.

For administrative purposes, British Rule in India required certain sectors of the Indian population to speak English. Yet the English acquired in this way by Indians was held in low esteem by the white colonial class, and this is evidenced in the way in which the term 'babu' developed derogatory connotations, at least from the latter half of the nineteenth century onwards. Babu was the term used to describe members of this indigenous clerical group as well as their English, and the features associated with this stereotype included deference, superficial education and comicality.

With post-war migration, this babu image became revitalised within domestic British cultural frameworks, so that people from the Indian subcontinent were and still are very often portrayed as foolish, passive, comical and perhaps above all non-proficient in English. This has been propounded in the mass-media and it also appears to have been influential in the education system, where features of the babu have been transformed into stereo-



types of ethnically Asian children as being keen to learn but over-ambitious, and as only superficially fluent in English.

For both older and younger people of Asian extraction, majority attitudes to their English in particular have led to discrimination and the denial of rights. Variations on the theme of babu language have provided cultural justifications for structural subordination. Recently however, this stereotype has become the site of considerable ideological dispute. Its projection of passivity and deference have been challenged by a good deal of political activism, the necessity and value of ESL teaching has been thrown into doubt and extensive national coverage has been given to the dismissal of a head teacher who (among other things) propounded this stereotype.

These points are discussed in some detail in Appendix 23. We can sum them up here by saying that on the one hand, amongst others, colonial attitudes to Indian English continue in various forms today, and on the other, that questions about the truth, appropriacy and manipulation of the white cultural stereotype of babu have become particularly salient over the last few years.

## 22.2 The Peer-group and Majority Sociolinguistic Stereotyping

Before addressing the role of rhetorical (NP) (VA)E itself in this wider context, it is worth pursuing the issue of racist sociolinguistic stereotyping raised in the preceding section, and seeing what evidence there is of its direct impact on this peer-group.

As far as the empirical dimensions of the local analysis are concerned, there is no evidence that variations on the babu image were influential at the point where my informants encountered the education system. A proper ethnography of the schooling processes they experienced would be needed to investigate that issue.<sup>1</sup>

Nor is there evidence of how informants themselves perceived educational attitudes towards their English, or indeed socio-linguistic attitudes within dominant culture generally. However, certain elements which I have interpreted<sup>2</sup> as inhering in the (NP) (VA)E rhetorical persona (and some evidence from reports of straight (NP) (VA)E) do indicate awareness of media stereotypes,<sup>3</sup> and hence some perception of continuing sociolinguistic prejudice in dominant social institutions. The feature of appreciativeness which I attributed to the persona occurs frequently in 'comic' impression (e.g. Jim Davidson 16.7.1986); 'goodness gracious' (Extract 44) derives from Peter Sellers; the connection with scatology links with racist jokes about Asian food; and politeness and social non-competence are also features attributed to the rhetorical (NP) (VA)E persona which have widespread media currency (see Appendix 23 and Extract 51).

In this climate, it seems unlikely that youngsters of Asian parentage should have no sense that majority culture not only inculcates the older generation, but may also implicate their own in this derogation.

Of course, awareness of a stereotype is not acceptance of it and there is evidence that informants of India-Asian parentage neither see themselves as non-proficient in English, nor as passive. Majority definitions of Asian people in terms of babu have certainly not achieved 'hegemony' (Clarke et al. 1976:38) and the ISA data undermines the suggestion that rhetorical (NP) (VA)E might reflect linguistic insecurity.

Clarke et al. (1976:12) make a distinction between 'culture' and 'ideology':

'Dominant and subordinate classes will each have distinct cultures. But when one culture gains ascendancy over the other, and when the subordinate culture experiences itself in terms prescribed by the dominant culture, then the dominant culture has also become the basis of a dominant ideology.'

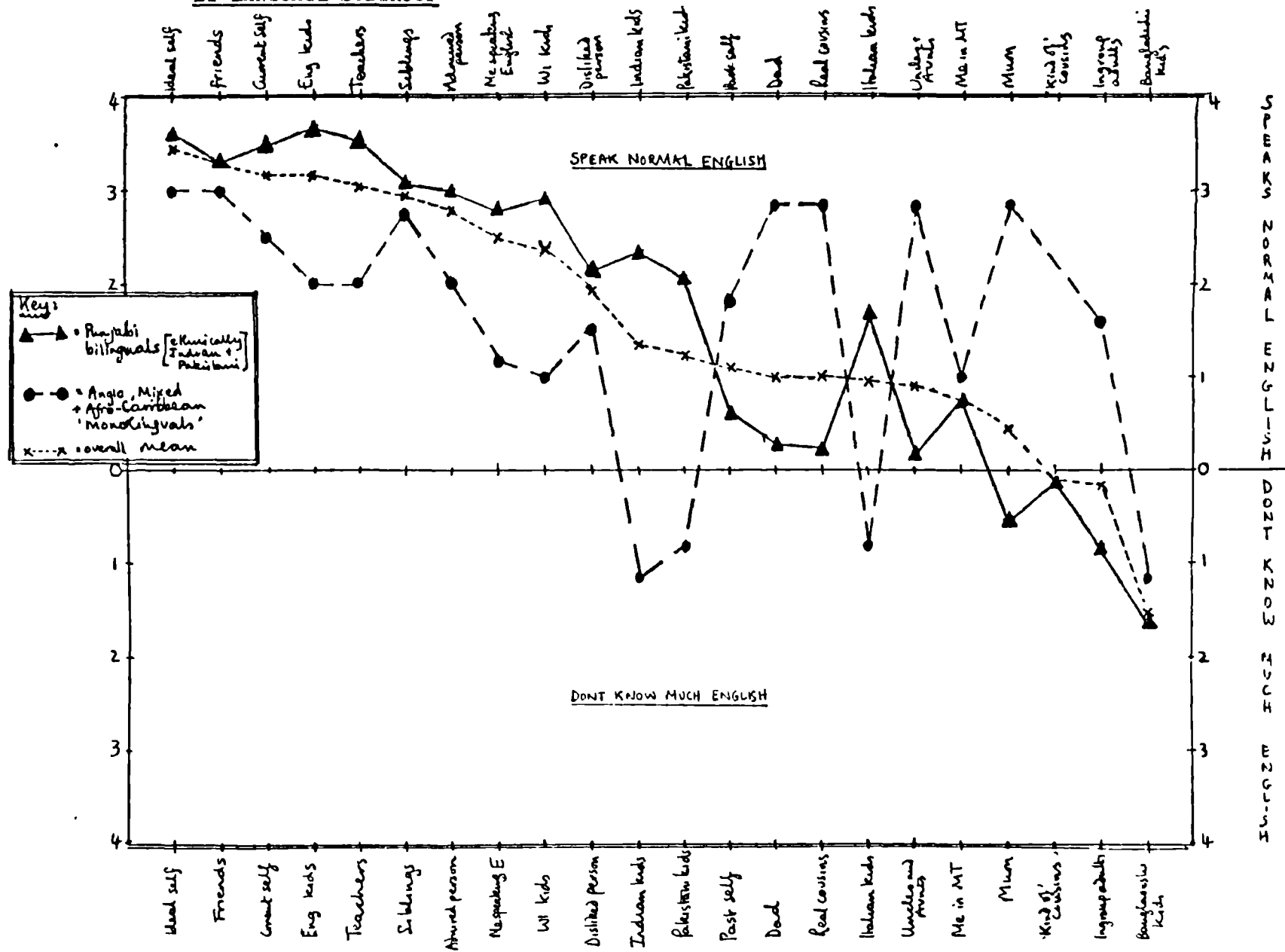
Stereotypes about the English of Asian people have not become the dominant ideology in this peer-group, and the evidence on this comes once more from the ISA data on 'speaks normal English' vs 'don't know much English'.

Graph 22.1 overleaf summarises some of the data on group means in Table 21.1, Chapter 21.2.1, this time charting group means for Punjabi/Pakistani bilinguals as opposed to (what might very crudely be called) monolinguals (ethnically Anglo, Mixed and Afro-Caribbean informants). Once again, the number of informants involved is small (especially in the latter group), and as far as any wider generalisation is concerned the data here is primarily suggestive. However, it raises doubts about the customary assumption that bilinguals are especially insecure in English (e.g. D.E.S. 1985:425) in several ways.

Firstly, one would assume that linguistically insecure people would like to speak rather differently from how they currently think they do: in ISA terminology, one would expect a big gap between how people see their ideal as opposed to their current English speaking selves. On average for Punjabi bilinguals, there is hardly any such gap - mean ratings on the constructs 'speaks normal English' are 8.6 for 'ideal self' and 8.5 for 'current self'. In fact, the data here suggest that it is monolinguals who are rather keener to talk differently from how they do at present. Indeed, monolinguals rate their current selves lower than the bilinguals do.

Secondly, bilinguals have no significant entities around them who they think speak much more normally than they do - only teachers and English kids are regarded as equally or marginally more normal than they. This comparability between bilinguals' mean ratings of their current selves and their ratings of teachers, suggests that they view their English as as socially acceptable as anyone's, and again in comparison with monolinguals (and contrary to Swann) it looks from this data as though they may be more linguistically at ease in a school environment. It

GRAPH 22.1: MEAN ENTITY RATINGS ON THE CONSTRUCT 'SPEAKS NORMAL ENGLISH' vs 'DON'T KNOW MUCH ENGLISH',  
BY LANGUAGE SUBGROUP



is quite possible, given that proficiency in English is regarded in South Asia and in intra-ethnic domains as an accomplishment, that these bilinguals define their abilities in relation to these Asian views, and that their confidence grows as they receive support, praise and concomitantly mature responsibilities from their parents (in this light, the large gap between mean ratings of normal English with regard to 'current' as opposed to 'past self' could accompany a strong sense of achievement in these informants).

In contrast, 'monolingual' children may have grown up amongst non-standard dialect speakers who for many years have had their English disparaged. Consequently, they may have passed some of this on to their kids. If that is the case, then the 'monolinguals'' ratings of teacher English as less normal than their own could reflect the operation of 'covert prestige', with various kin (dad, mum, siblings, cousins, uncles, aunts) and friends being held as much closer to those (non-standard) norms to which these informants really aspire. In that event, monolinguals (bidialectals) may be the ones to feel linguistically uncomfortable at school.

So, not only does it seem that the use of rhetorical (NP) (VA)E in the peer-group does not accompany feelings of linguistic insecurity amongst Asian members; as far as they are concerned, this aspect of the dominant culture also does not seem to have achieved hegemony. Or at least it has not done so with regard to bilingual informants. One striking difference between their mean ratings on this bipolar construct and the monolinguals' relates to the entities 'Indian kids' and 'Pakistani kids'. Monolinguals are much less ready to assert the normalness of Indian and Pakistani kids' English than the ethnically Indian and Pakistani informants themselves.<sup>4,5</sup> In this respect, some members of the polyethnic peer-group may indeed be partially aligned with the dominant culture, a point which (a) supports the suggestion made above (Chapter 22.1) that the generational specificity of monolingual rhetorical (NP) (VA)E

consists in the adjustment it sometimes entails away from derogatory attitudes to (NP) (VA)E; and/or (b) intimates an aspect of the ambiguity and difficulty that non-bilinguals could feel in using the code in interethnic settings in the absence of considerable friendship support (see below Chapter 22.4).

So, whereas bilingual informants appear to be free from the influence of attitudes in the dominant culture about Asian non-proficiency in English, the signs of its rejection are not as clear amongst non-bilinguals. However, with regard to another major dimension of the babu persona - submissiveness and deference - the ISA data suggests that on average neither bilingual nor monolingual members of the peer-group subscribe to the view of Asians it implies.

On the construct 'tough' vs 'weak', monolingual informants on average rated 'Pakistani kids' as tougher than English kids, and second only to West Indian kids in toughness. Indian kids were rated as only marginally less tough than Anglos by these monolinguals. Amongst informants of Asian parentage, there was also no suggestion that Asian kids were weak ( 2 submissive, or deferential), and both Indian and Pakistani kids were rated as quite a lot tougher than English kids. Finally, bilingual informants rated all of the entities who 'didn't know much English' as also being tougher than English kids. The dominant culture may cluster Asian extraction, non-proficiency in English and weakness via the babu stereotype, but this is not regarded as an adequate reflection of reality by any of the subgroups within the peer-group<sup>6</sup> (for details of this analysis of the ISA data, see Appendix 24).

The analysis so far has suggested the following with regard to English and youngsters of Asian extraction. Migration to Britain has led to a shift in the sociolinguistic status of English. It has also seen the revitalisation of the racist stereotype of babu, to which certain aspects of the rhetorical

(NP) (VA)E seem connected. This stereotype is not accepted by Asian bilinguals as a genuine reflection of their own reality, although the linguistic part of it might be said to sometimes accord with the views of the monolingual informants. We are now in a better position to consider the function of rhetorical (NP) (VA)E.

### 22.3 Rhetorical (NP) (VA)E as Subcultural Style

Attempts have been made to explicate rhetorical (NP) (VA)E at speech act level, but we must now ask what role rhetorical (NP) (VA)E plays as a variety within the repertoire of the peer-group. What generalisations can we offer about its function as a collective form?

At a fairly simple level, we may suggest that like much subcultural style generally, rhetorical (NP) (VA)E is a device for unifying the peer-group (Clarke et al. 1976:47; Bernstein 1960:73). A summary of the people using it and the manner in which it occurs, based on the extracts cited here, provides some evidence for this.

Rhetorical (NP) (VA)E is often clearly associated with laughter (see Extracts 16,18,19,14,33<sup>2</sup>, 27) and cases where it obviously involves conflict between interlocutors are comparatively few: 16 (where the laughter seems to be at 01b's expense), 24 and 26 (and 31?). In contrast, it appears to be associated with good humour and excitement in Extracts 11,12 and 13; the enjoyment of story telling/shared recollection (Extract 18); approval of other people's work (Extract 20); mock conflict mutually understood as such (Extract 21, and 19 perhaps), collective and rowdy hilarity (Extract 14).

As far as the ethnicity of peer-group members is concerned, rhetorical (NP) (VA)E appears to be used in relatively open ethnically mixed settings (where lots of people can overhear) by youngsters of Pakistani parentage (Extracts 17,22,31), of Indian

parentage (Extracts 20,21,25,35<sup>2</sup>) and by Anglos (Extracts 34,39). There appears to be no attempt at concealment or inhibition in these uses (see also Extracts 1 and 3), either in the playground, in lessons at Summer School, during cricket, football or at the Youth Club. It is also used by ethnic Anglos to people of Asian parentage (Extracts 32,33,39) and given Mr 04e's role as an informal, friendly and popular youth worker, it would be surprising if in Extracts 32 and 33 any offence were intended. It is used by Asians to whites in e.g. Extracts 25<sup>2</sup>,28,32,36,37,38,40; by whites to whites (Extract 30) and between Afro-Caribbean and Mixed race youngsters (Extract 24). It is used between Pakistanis (Extract 19), between Indians (Extract 35), by Pakistanis to Indians (Extract 41) and by Pakistanis to Indians and Pakistanis (Extract 18). Sometimes it is used in the presence of straight (NP)(VA)E users (Extracts 16,21,23), some of whom were ethnically Bangladeshi, but as far as this data is concerned, this is the exception rather than the rule. All in all, it appears that in terms of ethnicity, overhearers and interlocutors produce no obvious constraints on the use of rhetorical (NP)(VA)E.

Consistent with this, it seems that at least the main stereotypic persona associated with rhetorically (NP)(VA)E enactment is to quite a large degree interethnically shared. Ethnically non-Asians enact appreciativeness (Extracts 8,10 - cf. ethnically Asian enactments Extracts 6,13,18,20,21,35), non-competence (Extracts 9,32,33,34 vs Asian 3,4,5,18,31), polite scatology (Extract 9 vs 14), polite protest<sup>2</sup> (01it in 6 vs Extracts 32,43,44) and incomprehension (Extract 24 vs Asian 3,4,5,6,14<sup>2</sup>,27). Only religiousness has no cross-ethnic currency (Ue in Extract 30). Also, this persona's function in its contexts of enactment is similar - there is ethnically non-Asian teasing<sup>2</sup> (Extract 24), reported speech (Extract 30) and requesting (Extract 39).

This descriptive summary indicates the wide interethnic spread of rhetorical (NP)(VA)E. It may be said to unify the



polyethnic peer-group in so far as it is often good humoured and generally ethnically non-specialised. It could be perhaps also a mechanism by means of which some members achieve particular renown through their innovative deployment of its ritual formulae (cf. Opie and Opie 1959; Bernstein 1960:72; Labov 1972b: Ch.8). With rhetorical (NP)(VA)E, maybe O1p reported in Extracts 1,2 and 3 has the reputation of an especially accomplished user.

On its own however, that view misses the particularity of rhetorical (NP)(VA)E and also its wider socio-cultural location. In order to capture that, it is useful to define 'bricolage' as used by Clarke et al. and Hebdige:

'In ... the process of stylistic generation, we have made partial and somewhat eclectic use of Levi-Strauss' concept of "bricolage" - the reordering and recontextualisation of objects to communicate fresh meanings, within a total system of significances, which already includes prior and sedimented meanings attached to the objects used ... when the bricoleur relocates the significant object in a different position within that discourse, using the same overall repertoire of signs, or when the object is placed within a different total ensemble, a new discourse is constituted, a different message conveyed ... We are considering recently-current "unofficial" styles, where the stylistic core (if there is one) can be located in the expression of a partly-negotiated opposition to the values of the wider society ... the practitioner of subcultural "bricolage" is ... constrained by the existing meanings of the signs within a discourse - the objects, the "gear" used to assemble a new subcultural style must not only already exist, but must also carry meanings organised into a system coherent enough for their relocation and transformation to be understood as a transformation' (Clarke 1976:177; see also Hebdige 1979:103,104).

What at least some rhetorical (NP)(VA)E seems to be reordering and recontextualising is the babu image entertained within the dominant society and promulgated in the mass media (on the close and interactive association between the media and youth

subculture, see Clarke 1976:182; Hebdige 1979).<sup>7</sup> It takes an image of powerlessness and subordinate non-competence and utilises it to its own ends. The 'sedimented' meanings from the media are thus relocated in a new context in such a way that the persona serves its user's own ends, thus converting an image of weakness into a means of manipulation and control (as in e.g. getting out of trouble, teasing; also even the double-bind entailed in the self humbling requests hypothesised in Chapter 19.6). Very often the persona is sufficiently clearly and coherently delineated for it to be immediately recognised as a transformation, but due to the essential interactivity between tenor and vehicle in metaphorical usage, at times in the data above, the sedimented meanings from the persona's location within the discourse of the dominant culture get blurred, and what seems clearest is the assertiveness of the rhetorical (NP) (VA)E persona (hence perhaps much of the interpretive uncertainty, at least for the analyst). That the persona can be directly oppositional with regard to dominant white society is most clearly illustrated in Extracts 1,3 and 4.

The nature of the resistance represented in rhetorical (NP) (VA)E needs to be more carefully defined than that however. The opposition represented in Extracts 1,3 and 4 is rare for its explicitness, and it would be distorting the rest of the data, and succumbing to a 'visionary idealism' tempted to see oppositional force in any youth subculture, if the account were left there (on such 'visionary idealism', see Clarke et al. 1976:10; Hebdige 1979:60,86,138,139). Youth subculture is usually 'a mix of resistance and accommodation' (Clarke et al. 1976:44), in which members both contest and agree with dominant definitions (Hebdige 1979:86). Not purely oppositional, youth subculture is also a means by which the 'focal concerns' of subordinate groups are also 'coped with', 'lived through' and 'negotiated' (Clarke et al. 1976). The informants here of Asian parentage have evidently not accepted the babu stereotype as an adequate definition of either themselves or their kin, yet it may be that their generally negative attitude towards the ESL Centre, and their

sometimes rather unsympathetic stance towards ethnically Bangladeshi kids<sup>8</sup> have been partially channellised/generated through the dominant society's definitions and evaluations of (NP)(VA)E (see e.g. Extract 16; and Chapter 21.3.2.2). Given the rarity of instances of clear opposition to white authority figures, as well as the domain-specific duality in these youngsters' views of straight (NP)(VA)E, the complexity of the ways in which the rhetorical code functions requires more careful statement.

The language shift perspective stresses the generational specificity of peer-group concerns, and in particular, the greater participation in dominant institutions of ethnically Asian children relative to their parents. In this context, their use of rhetorical (NP)(VA)E perhaps represents a participation in popular culture by referring to racist stereotypes, while simultaneously declaring their independence from them, overwhelmingly in a spirit of good humour. In this way it unifies the peer-group without necessarily capitulating to the dominant ideology. It acknowledges and plays with the image of babu as a salient element in white culture, yet by invoking it as an alter-identified figurative persona, it insists that the speaker (and the friends co-opted into its imaginary realm) are in reality separate from it. At the heart of such rhetorical acts is the assertion that the stereotype of babu can only have the status of 'alibi', not 'myth' (Barthes 1972;<sup>9</sup> also Hebdige 1979:101,102).

Indeed it is as an alter-identified figurative style challenging myth in the sense of 'natural', taken-for-granted, conventional reality that rhetorical (NP)(VA)E can also be seen as a form of resistance. For ethnically Asian kids to use a stereotypically Asian manner of speaking in a clearly alter-identified way invokes and subverts those dominant definitions. It raises and then questions whether they bear any relation to truth. In the polyethnic peer-group, in which monolinguals may incline to view ethnically Asian peers as non-proficient in English, non-rhetorical (NP)(VA)E can be seen as a non-confrontational method of undermining that tendency.

So within the perspective of Clarke et al., (some parts of) rhetorical (NP) (VA)E can be seen as a form of both participation and resistance. In this context, there is particular appropriacy in Hebdige's characterisation of subcultural style as 'a form of resistance in which experienced contradictions and objections to the ruling ideology are obliquely represented in style' (1979: 133, my emphasis). Also that subcultural bricolage 'opens up the world of (normative) objects to new and covertly oppositional readings' (my emphasis). In an interethnic peer-group, members are differentially exposed to racist ideologies and a good deal of peer-group activity continues with these differences submerged. Also, full resistance to the racism in society requires considerable effort and independence. As covert and oblique criticism of dominant definitions, rhetorical (NP) (VA)E may be said to express concern about racism without destroying the peer-group in this locality as a relatively unified interethnic institution. Methods of direct confrontation would run that risk. In fact, we may hypothesise that in exclusively intra-ethnic Asian peer-groups, such uses of rhetorical (NP) (VA)E would be fewer. Likewise amongst groups with fully developed stances of political opposition to the dominant culture, uses of rhetorical (NP) (VA)E which invoked babu would be surprising.

So far then the function of rhetorical (NP) (VA)E as a collective resource has been characterised in terms of theories of resistance and subcultural style. Yet by no means all rhetorical (NP) (VA)E indirectly invokes babu, and it is incorrect to view this rhetorical code as in origin having only negative connotations.

There are a number of instances in which this view seems analytically irrelevant to the use of the (NP) (VA)E code. There are psycho-socially significant people within the social sphere of ethnically Asian youngsters who are perceived to talk English with Punjabi accents, and these will maybe be echoed in ways which do not (obliquely or otherwise) address majority society's linguistic prejudice. The cricket commentary (and comparable

instances) discussed in Chapter 19.5 are likely to have origins in ingroup activity and one reading of the use of (NP) (VA)E in requests is that it is a form of Punjabi foreigner talk, in which Punjabi bilinguals are making concessions to the linguistic non-competence of English monolinguals (or monolinguals do their best to use Punjabi). The Anglo stereotype is also irrelevant to the use of (NP) (VA)E by youngsters to co-ethnic Asian adults as in Extract 7, in which it was hypothesised that (NP) (VA)E might exist as part of their repertoire of straight styles.

Finally, the analytic focus of this study is itself likely to result in these latter dimensions being underestimated in comparison with negative connotations of (NP) (VA)E. (NP) (VA)E does not exist in isolation as a rhetorical style in the peer-group. It also exists next to frequent intra- and cross-ethnic uses of Caribbean Creole and Punjabi. Unfortunately, time and space constraints mean that only (NP) (VA)E has been fully analysed here and inevitably, by removing it from the larger sociolinguistic ecology, the emerging portrait is vulnerable to partiality and distortion.

This applies particularly in relation to Punjabi and in most acute form, in connection with Punjabi-English code-mixing. Even the small quantity of data in Appendix 20 indicates that as in Leeds (Agnihotri 1979) and Birmingham (Chana and Romaine 1984), code mixing is a local linguistic practice. This raises the question: is any given item of Punjabi-accented English an instance of code mixing or of rhetorical language learner language/secondary foreigner talk?<sup>10</sup> Depending on the way in which an accented item is construed, one of several realms of cultural meaning swing into relevance.

Seen as ESL talk, the conjured symbolic framework originates in majority society perceptions of non-proficient English: the linguistic items in part index the ideology of babu and bilingual stigmatisation, although also of course, peer-group (NP) (VA)E bricolage. Already in this notion of bricolage, the subtractive

associations of (NP) (VA)E are being nudged towards a change in value (or at least towards simultaneous alternative resonances). A much more separate set of positive associations are relevant if accented English items are read as code mixing.

It is regrettable that there has been no chance to analyse local code mixing more fully, since it is necessary as a result to remain extremely tentative. However, it is worth adumbrating a few of the possible connotations that might emerge in this light.

Conceivably the ratio of English to Punjabi in an utterance is important here (cf. Chana and Romaine 1984). If the bulk of it is Punjabi, with relatively few English intrusions, maybe the cultural values appropriate to home are the ones most active in utterance interpretation. Conversely, if the ratio is reversed and English is predominant, the resonances could be more peer-group-specific, with, for example, interethnic use of Punjabi normally occurring in association with stances and practices which in one way or another reflect and/or express the inter-ethnic peer-group's partial independence from white adults at school (see Appendix 25). Other blends of Punjabi and English may imply different spheres of cultural relevance (see Agnihotri 1979:175 on mixing being positively assessed in intra-ethnic peer-groups), and obviously besides language selection, other semiotic features will suggest an utterance's connotative scope. But two things should be clear.

First, there is evidently scope for seeing rhetorical Indian English as more than the peer-group obliquely addressing issues originally framed within dominant society. Certainly, to the extent that peer-group (NP) (VA)E takes its momentum from the mixed code<sup>11</sup> (or indeed Punjabi), the terms and manner of the symbolic discourse can be viewed as (a) focused more around images of Asian power or autonomy than weakness. It can also be seen as (b) locally generated rather than taking a cue from the mass media.

The second point worth stressing is the complexity of the symbolic valency of Indian accented English linguistic items. It would not only be wrong to generalise and say that peer-group (NP) (VA)E is e.g. 'they-' rather than 'we-coded'. It would also be simplistic to say that the value constituting its ambiguity can be adequately summarised by that kind of merely binary contrast.

Such then are dimensions of (NP) (VA)E that would press themselves more fully into the analysis, if it had been possible to examine the symbolic economy of peer-group language varieties more fully. Ideas about the spread and use of Punjabi and Creole are outlined in a bit more detail in Appendix 25. One further observation about rhetorical (NP) (VA)E in this wider socio-linguistic context is necessary in order to round off this characterisation of it as subcultural style.

It is important not to exaggerate the scale of rhetorical (NP) (VA)E. While it indubitably exists in the peer-group's repertoire, only about thirty instances of it actually being used were recorded in the course of many hours of taped data and observation. Indeed, in comparison with Punjabi and Creole, it is not deployed with great frequency and it is reasonable to suppose that many youngsters make no use of it at all (cf. e.g. Clarke et al. 1976:16; Hebdige 1979:122). In my view, it is a complex and fascinating cultural phenomenon, but this should not be allowed to mislead the reader as to its incidence.

Let us now turn to the final section in this chapter, in order to review the utility of the interactional framework developed in Chapter 16, to the increasingly ethnographic and macro social enterprise developed in the chapters which followed it.

#### 22.4 Subcultural Style, Interethnic Relations and the Model of Interactional Code-switching

Clarke et al. (after Cohen 1972) repeatedly emphasise that 'in subcultures ... there are no career prospects as such' (Clarke 1976:191; Clarke et al. 1976:47):

'Subcultures ... address a common class problematic, yet attempt to resolve by means of an "imaginary relation" ... the "real relations" they cannot otherwise transcend' (1976:33)

'There is no "subcultural career" for the working class lad, no "solution" in the sub-cultural milieu, for problems posed by the key structuring experiences of the class. There is no "subcultural solution" to working-class youth unemployment, educational disadvantage, compulsory miseducation ... Subcultural strategies ... "solve", but in an imaginary way, problems which at the concrete material level remain unresolved' (*ibid.*, p.47)

As far as (NP)(VA)E is concerned, the societal and educational forces promoting variants of the babu stereotype are considerable. It would be unrealistic to propose that those rhetorical uses of the code which address these variants, will be sufficient to stop the denigration of non-native English which is part of the 'monolingual ideology' (Saifullah Khan 1985). But beyond offering a sobering and relevant note on the force of subcultures to change the dominant order, the quotations above indicate that the analytic concepts used to describe micro-behavioural code-switching also offer a critical angle on macro-behaviours such as subcultural styles.

Situational code-switching was originally defined as initiating frames which interlocutors were expected to accept as the basis for ensuing (normally ego-identified) interaction: they changed the interactional category that had until then been dominant. Figurative switching in contrast introduced new frames which only supplemented and did not replace the main ones in operation. Of course, addressees could take up figurative initi-



atives and jointly participate in figurative situations - indeed the definitions of the ordinary (and ego-identified) could be altered as a result of this process. The point implicit in Clarke et al. is however that 'dominant categorisations' are not merely those categorisations accepted by two participants (as the basis of interaction) which figurative switches don't usually replace: dominant categorisations also exist at a much more general level, codified in the dominant culture and en-  
sconced within a huge array of political, economic and social subsystems which ultimately it is very hard for any individual to ignore. In Clarke et al.'s analysis, subcultures entail joint participation in what are ultimately only figurative situations: activity within each may be elaborated and sustained for long periods by lots of people, but finally survival usually requires a return to the institution constituting the dominant order/the 'real world' (cf. Chapter 16.3.5 above; also Hebdige 1979:106 for 'bricolage' as metaphor).

The analytic compatibility between the model of sociolinguistic code-switching systematised above and these sociological perspectives emerges in other definitions. Take, for example, Hebdige's 'spectacular subcultures' (1979:91,101). In challenging the dominant order, these constitute a form of multi-item initiative design, and what at an interpersonal level entails non-conformity to the expectancies attributed to the hearer, at a societal level can be seen as non-conformity to consensual definitions of the ordinary and normal. 'Cultures' and 'subcultures' are both forms of superordinate frame with which the model of code-switching developed in Chapter 16 can equally cope: if it is insisted that sociolinguistic analysis of code-switching must stick with 'activity types' as its only frames (see Chapter 16.3.4 above), an opportunity is lost for a systematic and coherent exploration of the relationship between micro and macro levels in the sociology of language.

Beyond this analytic utility, the figurative vs situational code-switching distinction also focuses centrally on a major

issue of uncertainty and contention amongst interethnic actors themselves.<sup>12</sup> Sections 16.3.5 and 16.3.7 have already suggested something of this but it is perhaps worth drawing out, for example, the way in which a figurative initiative may be genuine, or alternatively, covertly situational, and how this ambivalence can be manipulated and interpreted from different socio-structural positions.

An apparently humorous derogatory comment may be covertly intended/interpreted as a serious contribution to the definition of reality (= a masked situational initiative, along the lines of which it is implied that normal interaction should really proceed) or presented/taken as a merely tangential adjunct (= figurative switch). The interpretation of a remark will be strongly influenced by actors' relative positions in the social structure. It was proposed earlier that young people of Asian parentage could be invoking rhetorical (NP) (VA)E figuratively as a non-confrontational way of challenging a dominant stereotype which monolingual friends might hold: here these might be oblique ideological designs. Where they are intimates and there is mutual confidence that a particular stereotype is jointly understood as non-identifiable with the bilingual interlocutor, a monolingual may presumably return or initiate the persona in a joking relationship, in which there is 'permitted disrespect' (cf. Labov 1972b:332 ff. on the necessity of ritual insults being understood as alter-identified for everyone).<sup>13</sup> Indeed, this might generate the momentum for much rhetorical (NP) (VA)E interchange, with the ideological intent merely attributed by the analyst.

However, given a position of social dominance, a figurative initiative which is derogatory to a minority, is likely to be (seen as) a non-confrontational way of proposing and enhancing the minority's subordination. There are a number of graphic illustrations of pupils and teachers arguing about whether the status of an initiative is situational or figurative in Wright (1985) ('How do we know that it's a joke, in my opinion that was a dis-

respectful thing to say, ... those so-called jokes were no jokes ... teachers shouldn't make racist jokes' p.209; see also pp. 213,216,227). In general, the social distance between them is probably too great for pupils to have any confidence that teachers didn't really ego-identify with the import of their remarks and more importantly, the power asymmetry and history of interethnic relations mean that whatever the teachers' personal intentions and views behind their comments, the meta-messages implied by their institutional positions lead to their interpretation as covertly situational ('I can't hear what you are saying, what you are is speaking too loud'; ibid., p.205).

Illustrations such as these at an interpersonal level have many counterparts at a societal level: for example, Honeyford described the comparison of an Asian parent with Peter Sellers as having 'a certain humour' (Sunday Times, 15.12.1985; cp. Dummett 1984:218; Hartman and Husband 1970; Husband 1977). It is hard to see the derogatory 'figurative' initiatives from this direction and in the mass media as anything other than racist, and given the currency of the pejorative stereotype in white culture and the ISA suggestion that monolinguals are more inclined to see Asian kids as straight (NP)(VA)E users, it would be surprising if white monolinguals did not need to have fairly solidary relations before using (NP)(VA)E rhetorically (cf. Mitchell-Kernan 1972:177). Certainly, reported out of context to another white person, the use of rhetorical (NP)(VA)E may be felt to have offensive implications which then require the self-justifications evidence in Extracts 9 and 10 (see also Ferguson 1975:3,10).

Certainly, the relationships of power and distance existing between actors are not always mutually understood and agreed on, but differing interpretations of the force of an initiative need not always result in conflict. Here is a final illustration, drawn from a different area and concerning a different racial stereotype, but indicating the same kind of creative management of the interactional uncertainties in figurative and situational

code-switching that has been described for rhetorical (NP)(VA)E in Bedford:

'I was walking down the road at night, coming back from a meeting organised by the Defence Committee for those arrested. I noticed two Afro-Caribbean youths walking towards me. As they reached me they parted and circled me. One of them stuck his hand deeply into his pocket and said "I want your fucking money man". I was terrified. As I was about to give them something, the guy drew his hand out and slapped me on the shoulder and said: "Don't be fucking silly, man. We're the fucking same. We're brothers man." You see, he knew that I probably held the stereotype that he was potentially dangerous. But he turned the whole thing upside down' (Muntaz Doast 23, reported in Goffe 1985).

#### 22.5 Summary

The perspective on youth subcultures developed at the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies has been influential in this analysis of rhetorical (NP)(VA)E in a societal context.

First of all, certain macro-social processes have been identified as affecting the sociolinguistic status of English. Looking from an intra-ethnic perspective, analysis first focused on the generational specificity of youngsters of Asian parentage. Their parents' migration entailed a shift in the sociolinguistic status of English, so that Indian English changed from being a high to a low prestige code. Although in intra-ethnic domains, its prestige is preserved to a fair degree, in interethnic spheres the children of migrants encounter negative evaluation of VAE. More specifically, they encounter a babu stereotype which has historical roots in the British Raj and which has a good deal of contemporary vitality, even though currently disputed.

Informants of Asian extraction have not internalised this stereotype and they appear less linguistically insecure than

monolingual and bidialectal informants. In this respect, the preservation within intra-ethnic domains of high status for English spoken by people of Asian extraction perhaps serves as protection against processes by which many non-standard English speakers are said to lose linguistic self-confidence in standard English institutions. There was a suggestion however, that monolinguals rated the English of Asian kids less positively, although nobody subscribed to the image of ethnically Asian people as weak.

The evidence suggests that rhetorical (NP)(VA)E is normally used in a good humoured way by and to youngsters of varying ethnic backgrounds. It appears to be a feature of interethnic peer-group unity. A more theoretical attempt to come to grips with the particularity of rhetorical (NP)(VA)E focused mainly on the negative connotations it had within dominant society, and it suggested several aspects of its function. Rhetorical (NP)(VA)E can be seen as bricolage, in which peer-group members take images of weakness and use them to their own purposes, thus converting them into sources of power. On occasions these transformations may be overtly oppositional, but in general the form of its resistance is more oblique. As an alter-identified figurative style, it declares the unreality of the babu persona, while at the same time acknowledging it and participating in the discourse of the wider society, from which the peer-group cannot remain remote. In this way the unity of interethnic groupings is preserved, while the messages coming from certain directions can be queried.

(NP)(VA)E as a rhetorical code also has positive connotations and these are unlikely to initially enter the peer-group from majority society. Instead, they will derive not only from intra-ethnic Indian and Pakistani domains, but also from the intra- and interethnic use of Punjabi and Punjabi-English mixed codes within the multiracial peer-group. So the cultural resonances of rhetorical (NP)(VA)E are likely to be complex and multiple, and a fuller understanding requires additional analysis

of the role of Punjabi and Afro-Caribbean Creole within the symbolic economy of local varieties.

The relevance of the figurative vs situational code-switching distinction to broader social analysis was affirmed, as well as its concentration on an important area of dispute amongst interethnic actors. Questions of power and social distance will affect the interpretation of interactional initiatives along this axis, and it was suggested that particularly (white) monolinguals would need strong solidary relations before using minority codes figuratively in cross-ethnic settings. Finally, the general relevance of the concepts and issues discussed here to other geographical regions was intimated.

NOTES

1. On the basis of just a few, fairly unsystematic conversations, it appeared that in general class-teachers were highly specific and gave particular instances of local non-standard syntactic or discoursal features. In contrast, the folk theory of 'deceptive fluency', which appears to derive from babu, normally rests on imprecise and vague linguistic descriptions (Rampton 1981, 1983, 1985). Naturally, there was some awareness amongst staff of the superficial fluency concept, but it is open to question whether or not it affected informants' schooling. In fact, while it is obviously nothing like a proper survey, it is perhaps interesting to note that the mean set placement in English for informants of Asian parentage ( $\bar{x}$  = 1.97;  $\sigma$  n = 0.76; n = 16), was a bit higher, and certainly not lower, than the non-Asian informants' ( $\bar{x}$  = 2.33;  $\sigma$  n = 0.94; n = 6).
2. There is an incontrovertible possibility that my own interpretation of this persona has been channelled and misled by the dominant stereotype.
3. There is a logical possibility that aspects of the appreciative and non-competent (NP) (VA)E persona have arisen in imitation of straight (NP) (VA)E users. Polite protest is maybe reported with regard to straight users in school settings (Extracts 45 and 46), as is non-competent appreciativeness perhaps (Extract 59). Various forms of (domain-specific) non-competence are also attributed to co-ethnic adult uses of (NP) (VA)E (Extracts 48, 51, 53, 55) and adult/parental (NP) (VA)E is also regarded as comic (Extracts 52, 56, 66). However, two things undermine the suggestion that what are here being interpreted as babu features are in fact modelled on known straight users. Firstly, the manner and setting in which these data were elicited is likely to have induced a degree of congruence between rhetorical and straight uses. These are informant reports elicited around the school, where rhetorical uses are relatively common and quite likely to channellise informants' (recollection and) reporting of straight uses. Secondly, it is counter-intuitive to suppose that straight users generally use English only in the rather restricted manner implied by rhetorical (NP) (VA)E persona enactments (especially if their English is anything more than merely minimal). Indeed, some of the data supports this - we have reports of straight (NP) (VA)E social competence (Extracts 47, 54) and swearing (Extracts 56, 58). See also the discussion of the construct 'tough' vs 'weak' below, in which Punjabi bilinguals rate nearly all straight (NP) (VA)E users as tougher than 'English kids': the passive element perceptible in the rhetorical persona is evidently out of tune with how bilinguals generally define those entities who 'don't know much English'.

4. Characterising the monolinguals as being 'less ready to assert the normalness of bilinguals' English' is a fairly accurate representation of the neutrality on this topic which four out of the six monolinguals expressed. Four took up the zero option on the rating sheet - only two actually used the 'don't know much English' pole of the construct. It is also worth reporting We's comments apropos an ethnically Indian teacher in his school:  

'She you know ... she could teach um transform some um [Sikh or Hindu] songs into English cos she speaks very good English ... some people right, some Pakistani people, they can speak better English than um English people can ... and they they're more clever because they can speak more languages' (MS39:609)
5. This dichotomy between monolingual and bilingual responses to Asian English is also found in a much larger study (with 124 and finally 180 respondents) by Smith (1979) in and around London. Newham whites rated an Asian English guise very negatively on a 'well-spoken' - 'badly spoken' axis, whereas ethnically Asian respondents rated it positively (1979:4). For research which endorses the view of linguistic insecurity amongst youngsters of Asian parentage, see however Ganguly (1980); Ganguly and Ormerod (1980:63); Taylor and Hegarty (1985:183,272).
6. It is interesting here to compare Smith (1979) on this issue of toughness. Asian informants did not regard Asian English as 'badly spoken', but they apparently did perceive Asians as 'slightly gentle' (as opposed to tough). The Newham whites thought that Asians were both 'badly spoken' and 'gentle', the babu stereotype thus concurring quite well with their sense of reality. In Bedford, this stereotype is more at odds with both monolingual and bilingual perceptions, particularly with regard to toughness. Whether temporal/historical, or regional factors account for this difference is unclear. Questions of actual social contact could also be relevant.
7. E.g.: 'The media not only provide groups with substantive images of other groups, they also relay back to working-class people a "picture" of their own lives which is "contained" or "framed" by the (dominant) ideological discourses which surround and situate it' (Hebdige 1979:85).
8. On reactionary cruelty in youth peer-group culture, see e.g. Bernstein (1960:73; Opie and Opie (1959:24); Labov (1972b: 331,340).
9. According to Barthes (1972:129), 'the very principle of myth' is that 'it transforms history into nature'. 'In ... alibi ... there is a place which is full and one which is empty, linked by a relation of negative identity ("I am not where



you think I am, I am where you think I am not"). But the ordinary alibi (for the police, for instance) has an end; reality stops the turnstile revolving at a certain point. Myth is a value, truth is no guarantee for it; nothing prevents it from being a perpetual alibi' (123).

10. More generally, in terms of the demarcation of sub-disciplines within/around linguistics, the distinction between code mixing and language learner language (= interlanguage and L transfer) represents the difference between language researchers who say they are doing sociolinguistics and those who say they are researching SLA (second language acquisition). In fact, in an academic context, this dichotomisation is altogether sterile, blinding each to the other's contribution (see Le Page 1985; Rampton 1985, forthcoming). In this neighbourhood context however, the dichotomy points to different domains of symbolic meaning. The trouble with the scholarship is that in general, there is a tendency to unconsciously feed and participate in these separate realms, either celebrating the intricacy of implicitly discrete social units or hammering away at non-standard code deficiency. There is too often a failure to reflect upon and analyse this very dichotomisation itself.
11. Recollect that peer-group (NP) (VA)E is defined as a speech made up only of English words, though with Indian pronunciation and sometimes non-standard grammar. The mixed code can be defined as speech in which English and Punjabi words mix.
12. In intra-ethnic (e.g. Afro-American) settings, this code-switching dichotomy is well documented as a site of uncertainty, manipulation and dispute (e.g. Mitchell Kernan 1972; Labov 1972b; Abrahams 1974; Kochman 1983).
13. Work on joking relationships could be fruitfully drawn into the analysis of rhetorical (NP) (VA)E to a greater extent than I have done here.

## CHAPTER 23

### REVIEW OF PART THREE

I shall not here repeat in any detail the points and 'findings' made in early chapters. That would be to merely reiterate the summaries placed at the end of each (and to anticipate Chapter 24). However, it is worth explaining the ways in which all of the above aspires to make a contribution at the theoretical and descriptive levels.

At the theoretical level, it is hoped that the analysis of figurative vs situational initiatives increases the scope for studies of interactional code-switching to address questions of social positioning. It has been argued that instead of analysing the effects of code-switching in merely descriptive, textual terms (e.g. addressee specification, interjections, reiteration etc., e.g. Gumperz 1982), the figurative-situational axis permits systematic attention to social processes and outcomes, such as play, covert subordination, oblique resistance, learning and the growth and inhibition of social competence and influence. By drawing in a fuller (originally literary) analysis of metaphor, this switching dichotomy can be seen to focus centrally on questions of the real vs the pretence, the literal vs the imaginary, and in some interactional contexts, on the competition to define reality and the respective social positions which this entails.

Beyond implying some essential similarities between conversational style and 'art' (as per Mitchell-Kernan 1972), style has also been depicted as addressing ideological issues in ways that do not merely entail we- or they-coded con- or divergence to (present or absent) in- or outgroups: in many cases it is not local people and accents which are the points of stylistic orientation. Instead, peer-group style has been seen in part as a dialogue around symbols originating in/existing within the dominant culture. In this context, the symbol which I have most

extensively addressed has been one type of (NP)(VA)E persona, but much larger (as well as smaller) conceptual clusterings within a culture might also be amenable to analysis in the idiom here. Moving between accounts of interaction and macro-social processes is a complex business and there are doubtless dimensions of this relationship which the analysis here has overlooked. Even so, the framework outlined serves as one means for the investigation of code-switching to draw in/expand into more sociological perspectives.

Descriptively, this study can be seen as a contribution to the sociolinguistic (rather than linguistic) investigation of secondary Foreigner Talk (i.e. 'broken language' not used to or by genuine second language learners, but by native speakers in imitation of foreigners in comics, books, jokes etc.: Ferguson 1975; Hinnenkamp 1984). Empirical data drawn from natural interactional settings are apparently missing (Ferguson 1981; Valdman 1981; Hinnenkamp) and on a number of points the analysis above agrees with some general propositions about it. For example, it has been suggested that

'The relation between the observable behaviour of ... foreigners and the simplified varieties of speech conventional in the community is not simple or direct. The historical origins of the conventional ... foreigner talk of a speech community doubtless are complex and may reach back over long periods of time.' (Ferguson 1975:1).

The conventional and ideological character of much secondary foreigner talk has been observed (Ferguson, Valdman), and Ferguson appears to be correct in identifying two of its important provinces:

'A number of students recalled hearing examples of foreigner talk in films or television. While this may be secondary source contributing in an occasional way to the acquisition of foreigner talk competence ... my own speculation would be that many features of foreigner talk are acquired, along with practice in using it, during childhood playing in peer groups where children who know transmit to children who know less well or not at all' (Ferguson 1975:11).

The last part of this quotation however, points to the importance of empirical studies since the gist of the analysis here has been that in settings of interethnic contact, children are not all placed in similar positions vis-à-vis Secondary FT, with the only difference between them being that some know it better than others. It affects members of the peer-group differentially since by virtue of their ethnicity they are differently affected by the dominant ideology which generates so much of Secondary Foreigner Talk in the first place.

There is truth in Valdman's observation that Secondary FT 'constitutes a manifestation of the ethnocentrism in our society' (1981:51), yet this too is incomplete. Firstly, (NP) (VA)E used by and to normal English speakers is not always related to dominant stereotypic personae (it may be viewed as a form of code mixing, or alternatively, it may emerge from spheres in which 'foreign' accents are neither stigmatised nor 'they-coded'). Secondly, the ethnocentrism entailed in Secondary FT is dependent on the relation of power and distance between interlocutors and their affiliations with the 'foreigners' in question. In a mixed peer-group, its use can be viewed as a recognition of racism combined with oblique (and indeed sometimes overt) resistance to it.

The complex issues involved in applying knowledge in practical settings are most effectively addressed by people engaged with them at local level, and there is a considerable risk that recommendations from those abstracted from such activity will be superficial and/or tangential. So no suggestions will be made about the implications of Part Three for educational practice. However, its relevance to the general context in which ESL teaching in Britain is set, is worth drawing out since to date there are no ethnographies of non-formal settings (i.e. outside work and school) which focus on non-proficient English in particular.

The research here has not focused empirically on youngsters learning English as a second language, but it does portray the kinds of peer-group in which young ESL learners either live, try to enter or to which they simply accommodate themselves. Several features are relevant.

There undoubtedly is stigma associated with ESL, and there is a widely agreed stereotype associated with it. But these do not cover all spheres of life: they are domain-specific. To the extent that interethnic domains admit values derived from intra-ethnic settings, that stigma is obviated. Secondly, the stigma of ESL in interethnic contexts doesn't merely derive from perceptions of ESL withdrawal classes. Kids are aware of much wider processes of sociolinguistic pejoration.

There is a third point which has particular implications for the understanding of second language learning itself. Fully bilingual kids recognise the racist images which threaten them, but they are apparently not subjugated by them and rhetorical practices are developed which serve to keep these images at bay (cp. Mukherjee 1985:13,14 cited in Appendix 23). As ESL learners assimilate into English-using interethnic peer-groups, it may well become necessary for them to convert the status of their non-proficient English from that of straight to rhetorical code,<sup>1</sup> in line with wider peer-group practice. This in turn raises several points.

Firstly, learning need not only entail a shift from alter- to ego-identification with cultural items, a move from seeing their initiation as figurative to realising that they are situational (Chapter 16.3.5). As well as incorporation, language learning can also involve processes of dissociation, realised in efforts at insistence that what used to be straight is now only rhetorical.

Secondly, not all social contexts will impel learners to thus redefine their interlanguage as Secondary Foreigner Talk. In societies in which particular ethnic groups are not stereo-

typed as using non-proficient English, fully bilingual speakers are less likely to develop that kind of reactive Foreigner Talk, 'foreign' accentedness may be less salient and non-proficient speakers are likely to proceed along their 'interlanguage continuum' with less concern for its symbolic loading and interactional interpretation. In contrast, where there is socio-linguistic pejoration, attempts by means of interactional strategy to redefine the relationship between the self and the symbolic connotations of linguistic code are likely to be more common.

Indeed, they may also be of considerable psycho-social importance for such  $L_2$  learners, and it is a pity that  $L_2$  Acquisition research, overwhelmingly preoccupied with propositional meaning (and therefore largely decontextualised speaker-hearers?), has so far taken so little cognisance of how learners experiment with symbolic connotation in interaction.

NOTES

1. Evidence of this is presented (and discussed along slightly different lines) in Rampton (1985) and (1987).

PART FOUR



## CHAPTER 24

### CONCLUSION

In this chapter I shall first offer an overview of language in the peer-group being studied, focusing on English in particular. This will cover the analysis in both Parts Two and Three. Next, some observations will be made about ways in which these two central halves diverge: these will be accompanied by reflections on the relevance to this field of the quantitative and qualitative methodologies that each half adopts. In the section after that, attention will be given to continuities running through the thesis, beyond its empirical focus and despite the different methodological idioms which it embraces. Finally, the chapter concludes with brief suggestions for further research.

#### 24.1 Language in a Multi-ethnic Peer-group

In important respects the findings in both Part Two and Part Three are preliminary. For example, in Part Two, larger and more systematic informant sampling is required before confidence can be placed in the emerging patterns of demographic variation (see Chapter 11). In Part Three (and in ethnographic sections in Part Two such as the domains analysis), further dialogue with peer-group members is needed to ratify and refine the account of local attitudes and practices (see Chapter 17.1). Having stated that clearly, we need now not be unduly distracted in the ensuing description by issues of statement modality.

The peer-group which we have examined is situated in a neighbourhood of Bedford in which there are a large number of families whose male adult members came to Britain from Europe and the Commonwealth as immigrant workers during the 1950s and 1960s. Most of their children have been born and/or educated in the locality (Chapter 2).

At least for boys of Indian and Pakistani descent, neighbourhood settings can be clustered into four main domains - the ingroup adult community, the home, the peer-group and school. Roughly speaking, bilingual code selection is felt to shift increasingly from Punjabi to English as one moves from settings comprising the adult community domain across to those in the school, and while they are obviously not hermetically sealed off from one another, two meta-domains are broadly distinguishable in terms of language selection, personnel and value orientation. These are the intra-ethnic and interethnic (meta-) domains (Chapter 6).

In peer and school settings, kids participate more than their parents in the interethnic meta-domain and there it seems that they identify psycho-socially as much with kids from other ethnic backgrounds as with peers from their own, and more than with the generic category 'ingroup adults'. However, though youngsters from all groupings mix with outgroup peers in school and in the peer-group, interethnic friendship associations are comparatively uncommon in the ingroup domains of home and adult community (Chapter 12).

In at least one respect for Asian kids, movement between inter- and intra-ethnic domains entails a cultural shift of gear which bears vestigial resemblance to the larger adjustments entailed in migration itself. Punjabi-accented English is prestigious in India and Pakistan but stigmatised in Britain. Comparably in the adult ingroup community and at home, these youngsters are supportive and solidary towards adults not fully proficient in English, viewing proficiency in it as an accomplishment. In contrast, in the peer-group and at school, attitudes towards straight (NP) (VA)E users are disparaging (Chapters 21 and 22).

This apparently ambivalent situation appears to have two consequences. Firstly, the intra-ethnic prestige associated with moderate proficiency in English (and the even greater suc-

cess in English which bilingual Punjabi youngsters achieve by comparison) arguably results in these kids being more linguistically self-confident than Anglo monolinguals and Afro-Caribbean bidialectals, who in contrast have stronger ties with traditions in which non-standard English is stigmatised (Chapter 22.2). Secondly, Asian English Secondary Foreigner Talk [(NP) (VA)E] develops as a rhetorical form in interethnic peer settings.

Code-switching from normal to (NP) (VA)E is a complex phenomenon, and monocausal analyses are inadequate. Used with straight-(NP) (VA)E-speaking adults, it is probably best seen as a form of responsive convergence (Chapter 18.6). Alternatively, it can sometimes be viewed as a shift to Punjabi in which major lexical adjustments are made for the interlocutors' sake (as in cross-ethnic requests perhaps; see Chapters 19.3 and 19.6). Sometimes it may be more accurately construed as Punjabi-English code-mixing than as non-proficient 'ESL' English and since the model of domains represents only a set of typifications, there are doubtless settings of interethnic contact in which successful adult Asian participants provide kids with role models for straightforward, 'politically uninflected' imitation (Chapters 19.5 and 21.4.2). However, quite a lot of rhetorical (NP) (VA)E use must be seen in connection with pejorative sociolinguistic stereotyping in the dominant society.

A substantial proportion of English utterances foregrounded by Punjabi pronunciation project a persona which is appreciative, hospitable, non-competent and non-comprehending. Scatology also figures but this is comparatively polite and in general this persona seems non-tough and remote from the dominant values of interethnic peer culture. This all bears resemblance to the babu stereotype developed during the British Raj but still powerful in white cultural frameworks.

There is however also a self-assertive element within the persona, although conceivably this emerges more directly from the contexts in which it is rhetorically enacted. Certainly, in con-

trast to the 'weakness' which the persona feigns, its usage encompasses teasing, mocking, giving offence, challenging and chivvying. Indeed, reports of its use suggest that it may be oppositionally used against white authority figures, as well as to get out of trouble (these reports may additionally/alternatively indicate the entry into informal peer folklore of rhetorical (NP)(VA)E as some kind of trickster disguise) (Chapters 18 and 19).

This conversion of an image of weakness into a source of strength represents one response to derogatory stereotyping in acts designed to secure some personal advantage at least in the short term. In its cumulative effect however, rhetorical (NP)(VA)E can be seen as an oblique form of collective resistance to racist imagery, acknowledging its currency within dominant discourse but in every alter-identified figurative act, covertly insisting on its unreality. While issues of power and social distance are bound to restrict its use, in this peer-group it generally seems to be freely and humorously used in interethnic settings and so would appear to be unifying it, recognising but neutralising (through incorporation) areas of potential inter-ethnic dissensus. Gauging the balance between accommodation and resistance is difficult, but it is at least plausible that in this way rhetorical (NP)(VA)E manages the ambivalence that bilingual youngsters feel about straight (NP)(VA)E, involved as they are with two ways of evaluating it. As members of the interethnic peer-group, they acknowledge and play on the babu stereotype without confronting it. On the other hand, because of intra-ethnic language loyalty, they don't accept it and obliquely undermine it. Since the essence of metaphor is to have it both ways, it is clear why (NP)(VA)E has developed as a figurative style (Chapter 22).

In addition to (NP)(VA)E, Creole and Punjabi occur as rhetorical codes in the peer-group, at first glance realising rather different personae and having different privileges of occurrence. But it looks as though together these three

varieties may serve as a repertoire of 'voices' through which the interethnic peer-group enacts a symbolic dialogue around issues of status and group affiliation. Questions of group affiliation are however also reflected in more muted and less rhetorical aspects of linguistic behaviour.

Within ethnic subgroups, there is a great deal of variation in use of the variables word initial (ʃ) and (t) in normal (non-rhetorical) English. As a group, Punjabi bilinguals use retroflex [ɭ] more than monolinguals though even then, some ethnically Pakistani kids use none or hardly any, while some Anglos use it a little. On other variants, the degree of subgroup overlap is more striking than any level of ethnic stratification.

However, variants of (ʃ) and (t) do indicate degrees of ethnic group affiliation. Bilingual youngsters who have multiplex interactional association with non-Asian kids use [ɭ] less than those who don't have outgroup friends whose homes they visit. Also, amongst boys of Pakistani parentage, the use of [ɭ] relates to strength of psycho-social identification with co-ethnic adults. Amongst non-Pakistani boys, the extent to which they have multiplex interactional ties with Pakistani kids is reflected in the use of [d] (Chapter 13).

In these cases, linguistic markers are not being used as foregrounded symbols in a rhetorical dialogue around matters of peer-group concern. Instead, they are best seen as traces of and clues to each speaker's ordinary everyday life, a map of the social entities who serve as significant points in each individual's interactional and psycho-social landscape. Such entities need not of course be ethnic groupings, and given weak or diffused ingroup identification, kids may diverge from the linguistic norms of their bio-ethnic ingroup towards standards agreed upon or merely amongst small ethnically heterogeneous groups of close friends. It is also possible that diverse peer ties and diffuse identifications result in ethnolinguistic non-

conformity without any apparent alternative refocusing (Chapter 14).

This then has been the substantive account of language in a multilingual peer-group. It has covered language attitudes and both straight and rhetorical language usage, at the level of the individual and the peer-group respectively. It has also considered some inextricable aspects of sociolinguistic organisation nationally and within the neighbourhood. The methodological idiom has however been somewhat hybrid, in one part leaning towards quantitative sociolinguistics and in the other towards interactional sociolinguistics and the ethnography of speaking. What sense has there been in this dualism and what are its consequences?

#### 24.2 Two Methodological Idioms

It is worth reflecting on this partly in order to further summarise the nature of the research here, but also to offer some remarks about how a wider epistemological debate looks from the point that this study has reached.

An essential difference between Parts Two and Three relates to the types of data which each has treated. In Part Two, the emphasis was on data control, making sure that for each informant data-elicitation was as similar as possible and that samples of their speech were as comparable as could be managed (Chapters 7, 8 and 9). Broadly speaking, in Part Three the intention was that data should be more or less 'natural' (Chapters 17.1 and 19.1).

To a considerable degree, this difference was appropriate to their separate objectives. They were (implicitly) working with different conceptions of the peer-group and different perspectives on cultural form. In Part Two, the peer-group was viewed as an aggregate body in which individuals participated, carrying with them different types and degrees of primary affiliation. The aim was to see how analytically unproblematised cultural

forms (variants of (ŋ) and (t)) distinguished individuals in terms of the nature of their peer-group membership. In Part Three, the objective was instead to define a particular cultural form itself (the (NP)(VA)E persona) and the peer-group was viewed as the collective forum in which this form was given its shape. Ways in which different types of membership might affect its nature and use were suggested but not analysed systematically. Inter-individual comparison in Part Two necessitated data control, while in Part Three the analysis of a cultural item needed evidence that was as natural as possible.

The diversity of methodological idioms in this thesis is then appropriate to the different objectives it embraces. However, with the selection of each, different types of explanation are made available and their scopes for connection with other types of data diverge. At this point we can take a more evaluative stance on the issue of method.

Part Two depends on quantification: how much are people tied to particular groups, and how much do they use particular linguistic items? Part Three rests on act by act analysis: what is the item and how is it used? In addressing these questions by their respective methods, Parts Two and Three differ in the empirical window which they offer on human agency.

There is no reason why the analysis of straight (non-rhetorical) speech styles in essence requires quantification. Responsive speech acts repay interpretive investigation just as much as initiative styles (see Brown and Frazer 1979:37; Dressler and Wodak 1982; Coupland 1984; Hudson 1985; Huspek 1986). It is out of empirical necessity that sociolinguistic surveys ignore this, but as a result speech processing remains an analytically impenetrable 'black box'.<sup>1</sup> There can be little doubt that the same is true of the account of (ŋ) and (t) in Part Two in terms of psycho-social identification and interactional association channelling and facilitating the acquisition and use of particular variants. It leaves detailed

linguistic processes unexplicated, and the speaker's meaning at the point of utterance is unaccounted for (see Chapter 5.3 and Chapter 15). In contrast, these are the central concerns of Part III.

The interactional moment then, is the richest site for the analysis of speech processing. Paradoxically, it also gives the clearest view of how speech links with history and social structure (Brown and Levinson 1979), and this is also reflected in the differences between Parts Two and Three.

In essence, Part Two offers only a synchronic snapshot. It is certainly set against an historical background of migration/urbanisation, and diachronic issues are for example considered in relation to the model of domains out of which network indices are constructed (Chapter 6.2.2). Also, it defines group affiliation in ways which permit the identification of tensions and instabilities. Even so, its analytic core compares states and conditions sampled at only one time and again this can be attributed to the quantificational approach which it adopts. Much historical data is not amenable to numerical treatment and there is therefore maybe inevitably a tendency to push it to the margins when committed to computation.<sup>2</sup> After that, the lack of an historical perspective perhaps allows one to view social structure in somewhat static terms and to ignore social processes themselves.

Part Three resembles Part Two in so far as neither entails systematic longitudinal data collection. However, its methods of analysis leave space for the identification of historical and non-local echoes in peer-group cultural forms, and group values can be traced to diachronic processes. When scope is also given for human agency to enter the account, a picture emerges of cultural activity which is not only sited at a particular juncture of socio-historical forces and events, but is also symbolically engaged in debate with it. This has to be a much richer socio-linguistics.



### 24.3 Continuities in Analytic Concern

The research then, employs two methodological idioms and there are reasons for regarding the second as more fertile. But this view of the diverging approaches used within this study does not mean that it becomes incoherent or self-contradictory. The object of its empirical focus (uses of English in a multi-ethnic peer-group) most clearly draws its two halves together, although there are also analytic continuities which it is perhaps worth underlining. This will (again) serve two purposes: summarising what has gone before but also further clarifying its relation to other work in sociolinguistics.

This investigation has been centrally committed to the analysis of empirical data. However, it can also, I hope, be characterised as (a) insisting on the definitional clarity of the conceptual apparatus being used in analysis, and (b) concerning itself with sociological and psychological adequacy and implications more than with the purely linguistic. These pre-occupations partially overlap.

In Part Two, a major effort was made to improve the conception of group membership empirically employed within quantitative sociolinguistics. To some extent, this entailed correcting existing formulations. Unacknowledged determinism and failure to properly handle the emic-etic distinction were identified in Milroy's use of network analysis, and Giles was criticised for overlooking socio-cultural tradition. Once their separate approaches had been differentiated, their complementarity was then specified, again paying particular attention to the relation between analytic and local socio-cultural categories. This entailed some reference to social anthropological research, although the main connection outside sociolinguistics was with social psychology. Identity Structure Analysis is highly compatible with Le Page's theory conceptually, as well as providing an economical empirical lever on certain of its central tenets (Chapter 5).

These were the clarifications and cross-disciplinary connections which gave impetus to the empirical explorations in Part Two. A concern with the epistemological tension between on the one hand survey generalisation and quantitative methodology, and on the other the subjectively mediated nature of behaviour (as well as the interactionally negotiated nature of meaning) remained as a consistent strand throughout the investigation, which, though anxious for emic potentiality, was eventually content to claim only etic status for its findings.

In Part Three, attention to definition focused on Gumperz's distinction between metaphorical and situational code-switching. Reference to studies of metaphor (most notably I.A. Richards) provided a useful analytic idiom as well as identifying key areas of uncertainty. More importantly, they permitted a formulation of the switching dichotomy which centred on the fundamental, even ethological, distinction between play and non-play, pretence and reality, fiction and fact. In consequence, the relevance of Gumperz's terms to issues of learning, growth, change and marginalisation was clarified. The joint, interactional accomplishment of the meaning and consequences of code-switching was emphasised and systematic connections were made with Brown and Levinson's (1978) theory of politeness. The switching dichotomy has significance for codes at any semiotic level and links were established with sociological theories of youth subculture. So the final macro-social interpretation of the data along the lines of Clarke et al. (1976) and Hebdige (1979) was consistent with the micro-sociolinguistic framework formulated at the outset (Chapters 16 and 22).

Such then were the features which realised this study's continuous concern with definition and with the socio part of sociolinguistics. Let us now very briefly consider the potential for further research.

#### 24.4 Further Research

Since it was largely intended as an exploration in methodology, Part Two concluded with suggestions for future research concerned with the relationship between patterns of psycho-social identification, interactional association and language variation (Chapter 15). Affiliation with a variety of different types of group might be examined by means of its combination of ISA with network analysis, although the present data base could very usefully provide material for more extensive examination of what in South London Hewitt aptly calls the multi-racial local vernacular (1986:151). Further linguistic items could be analysed and issues such as the ethnolinguistic origins of the invariant question tag 'innit' could be addressed. Hewitt (1986) describes 'innit' as Creole in origin, yet there are precedents for it in both Indian English and interlanguage and its extensive currency in Bedford can be linked with speakers whose interactional and psycho-social affiliation with kids of Afro-Caribbean parentage are comparatively weak.

However, given the evaluation of methodologies in Chapter 24.2 above, the priority should be for further research along the lines of Part Three rather than Part Two, and here a number of omissions and slants in this study could be very fruitfully remedied.

First of all, girls and kids of Bangladeshi extraction should be included, along with more Afro-Caribbean and Anglo youngsters. Differential exploitations in the use of rhetorical codes and personae could be investigated, thus incorporating something of Part Two's approach to the peer-group into Part Three's (see Chapter 24.2). There is also a need to ratify findings about (NP) (VA)E by means of further local observation and interviewing. Clearly, there is call for further field-work in the Bedford research site, and in general there is considerable scope for connection with Hewitt (1986), published at the same time as this conclusion was being written. Finally, the

account of (NP)(VA)E must be extended to consider the roles of Punjabi and Creole (Appendix 25), in order to achieve a comprehensive view of the peer-group's multilingual symbolic economy. For that investigation, the current data base (Chapter 3) provides a valuable point of departure.

NOTES

1. Since so much of Giles' work rests on linguistic quantification, even his efforts away from the 'sociolinguistic automaton' are only partial. By the same token, the accommodation processes which he posits are also crude.
2. Age grading is of course one method frequently used by quantitative sociolinguists in the effort to draw in a diachronic perspective, and for very narrow purposes, it may be effective. However, it also entails massive idealisation: for example, it ignores what is specific to aging processes themselves. More significantly, Weinreich's ISA incorporates a diachronic element by virtue of the entity 'me as I used to be' (and 'me as I would like to be'). Of course this does not reveal how people actually were, but it helps to define how people see themselves in the light of their own temporality.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1  
A MORE DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE METHODOLOGICAL  
COMPONENTS IN THE DATA COLLECTION

Following the scheme laid out on pp. 65-67 , Chapter 3.1 in the main text, it is useful to describe each methodological procedure in turn.

1a. The Attitudes-to-Punjabi<sup>1</sup> Interview

This was a semi-structured interview with Punjabi-English bilinguals in pairs, in which I aimed to cover the following points:

- (i) what languages can you speak? What other languages are there around? Which can you understand?
- (ii) What types of Punjabi are there around? What are the differences? Why?
- (iii) Do you mix English and Punjabi or switch? Where, when, why? Is there a name for this mixed variety?
- (iv) Does it feel different using one of your languages as opposed to the other? Do you act differently when you're talking each of them? Do you talk about some things rather than others in one of your languages?
- (v) Do you have/Have you had/Would you like classes in Punjabi? Why? What are/were they like? Where?

1b. The Attitudes to English Interview

A semi-structured interview with informants in pairs, aiming to cover the following matters:

- (i) What different types of English are there around Bedford (e.g. West Indian)? Who uses them, where, how, why?
- (ii) And on TV? What do people notice?
- (iii) Some people change their accents, some people don't. What about you, do you change your accent, for example, if you're talking to an old Punjabi speaker, or a West Indian kid?

- (iv) How would you say you usually speak? What about me?
- (v) What accent (and impressions) can you do?
- (vi) Do people get teased about the way they speak? Who?  
Why?
- (vii) Do the ——— (ESL) Centre kids get teased? Why?  
What is the Centre for?
- (viii) What do you think is bad English? What do teachers  
say?  
I also sometimes asked: what's the coolest way of  
speaking? The hardest?

There was also quite a lot of discussion of mixed language swearing. It might seem that certain questions were 'leading' informants to particular types of response (e.g. (i) and (vii)). Yet these questions were generally carefully framed and sequenced with regard to quite a lot of my own local knowledge. If you take a completely naive stance in your questioning, you risk losing the quality of the information you achieve if in certain respects and to some degree you can show you have insider's knowledge.

With informants of Afro-Caribbean parentage, this interview was expanded to include discussion of Caribbean Creole along some of the lines of interview 1a (particularly the questioning described under (iii) and (iv)). With all non-bilingual informants, this interview started with the first questions (1a(i)) from the attitudes-to-Punjabi interview.

#### 1c. Language Preference and Proficiencies

I asked informants

- which of your languages do you like best, or are they both equal? Why?
- Which are you best at? In speaking and understanding?  
In reading and writing? How good is your Punjabi?

Also sometimes I asked if they knew people who couldn't speak English very well and how they got on generally.

As far as the language attitude components in the ISA procedure were concerned, in the rating booklet (4a(iii)) informants were asked to assess a range of people and groups in terms of whether they spoke 'normal English' or didn't 'know much English'. They were also asked to compare themselves speaking English with themselves when they were speaking Punjabi (and in the case of Afro-Caribbean informants, Creole).

Details of how self-report data on bilingual code-selection were elicited are as follows.

2a. 'LUI'-Language Code Selection To and From Network Associates

Taking the names on the ISM matrix (see 3e below), informants singly were first asked orally 'What language do you speak when you are talking to X? And to Y? And to Z?' etc.

And then after they had answered that, they were asked:

'What language does X use when she/he is talking to you?' etc. etc.

Responses were jointly coded and written down by me on the matrix as either

- (1) All Punjabi/Pakistani<sup>2</sup>
- (2) Mainly Punjabi/Pakistani
- (3) Equal Punjabi/Pakistani and English
- (4) Mainly English
- (5) All English.

2b. 'LUS'-Code Selection by Setting

Focusing on the settings listed along the top of the ISM matrix, I asked

'What language do you generally use when you're in setting P? And in setting Q?' etc.

Foolishly, I did not keep this wording constant. I more often asked

'What language is generally used in setting P? And Q?' etc.

Answers were jointly coded as in LUI (2a above).

2c. 'Oral Diary'

I asked kids alone or in a friend's presence to think back to yesterday at the end of school and to tell me what they'd done since then. After they'd told me four or five things, I went back to the start and asked them about the languages used in the course of these activities. After their replies, we would carry on until the present. Sometimes I presented them with the following list on a piece of card:

Stories, songs,	Reading (homework,	Clubs,
jokes	newspapers, books,	meetings,
Games	comics, letters ...)	classes
TV	Writing (letters,	Gurdwara/
Video	homework ...)	Church/
Radio	Telephone	Mosque <sup>3</sup>
Tapes	Visitors or visiting	Cafe
	Shopping	Library
	Jobs (at home,	
	elsewhere)	

I asked them if they'd done any of these things in the course of the day, if they did them generally, and what languages they entailed.

2d. Written Diaries

Informants were given hard cover pocket diaries containing these instructions:





And across the top of a fifth double page was the heading:

ANYTHING ABOUT LANGUAGES THAT YOU'VE THOUGHT OR NOTICED

I gave some examples of how this had been done in the pilot, and suggested that informants filled it in bit by bit at e.g. the end of the day. They handed their diary in to me whenever they'd got something written, which I photocopied and handed back the same day.

What of the elicitation of social network data? This is critically reviewed in Chapter 7 of the main text, and here the base essentials need only be described.

3a. LTT - The List of Whom you Talk To

Informants were first given the forms shown overleaf. After being shown an example of how I had myself filled it in for my own social network, each filled in his own. This was then tidied jointly with me (as far as informational content, not presentation was concerned!), and often supplemented with more names drawn from a variety of other sources. Then, once more precise relationships, gender and kids' ages had been established, informants classified their peers (kin and non-kin) in terms of

- (1) best friend
- (2) good friend
- (3) quite good friend
- (4) I like them
- (5) I don't like them.

These options were presented on a small card. This was all done singly, not in pairs.

3b. JUNE - Judgments of the Ethnicness of Network Associates

This involved further coding. After telling informants about the different degrees of Scottishness and Englishness that I per-

LTT - THE LIST OF WHOM YOU TALK TO

[illegible]

PEOPLE WHO ARE NOT FAMILY OR RELATIVES	
KIDS	
Think about people who are NOT family or relatives but who are about the same as you (or only a bit older or younger). Make a list to show who you talk to, starting off with the ones you talk to most (at school after school, or in the holidays).	a lot everyday or most days a bit everyday or most days a few times a week about once a week about once a month every 2 or 3 months
	What things do you do with lots of you together? How often?
	everyday
	2 or 3 times a week
	about once a week
	about once a month
	a few times a year

PEOPLE WHO ARE NOT FAMILY OR RELATIVES	
ADULTS	
What about adults who are not family or relatives? Please make a list of who you talk to, starting with the ones you talk to most.	a lot everyday or most days a bit everyday or most days a few times a week about once a week about once a month every 2 or 3 months
	What things do you do with lots of you together? How often?
	everyday
	2 or 3 times a week
	about once a week
	about once a month
	a few times a year

ceived within my own family and the varying degrees and types of ethnicness within my network more generally, informants (singly) went over a list of their own network associates with me, classifying them as seeming

- (1) very (ethnically X, Y or Z)
- (2) quite
- (3) a little bit
- (4) not at all.

From time to time I asked each why such and such a person did or didn't seem typically X or Y.

### 3d. Frequented Settings

Informants (singly) were presented with the following list of settings/activities: (see overleaf)

They were asked which of these they went to/did quite often, and an attempt was made to see how distinctive some of these were felt to be ('do you act differently when you're at —— from when you're at —— ?')

### 3e. 'ISM' - The Interlocutor x Setting Matrix

Informants were presented with two large 40 cm x 30 cm matrices. Settings commonly frequented by each individual (as ascertained in the procedure outlined in 3d.) formed the horizontal axis (usually about sixteen columns); the vertical axis, consisting of about twenty rows on each matrix, listed names selected on the basis of the LTT information (see 3a. above). Alone or with me, informants ticked the cells to show whom they saw where. When they'd finished, I checked the entries against other informants' matrices and other data sources, marked what I thought might be inconsistencies or errors, and later checked back with the informant about each query.

FREQUENTED SETTINGS

AT MY HOME

VISITING SOMEONE'S HOUSE WITH MY DAD, MUM OR OLDER PEOPLE FROM MY FAMILY

GOING TO SOMEONE'S HOUSE ON MY OWN, OR WITH KIDS MY AGE

JUST DOING THINGS IN THE PARK, OR IN THE STREET OR ROUND THE PLACE (NOT IN  
SCHOOL-TIME)

AT THE MOSQUE/CHURCH/GURDWARA

CLASSES OUTSIDE SCHOOLTIME

THE PHONE

THE CLUB AFTER SCHOOL

PARTIES (NOT AT SCHOOL) + WEDDINGS

SHOPPING

STAYING IN ANOTHER TOWN IN BRITAIN

IN ANOTHER COUNTRY

AT SCHOOL IN LESSONS

AT SCHOOL IN FREETIME

LIBRARY

SWIMMING

CRICKET TEAM(OUTSIDE SCHOOL)

DAY TRIPS + OUTINGS (NOT FROM SCHOOL)

CAFE

AMUSEMENT ARCADES

.....

.....

.....

As far as eliciting data on patterns of psycho-social identification is concerned, the ISA procedure is likewise discussed in detail in the main text (Chapter 8), much nearer an analysis of the information which it is intended to reveal. So here the account can be again skeletal:

4a(i) The ISA Personal Interview

This was a semi-structured interview alone with me intended to elicit each informant's perceptions of themselves in the future, past and present and in relation to their friends and family.

4a(ii) The ISA Group Interviews

This was conducted with informants in pairs (and sometimes threes), and was designed to elicit perceptions of local styles, ethnic groupings, interethnic relations, and local values.

4a(iii) The ISA Rating Procedure

Concepts emerging in the course of 4a(i) and (ii) were presented back to informants, together with the names of individuals and groupings that had emerged as potentially significant. Informants rated these people and groups in terms of these concepts on a nine point scale.

4b GSC Group Self-categorisation

A selection of fifteen to twenty possible category memberships was made, from a total set consisting of the following:

West Indian, Kashmiri, Mirpuri, British, Muslim,  
Asian, Pakistani, Indian, Black, White, Brown,  
Coloured, Bains, Jat, Gujrati, Nankari, Paria,  
Grenadan, English, European, Bedfordian, Sikh,  
Jamaican, Christian, Catholic, Protestant,  
Church of England.

Selections were made on the basis of what I thought each informant might use. This is the form presented to one Muslim boy of Pakistani extraction:

West Indian	Kashmiri	Paria
British	Mirpuri	Gujrati
Bains	Bedfordian	Muslim
Asian	Coloured	
Pakistani	Jat	Black
White	Punjabi	
Indian	Brown	English

First of all, I asked which they hadn't heard of. Then I asked them which ones could apply to them. With which labels could/would they say 'I am a ———'? Were there some important ones I'd left out and we could add. Informants then put a tick in the boxes that they felt were relevant to them in this way. After that, I asked them to look at the categories they had ticked, and to rank these in order of importance (1 for the most, etc., using equals signs if needs be).

The data on naturalistic, linguistic and social interaction came from two sources:

5a. Radio-microphone Recording

Each informant was given a pocket transmitter fitted with a Lavalier microphone on at least three consecutive occasions, on the logic that by the third, and at least within parts of the first and second, they would cease to be self-conscious



about it (this was a strategy kindly advised by Roger Hewitt). They then could move around either the Summer School, the playground or the Youth Club with considerable freedom.

5b. Participant Observation

Some aspects of the participant observation which I carried out are dealt with in the main body of the text. In particular, my role in the local socio-cultural environment is considered in some detail, since participant-observation preceded the intensive data collection outlined above and hence to a large degree framed it. Therefore, the validity of what emerged from the data-gathering is extensively affected by the nature of my role in the field. After all, virtually all of it is obtained and mediated through conversation and interaction with me.

Here however, it is opportune just to present the written explanation which I gave to teachers and youth workers in order to negotiate and explain my presence (see overleaf).

Generally, some of the more 'factual' details of my participant observation can also be outlined here.

From 1978 to 1980 I taught in this neighbourhood of Bedford. I taught mainly in the ESL Centre but also part-time at the Upper School nearby. I also took boys' games lessons in the Middle School. I lived in the neighbourhood for a year. During the summer of 1980 I was the leader in a local four-week holiday Summer School of a group in which many of the oldest informants participated (then aged about nine). In July and August 1983, I attended another Summer School, this time not as a group leader but as a general extra helper. By this time my mind was much more coherently focused on the subsequent research and I recorded interviews with half a dozen local youngsters (aged 14 to 16) in order to improve and update my local knowledge. I was then also a bit more tuned to participant observation and kept a diary, concentrating on local linguistic practices, social relations and

EXPLANATION OF MY PROJECT GIVEN TO TEACHERS AND YOUTH LEADERS



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LANGUAGE USE IN MULTILINGUAL BEDFORD

PnD project undertaken by Ben Rampton, ESOL Dept., London University  
Institute of Education (supervisor: Dr C.J. Brumfit)

Project Description

Themes: My research is concerned with the use of language and dialect by young people in a multilingual community. More specifically, I am interested in how people select a language or dialect according to the situation that they're in ; how far individuals resemble or differ from one another in their patterns of language and dialect choice and use ; and finally how they themselves see their bilingualism / bidialectalism.

Informants: I am mainly, but not exclusively, interested in these questions as they apply to Punjabi-English bilinguals, and in the first instance I envisage working with no more than 20 young people, aged between about 13 and 16, and often contacted initially through friendship networks.

Methods: Practical constraints and the kind of picture that emerges may lead to some modifications, but at the moment I plan to approach this work in four connected ways. The first will be through a diary that I will ask the kids to fill in on two or three occasions, reporting on their language use in the course of the day. With that as the starting point, I then hope to draw up with them a map of who they see most and who they generally go around with. Through conversation I aim to get an idea of some of their social views, and finally to make a sociolinguistic analysis of speech recorded in several settings.

It is important, if this project is going to be successful, that the young people involved feel relaxed about it, and see it as interesting and enjoyable.

EXPLANATION OF MY PROJECT GIVEN TO TEACHERS & YOUTH LEADERS (contd)

Place: My intention is to work in the \_\_\_\_\_ area of Bedford, where I first had the idea for this research. I worked at the Language Centre from 1978 to 1980, and also at \_\_\_\_\_ for one year part-time. I lived locally and have worked at two Summer Schools there (1980 and 1983). I am familiar with the locality and greatly like it.

General Educational Orientation: In my experience, some children from bilingual homes can be at a linguistic disadvantage at school ; yet while their use of English may sometimes be weak in certain respects, it may be strong in others and serve very well many of the purposes to which they want to put it. My view is that writing on education has perhaps focused too exclusively on weaknesses. I have published an article on this topic in the Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development (Vol 4 No 1 1983) and parts of my argument are referred to in V.K.Edwards' book Language in Multicultural Classrooms.(1983). The project outlined here does not pursue the issue of educational weakness ; it involves no assessments of language proficiency or achievement, nor does it propose to investigate language inside the classroom. However it does set out to describe features of children's independent uses of language in a positive way, and it is motivated by the view that an understanding of language use outside school can be of great benefit to language education.

Request: I wonder if it would be possible for me to attend the \_\_\_\_\_ Youth Centre. This would be to get in touch with kids I know, and to meet others. Then, after a period, I hope it might be possible for me to carry out some of the diary, discussion and recording work. I have the permission of \_\_\_\_\_<sup>(the Chief Education Officer)</sup> to make this request. He has however stressed that the establishments I approach must have freedom to decide whether or to what extent they can assist me, and of course I shall fully understand if you feel you are not in a position to do so. However, any help you can give will be very much appreciated.

Ben Rampton

14.3.84

institutions, my own role and the lines along which subsequent methods and analyses might develop.

From March 1984 on, I attended three clubs held in the local Youth Centre in the afternoons or evenings. Much of the membership of these three clubs was the same, and the age of those attending ranged from 11 to 20<sup>+</sup> (in fact, one of the clubs was for 11 to 13 year olds only). Up until the start of the period of intensive data collection, I attended the Centre once or twice (and sometimes thrice) a week, except during the school holidays when the Centre closed. Between March 1984 and March 1985, I worked at various clubs as a voluntary helper about forty times, although this became less frequent once intensive data collection began and once I started to use the Junior Club as a site for radio-microphone recording.

Sometimes I discretely noted incidents in a pocket notebook as a reminder, but I always tape-recorded my observations on people, events, language, institutions, ideas and my own role immediately afterwards (and often during my one-hour journey home), and organised and wrote these up in a field diary the subsequent morning. The length of these diary entries varied (again being more extensive prior to the period of intensive data collection). On average I filled about four or five pages of an exercise book per session. These were indexed under the main headings: 'Language', 'Ethnicity', 'Field Strategies', 'Clubs and Schools', 'Norms and Behaviour', 'People' and 'The Neighbourhood' (each of these had a number of subheadings).

The collection of demographic data requires little further explanation, though a few words may be in order about educational performance data.

## 7. Educational Performance Data

(a) Each year the Middle School where all my informants went,

assessed its pupils with NFER (National Foundation for Educational Research) tests. These involve various combinations of Nonverbal and Verbal Reasoning, English and Maths (some other, non-NFER tests had also been used). For the youngest group of informants, the 11 to 12 year olds, I obtained tests results from January 1984 and January 1985. For the 12 to 13 year old group - 1983, 1984 and January 1985. Results for the oldest age group (13 to 14 years) are from January 1983 and 1984. Nearly all these tests are standardised and could be compared with national norms. Also, I obtained the results of their peers, so informants could be placed relative to the others in their school.

Of course, probably deeper cultural process influence and emanate from set-placements: the data on this was obtained from class lists.

(b) I asked the Deputy Head to rate each of my informants for behaviour on a scale A to E (Good-Average-Bad) and I noted accompanying comments. I also asked Heads of Year and finally class teachers. During the period of field-work, some informants transferred to Upper School: I relied on the ratings of their Middle School teachers, since most of the interviewing and recording with these informants was completed before they moved. I also asked the Games teacher about who had played in school cricket and soccer teams.

After every interview with informants, I listened to the tape-recording and made notes about it using the following protocol (which of course greatly facilitated data retrieval later):

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

PROTOCOL FOR DISCUSSIONS: No. \_\_\_\_\_ Cassette No. \_\_\_\_\_ Name: \_\_\_\_\_

① Date: \_\_\_\_\_ Time: \_\_\_\_\_ Place \_\_\_\_\_ Duration \_\_\_\_\_

Persons present: \_\_\_\_\_

Pretext for meeting: \_\_\_\_\_

② <sup>Measure</sup> Extent of participation [who dominates/hesitates, success of single or pair utterances; 's point of encounter  
[laughter]; motivation + interest, success of <sup>response</sup> diagnosing, reactions to specific topics,  
framing, & inhibiting]

③ Short summary of main episodes:

④ Noteworthy linguistic <sup>items</sup> expressions [+ tape reference]

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL (contd)

Name:  
Tape:

⑤ Constructs [contrast  
emergent poles; range of convenience] [tape reference]

⑥ Entities [context, evaluation; tape ref.]

⑦ Tapeable frames

⑧ Settings [family events;  
kin events; groups etc.]

⑨ Language attitudes [to self as speaker, to 2 L's in abstract; to L in community;  
L varieties mentioned; portrayal, L use in interview-situ<sup>Ⓟ</sup>]

Code

"literal word for word" literal reporting <my own inference>
--

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL (contd)

Name:  
Topic:

⑩ Features of encounter

- devel. of conversation
- external interruption
- specific activities
- non verbal comm.

⑪ Miscellaneous

⑫ FOR NEXT TIME  
Prep for meeting:

Questions work posing:

Errors in my practise



NOTES

1. I have called this the Attitudes-to-Punjabi interview, but where informants reported that they spoke Urdu or 'Pakistani' rather than Punjabi, whatever term they used was employed subsequently.
2. According to whichever bilingual informants described as their parents' main language.
3. One of these only was presented according to the informant's religion.

APPENDIX 2

WEINREICH ON ISA DEFINITIONS

(see Chapter 5.4.2)

### 3 DEFINITIONS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL CONCEPTS FROM WHICH THE IDENTITY STRUCTURE INDICES ARE DERIVED

The concern of this section of the manual is to give the working definitions of the psychological concepts that form the theoretical foundation for estimating particular psychological parameters of an individual's self-concept called here identity structure indices. The derivation of the concepts and the theoretical propositions concerning processes of self-concept development and change, and their relationship to group allegiances and processes of social change are dealt with elsewhere eg. (Weinreich, 1975, 1977a, 1977b, 1978, 1979a, 1979b, 1979c, in press).

Algebraic translations of the psychological definitions given below are presented in Appendix A. There, details will be found of the way in which the psychological parameters are estimated from the empirical data for the individual. These are 'normalized' so that identity structure indices may be directly compared from individual to individual (and group to group) despite idiosyncracies in such things as different styles in the use of rating scales, as well as the fundamental ones of differing construct and value systems.

#### 3.1 Ideal self-image, values, and current and past self-images

##### 3.1.1 Ideal self-image (or ego-ideal)

A person's ideal self-image is defined as his construal of "me as I would like to be". (Appendix A.1.3)

The person's ideal self-image is the totality of all that to which he aspires and includes all the characteristics, skills and values he would wish to possess or work towards realizing within himself, that is, ones which he would evaluate favourably.

### 3.1.2 Positive values

A person's positive values are defined as those personal characteristics and guidelines for behaviour which he aspires to implement for himself in accordance with his ideal self-image. (Appendix A.1.3)

### 3.1.3 Negative (or contra) values

A person's negative values are defined as the contrasts of his positive values, that is, those characteristics and patterns of behaviour from which he would wish to dissociate. (Appendix A.1.3)

Positive and negative (or contra) value systems refer to the interlinking of all the individual's positive and negative values respectively.

From these definitions it follows that the individual's positive and negative values are established by reference to his construal of his ideal self-image, the positive values being those represented by the poles of his bipolar constructs which he aligns with "me as I would like to be" and the negative values being those designated by the contrasting poles. The evaluative connotations of construct poles are therefore anchored in the individual's ideal self-image. When a person deems the occasional construct to be inapplicable to his ideal self-image, its evaluative dimension may be established by reference to the way he construes some other admired person such as "a good friend", or, in contrasting fashion, to the way he construes someone from whom he dissociates such as "a bad person". In establishing the evaluative connotations of a person's bipolar constructs, the emotional significance of the content aspects of the constructs is made apparent. In his social encounters the person would wish to act in accordance with behaviour denoted by one pole of his constructs, whilst wishing to avoid, or to remove himself from, behaviour denoted by the contrast pole.

#### 3.1.4 Current self-image

A person's current self-image is defined as his construal of "me as I am now".

Generally speaking, the individual will not construe his current self-image in the same way as his ideal self-image. Few individuals will feel that they currently possess all the desirable attributes to which they aspire, or have them to the extent they would wish. Many individuals will admit to currently having characteristics they would prefer not to possess.

#### 3.1.5 Past self-image

A person's past self-image is defined as his construal of "me as I used to be".

If a person is aware that he is changing, his construal of his past self-image will differ from that of his current self-image.

### 3.2 Positive and negative role models, and positive and negative reference groups

#### 3.2.1 Positive role model (and reference group)

A person's positive role model (reference group) is defined as some other person (group) construed as having many of the attributes and values to which he aspires, that is, ones associated with his ideal self-image.

#### 3.2.2 Negative role model (and reference group)

A person's negative role model (reference group) is defined as some other person (group) construed as possessing many of the attributes and contra values from which he wishes to dissociate, that is, ones aligned with his contra value system.

### 3.3 Identification with another or with a group

Group identification and identification with another person may occur either with respect to that to which the individual aspires, or with respect

to that which he currently is. In terms of group identification this distinction corresponds to that between reference group identification (aspiration towards the ideal) and membership group identification (the current reality). In terms of identification with another person the distinction is between identification with the other as a positive role model and identification in an empathetic manner with another whose attributes are construed as being similar to those of himself as he currently is. This distinction is reflected in the following definitions.

3.3.1 Current identification (perceived similarity)

The extent of a person's current identification with another is defined as the degree of similarity between the qualities he attributes to the other, whether 'good' or 'bad', and those of his current self-image. (Appendix A.2.8)

3.3.2 Past identification (perceived similarity)

The extent of a person's past identification with another is defined as the degree of similarity between the qualities he attributes to the other and those of his past self-image. (Appendix A.2.8)

3.3.3 Idealistic-identification (positive role model and reference group)

The extent of a person's idealistic-identification with another is defined as the degree of similarity between the qualities he attributes to the other and those he would like to possess as part of his ideal self-image. (Appendix A.2.9)

3.3.4 Contra-identification (negative role model and reference group)

The extent of a person's contra-identification with another is defined as the degree of similarity between the qualities he attributes to the other and those from which he would wish to dissociate. (Appendix A.2.10)

The quantitative indices for identifications range from 0.00 to 1.00 max.

1. All identification indices indicate the proportionate strength of the identification in question, thus 0.60 indicates that the individual identifies with the person or group concerned to the extent of 60%.

2. Idealistic-identifications above 0.50 maybe regarded as indicating positive reference models, likewise contra-identifications above 0.50 negative reference models.

### 3.4. Identification conflicts and overall identity diffusion

#### 3.4.1 Identification conflicts

In terms of the person's current self-image the extent of his identification conflict with another is defined as a multiplicative function of his current and contra-identifications with that other. (Appendix A.2.11; the multiplicative function in question is the geometric mean.)

A similar definition holds for identification conflicts in terms of the person's past self-image by substituting past for current identification.

As the person's current (past) and contra-identifications with another simultaneously increase so will his conflict in identification with that other become greater.

The quantitative index for identification conflict ranges from 0.00 to 1.00 max. A conflict in identification with another of 0.50 and above is substantial.

#### 3.4.2 Overall identity diffusion

The degree of a person's identity diffusion is defined as the overall dispersion of, and magnitude of, his identification conflicts with significant others. (Appendix A.2.12)

This may be assessed both in relation to the person's current and past self-images.

The quantitative index for identity diffusion ranges from 0.00 to 1.00 max. Analysis of about 100 identity structures indicates that individuals with values above 0.40 have relatively high levels of identity diffusion.

### 3.5 Evaluation of others and self-esteem

Samples of the computer print-out will be found in Section 4 of this manual, which give a person's computed indices of identification and identification conflicts with respect to significant others, and that of his overall identity diffusion, both in relation to his current and past self-images (Tables 4.9.1 & 4.9.2; 4.9.3 & 4.9.4 on pages 30a and 31a respectively).

### 3.5.1 Evaluation of another

A person's evaluation of another is defined as his overall assessment of the other in terms of the positive and negative evaluative connotations of the attributes he construes in that other, in accordance with his value system. (Appendix A.2.2)

### 3.5.2 Evaluation of current (past) self

A person's evaluation of his current (past) self is defined as his overall self-assessment in terms of the positive and negative evaluative connotations of the attributes he construes as making up his current (past) self-image, in accordance with his value system. (Appendix A.2.3.)

### 3.5.3 Self-esteem

A person's self-esteem is defined as his overall self-assessment in evaluative terms of the continuing relationship between his past and current self-images, in accordance with his value system. (Appendix A.2.4)

This conceptualization of self-esteem arises from the definition of identity given in the Introduction of this manual, namely:

a person's identity is defined as the totality of his self-construal, in which how he construes himself in the present expresses the continuity between how he construes himself as he was in the past and how he construes himself as he aspires to be in the future.

The definition of self-esteem delineates the evaluative aspect of the person's identity or self-construal, and that aspect only. It incorporates the continuity of his construal of how he was in the past (past self-image), through the present (current self-image), towards the future, denoted by his value system (as he aspires to be in the future).

Used as a single indicant of a person's psychological well-being, the self-esteem measure should be regarded as unreliable. For example, a person may evaluate his current self-image more highly than his past and thereby indicate greater satisfaction with himself currently compared with before. A lower current than past self-evaluation will reflect diminishing self-satisfaction. Whilst representing quite different psychological states, both may generate the same self-esteem values. In addition, all kinds of different identification patterns and magnitudes of conflicts in identification can accompany a particular self-esteem value. In certain cases, a high level of self-esteem may be associated with a foreclosed identity associated with a defensive denial of conflicts in identification.

The quantitative indices for evaluation and self-esteem range from -1.00 to +1.00, that is, from wholly negative to wholly positive. Since there is a marked bias in most individuals towards positive construals, estimates of evaluation and self-esteem close to zero should be regarded as unfavourable or poor. Sample computer print-out giving a person's self-esteem and evaluations of others can be found in Section 4, Table 4.6



### 3.6 Ego-involvement with entities

#### 3.6.1 Ego-involvement with another

A person's ego-involvement with another is defined as his overall responsiveness to the other in terms of the extensiveness both in quantity and strength of the attributes he construes the other as possessing. (Appendix A.2.1)

#### 3.6.2 Self-involvement

A person's ego-involvement in himself is defined in like manner as above, but with respect to the various component facets of his self-concept:

A person's ego-involvement in himself as he aspires to be ( or as he is now, or as he was in the past ) is defined as his overall self-responsiveness in terms of the extensiveness both in quantity and strength of the attributes of his ideal self-image (or current self-image, or past self-image). (Appendix A.2.1)

Whilst most people will be highly ego-involved in their ideal self-images, and hence oriented towards their future aspirations, this is not necessarily the case in all instances. A person may have an uncertain set of aspirations in which self-construals and values are defined more in terms of negative than positive reference models. The person's ego-involvement in such models may be higher than in his ideal self-image. If a person is more highly ego-involved in his past self-image than in his current or ideal self-image, his thinking is likely to be dominated by his past experiences.

The quantitative index for ego-involvement ranges from 0.00 to 5.00 max. where 5.00 represents that entity with which the person is most highly ego-involved. Sample computer print-out of a person's ego-involvement in self and others is given in Section 4 (Table 4.2).

### 3.7 Ambivalence and ego-ambivalence towards an entity

#### 3.7.1 Ambivalence

A person's ambivalence towards an entity (e.g. another person, or a facet of self-concept) when evaluated on balance in positive terms is defined as the ratio of negative to positive attributions, and, conversely, when negatively evaluated as the ratio of positive to negative attributions. (Appendix A.2.5)

The quantitative index for ambivalence ranges from 0.00 to 1.00 max. where 1.00 represents total evaluative ambivalence towards the entity.

Ambivalence towards 'ideal self' must, by definition, be zero, though ambivalence towards other facets of self, such as current self, past self, or self-for-others, etc. may exist.

### 3.7.2 Ego-ambivalence

Since it is frequently possible to have ambivalences towards others and groups who are not particularly significant to oneself, a more instructive measure of the degree to which such ambivalences might dominate a person's self-concept is one which multiplies a person's ambivalence towards an entity by his ego-involvement with it.

A person's ego-ambivalence towards an entity (or entity dissonance) is defined as the product of his ambivalence towards it and his ego-involvement with it. (Appendix A.2.5)

The quantitative index for ego-ambivalence (or entity dissonance) ranges from 0.00 to 5.00 max. Computed indices of a person's ambivalences and entity dissonances are given in the sample computer print-out in Table 4.6.

### 3.8 Structural pressure on constructs (stability of their evaluative connotations)

Consider a particular construct used by a person and the entities (people, groups, institutions, etc) which constitute his social world. Consider also that the evaluative connotation the construct has for him will be anchored in his value system (see Section 3.1), and further that his overall evaluation of each entity will depend on the specific constellation of characteristics he attributes to each (see Section 3.5). It follows that, in his use of the construct to attribute a characteristic to an entity, its evaluation connotation for him may be either compatible or incompatible with his overall evaluation of the entity in question. For example, he may have a generally favourable opinion of Jack to whom he attributes several excellent qualities, but on one point he may construe in him a most unfortunate characteristic. In this instance, the evaluative significance to him of

the construct he uses to attribute the negative quality is incompatible with his overall positive feelings about Jack. Suppose also that his overall evaluation of another entity is negative, to which, however, he attributes a favourable characteristic. Then, again, an evaluative incompatibility would exist between construct and entity. In many instances, of course, there will be compatibilities between the evaluative significance of construct and entity. Indeed, for a particular construct there is likely to be an excess of compatibilities over incompatibilities, if its evaluative significance for the person is to be at all stable. Such a state of affairs, in which 'pressures' towards stability arise from the person's structure of evaluative compatibilities and incompatibilities, may be represented by a concept of 'structural pressure' defined in the following manner.

The structural pressure on a person's construct is defined as the overall strength of the excess of compatibilities over incompatibilities between the evaluative connotations of attributions he makes to each entity by way of the one construct and his overall evaluation of each entity. (Appendix A.2.7)

The more extensive are the compatibilities compared with the incompatibilities the greater is the structural pressure constraining the present evaluative connotation of the construct in question. The quantitative index for the structural pressure on a construct ranges from 100.00 to -100.00. Computed indices of these 'pressures' on a person's constructs can be found in the computer print-out sample in Table 4.3.

High positive values for a construct indicate strong pressures within the person to constrain the current evaluative connotation that it has for him. Negative values indicate an excess of evaluative incompatibilities over compatibilities, hence possible pressures on the person to re-assess its evaluative significance to him. Very large negative values, however, may indicate that, either he operates a "dual standard" in which he approves of some behaviour in himself which he decries in others, or the evaluative dimension of the construct has been incorrectly assigned owing to errors in the empirical procedures. Values in the region of zero represent a situation

in which the evaluative dimension of his construct is not securely aligned with his overall assessments of the entities of his social world. In evaluative terms he uses such a construct inconsistently (though how he uses it to denote characteristics in others may well be perceptive and accurate). It is therefore a candidate for his re-assessment of its evaluative connotations, that is, for a change in one of his value dimensions.

### 3.9 Splitting in construal of entities

In considering a person's construal of entities, occasions arise when his construal of a certain entity may be subdivided into component facets. For example, a person's construals of French and English people are likely to encompass separate construals of the men and women of both nationalities. Or a Jamaican adolescent may construe himself as others see him ('me as others see me') in general terms, but differentiate this aspect of his self-concept into contrasting construals of himself as blacks see him ('me as blacks see me') and as whites see him ('me as whites see me'). In these examples, the more differentiated construals may indicate an important splitting of the construal of the total. The person's construals of French and English women may be considerably more split off from one another than those of French and English men, a possibility which would not be apparent from the evidence of a lesser split between his overall construals of French and English people. The Jamaican youth's construal of himself as blacks see him may be totally split off from that of himself as whites see him, yet both these construals may be encompassed by his overall construal of the way others in general see him. The 'split indices' are designed for the empirical exploration of such possibilities.

In general, entities may be attributed positive and negative characteristics. The constructs used by the person in their construal may be the same, and the attributions, whether positive or negative, may also be the same, which would be a case of complete correspondence. He could also use the same constructs, but attribute polar opposite characteristics to the entities, demonstrating a total split in their construals. In addition, some of the constructs he uses could be different, indicating areas of no possible overlap. The extent of splitting will depend, therefore, not only on whether the person uses the same constructs to attribute contrasting characteristics, but also on the extent to which he uses different constructs. In either case, it is possible to consider the deficiency in overlap in the construals of both positive and negative attributions in terms of the total number of positive and negative attributes jointly construed in the entities.

The extent of splitting in a person's construal of two entities is defined as the ratio of the deficiency in actual overlap possible between their attributed characteristics to the total possible overlap, given the set of constructs he uses to construe them both.  
(Appendix A.2.6)

The quantitative index for splitting in a person's construal of entities ranges from 0.00 to 1.00 max, that is, from no splitting, when he construes them identically, to total splitting when there is nothing in common between his construals. Examples of the degree of splitting in a person's construal of various entities are given in the two samples of computer print-out in Table 4.10 (self concept) and Table 4.11 (other entities).

Section 4 of the manual, which follows shows how estimates of these indices may be directly and simply read from the print-out obtained when the computer program devised for this purpose is used. The mechanics of dealing with the data from an individual in readiness for using the computer program and operational instructions are also given there.

APPENDIX 3

WEINREICH ON ISA COMPUTATIONAL PROCEDURE

(see Chapter 5.4.2)

APPENDIX AALGEBRAIC TRANSLATION OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL DEFINITIONS GIVEN IN  
SECTION 3 AND COMPUTATIONAL FORMULAE FOR CALCULATING EMPIRICAL  
ESTIMATES OF IDENTITY STRUCTURE PARAMETERSA.1. DATA: CONVERSION OF THE PERSON'S CONSTRUCT RATINGS TO 'SCORES'  
USED IN COMPUTATIONSA.1.1. The data: example of the rating scale used to obtain a person's  
construal of entities.

An adequate sample of a person's bipolar constructs and a list of relevant individuals and groups of people may be elicited from him by any method (see Section 2). The person is then asked to systematically construe facets of his self-concept and his social world using each of his constructs one at a time. An example of the use of a centre-zero rating scale for this purpose is given here (Example 1). The two poles of the construct fights back - doesn't think it helps are written at either end of the scale at the top of the rating sheet. This reference scale is numbered with the scale values which indicate the extent to which the one pole or the other applies to the particular entity being construed. No suggestion is given concerning the evaluative connotation of the construct, and the construct could just as well have been written with its poles reversed. The scale in the example is a nine-point one, but it could be seven, five, or three points long depending on the discrimination in ratings desired. The reference scale labelled with the construct is presented at the top slightly apart from the rest of the scales on the rating sheet, against which are written the entities to be construed.

EXAMPLE 1.

A nine-point centre-zero rating scale used to obtain a person's  
construal of entities.

	fights back	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	Doesn't think it helps
mum		—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	✓
dad		—	—	—	—	0	—	✓	—	—	
sister		—	—	—	—	0	—	—	✓	—	
friend		—	—	✓	—	0	—	—	—	—	
English boys		—	✓	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	
West Indian girls		—	—	—	—	0	—	✓	—	—	
*me as I am now		—	—	—	—	0	✓	—	—	—	
**me as I used to be.		—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	✓	
***me as I would like to be	✓	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	
apprentices		—	—	—	—	0	✓	—	—	—	
etc.		—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	

\* current self-image  
\*\* past self-image  
\*\*\* ideal self-image

The person's construct fights back - doesn't think it helps is written against the top reference scale. The entities that he construes are written alongside the body of the scales on the left hand side. They include the appropriate facets of his self-image.

Note that the raw ratings from a nine-point centre-zero scale are converted to digits for computer processing in accordance with the conversion scheme given in Table 5.3. (An example of the response matrix that results from conversions of raw ratings of entities against constructs is given in the sample computer print-out in Table 4.1.1b).



The process of eliciting meaningful and relevant constructs from an individual is not always successful, nor is it possible for him to apply each of his constructs to every one of the entities he may be asked to construe. When this is the case he has the clear option of using the mid-point zero category of the scale. A zero rating means 'no score' and is excluded from the calculations of identity structure indices.

#### A.1.2. Ego-ratings of constructs ( $\alpha_j$ )

Another precaution against assuming that all elicited constructs should receive the same status in computations consists of asking the respondent to sort them into five categories corresponding to their importance to him. When this is done they are effectively ranked on a five point scale. The values obtained are called the person's ego-ratings of his constructs. A value  $\alpha_j$  (ranked 1 to 5) designates the ego-rating for the  $j$ th construct. Those regarded by him as 'the most important' receive the value 5, 'the least' the value 1. If the person's ego-ratings are not obtained all his constructs are given equal weight in computations. (In the computer print-out, ego-ratings are given alongside the constructs as shown in the sample in Table 4.3.)

A.1.3. Designation of a person's value system.

The polarity of each of a person's constructs is determined by how he rates his ideal self-image (Section 3.1.1). Those poles he uses to describe his ideal self-image are defined as positive (e.g. "fights back" is defined as the positive pole of the construct in Example 1) (Section 3.1.2). The alternative poles are assumed to represent contra-values, namely, ones which contrast with his ideal self-image (e.g. "doesn't think it helps") (Section 3.1.3). On the few occasions when he does not apply a construct to his ideal self-image, proxies such as "a good friend" or "a bad person" are used to define its polarity. As a total set, the polarities of a person's constructs are assumed to define his positive and contra value systems (see Section 3.1). Constructs which are neither personal nor social, and which are without evaluative connotations, are excluded from this set.

A.1.4. Conversion of a person's basic rating scale data to 'scores' used in computations ( $S_{i,j}$ ).

The rating a person gives to an entity on a centre-zero construct scale cannot be converted to a 'score' to be used in computations, until the polarity of the construct is known.

For any construct there are two possible polarities, depending on whether the ideal self-image (or proxy) is rated to the left or the right of the zero-point. When the ideal self-image is rated to the left of zero (as it is in Example 1), the polarity of the construct is defined as  $P = 1$ . In this case, the conversion of a rating for an entity  $E_i$  on the  $j$ th construct proceeds as follows:

For polarity  $P = 1$ .

Construct scale $j$ :	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4
Scores ( $S_{i,j}$ )	4	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4

For example, a person construes entity  $E_i$  at point 3 to the right of the zero point using his  $j$ th construct. This rating becomes a score ( $S_{i,j}$ ) of -3.

The second polarity, defined as  $P = 2$ , arises when the ideal self-image is rated to the right of the zero mid-point. Conversion of ratings to scores is then as follows:

For polarity  $P = 2$ .

Construct scale $j$ :	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4
Scores ( $S_{i,j}$ )	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4

In this instance, a person's rating of an entity at point 3 to the right of the zero point becomes a positive score of 3. (An example of a 'converted response matrix', taking into account the polarity of each construct, is given in Table 4.1.2. The polarities of the constructs will be found in the sample print-out in Table 4.3).

## A.2. IDENTITY STRUCTURE INDICES

A.2.1. Ego-involvement with entities ( $G_1$ )

A person's ego-involvement with another is defined as his overall responsiveness to the other in terms of the extensiveness both in quantity and strength of the attributes he construes the other as possessing (Section 3.6).

The extensiveness of a person's response to another ( $E_i$ ) depends on the number of characteristics he attributes to the other, the ego-ratings ( $\alpha_j$ ) of the constructs he uses (See Section A.1.2), and the magnitude (not the sign) of the scores ( $S_{i,j}$ ) on these characteristics (See Section A.1.4), i.e.

$$\text{Extensiveness of a person's response to } E_i: \sigma_i = \frac{\sum_j |\alpha_j S_{i,j}|}{\sum_j |\alpha_j|} \quad (1)$$

People's response patterns to the rating scales can vary a lot. Some use a narrow range of scale points, whilst others use the whole range. An adjustment is made so that it becomes possible to make comparisons across individuals on this measure. This is done by finding the maximum value ( $\max \sigma$ ) for the extensiveness of response to any entity, which provides an estimate of the person's most extreme involvement. His 'ego-involvement' with each entity is then defined relatively to the maximum i.e.

$$\text{Ego-involvement with entity } E_i: G_i = 5 \left\{ \frac{\sigma_i}{\max \sigma} \right\} \quad (2)$$

where  $\sigma_i$  is given by expression (1). The value of 5 in expression (2) is arbitrary. It is inserted for convenience should one wish to compare a person's ego-involvements with entities with his direct ratings of their importance to him on a five-point scale. (See Table 4.2 for the tabulation of  $G$  in the sample computer print-out).

Ego-involvement is an important weighting factor in the calculation of certain identity structure indices. For example, in estimating the overall extent of a person's identity diffusion, the ego-involvement variable is used to weight the contributions of his conflicts in identification with each entity to the total.

#### A.2.2. Evaluation of another ( $\hat{R}(E_1)$ ).

A person's evaluation of another is defined as his overall assessment of the other in terms of the positive and negative evaluative connotations of the attributes he construes in that other, in accordance with his value system (Section 3.5).

In general, the evaluation of any entity  $E_1$  is given by the extent to which positive and negative characteristics are attributed to it, i.e.

$$\text{Evaluation of Entity } E_1 : \quad R(E_1) = \frac{\sum_j \alpha_j S_{1,j}}{\sum_j v_j} \quad (3)$$

where, if the entity obtains a score  $S_{1,j} = 0$ , then  $v_j = 0$ , otherwise  $v_j = \alpha_j$  (See Sections A.1.2 and A.1.4). This means that the person's evaluation of another is based only on those constructs he uses to construe him. Irrelevant ratings (zero scores) do not contribute to the calculation.

The problem of individual differences in response style arises again. Compensation for these differences is necessary for comparisons across individuals and is achieved by 'normalizing' evaluations against the maximum value ( $\max R$ ), irrespective of sign, obtained for the set of entities construed by the respondent, i.e.

$$\text{'Normalized' evaluation of entity } E_1 : \quad \hat{R}(E_1) = \frac{R(E_1)}{\max R} \quad (4)$$

In practice the maximum value,  $\max R$ , is generally the person's evaluation of his ideal self-image. The index of 'normalized' evaluation may range from -1.00 to +1.00, from a wholly unfavourable to a wholly favourable evaluation.

### A.2.3. Evaluation of current (past) self ( $\hat{R}(E_c)$ and $\hat{R}(E_p)$ )

A person's evaluation of his current (past) self is defined as his overall self-assessment in terms of the positive and negative evaluative connotations of the attributes he construes as making up his current (past) self-image, in accordance with his value system (Section 3.5).

'Normalized' evaluation of  
current self-image :  $\hat{R}(E_c) = \frac{R(E_c)}{\max R}$  (5)

where  $R(E_c)$  is given by expression (3) in which  $i = c$ , the current self image.

'Normalized' evaluation of  
past self-image :  $\hat{R}(E_p) = \frac{R(E_p)}{\max R}$  (6)

where  $R(E_p)$  is given by expression (3) in which  $i = p$ , the past self-image.

### A.2.4. Self-esteem (S)

A person's self-esteem is defined as his overall self-assessment in evaluative terms of the continuing relationship between his past and current self-images, in accordance with his value system (Section 3.5).

A person's self-esteem is interpreted as a combined assessment of his evaluation of his current and past self-images. It is defined here algebraically as the weighted sum of his normalized evaluations of his current self-image,  $\hat{R}(E_c)$ , and of his past self-image,  $\hat{R}(E_p)$ ,

i.e.

Self-esteem :  $S = \frac{G_c \hat{R}(E_c) + G_p \hat{R}(E_p)}{G_c + G_p}$  (7)

where  $G_c$  and  $G_p$  are his ego-involvements in his current and past self-images respectively. Refer to expressions (5) and (6) for the calculation of his normalized evaluations and to expression (2) for the calculation of his ego-involvements. The self-esteem scale defined here ranges from -1.00 to +1.00, i.e. from negative self-evaluation to positive.

(See sample computer print-out in Table 4.6 for the tabulation of raw evaluations, 'normalized' evaluations, and self-esteem.)

#### A.2.5. Ambivalence towards an entity ( $AMB(E_i)$ and $DISS(E_i)$ )

A person's ambivalence towards an entity when evaluated on balance in positive terms is defined as the ratio of negative to positive attributions, and, conversely, when negatively evaluated as the ratio of positive to negative attributes.

A person's evaluation of another,  $E_i$ , may often mask an ambivalent construal of liked and disliked characteristics. Both positive and negative scores ( $S_{i,j}$ ) will then be included in the assessment of evaluation (expression (3)). Ambivalence will be a function of the balance between the disliked and the liked. If the calculated evaluation of  $E_i$  is positive, any negative characteristics, or scores, will have signs incompatible with that positive evaluation. By comparing the sign of each product  $\alpha_{i,j} S_{i,j}$  with the sign of the evaluation  $R(E_i)$ , ambivalence can be defined as a ratio of the incompatible (dissonant) to the compatible (consonant) characteristics, i.e.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Ambivalence towards} \\ \text{entity } E_i : \quad AMB(E_i) &= \frac{\sum_j (\text{dissonant elements})_{i,j}}{\sum_j (\text{consonant elements})_{i,j}} \\ &= \frac{\left| \sum_j \alpha_{i,j} S_{i,j} (\text{incompatible signs}) \right|}{\left| \sum_j \alpha_{i,j} S_{i,j} (\text{compatible signs}) \right|} \quad (8) \end{aligned}$$

If an evaluation  $R(E_i) = 0$ , then  $AMB(E_i) = 1$  since the dissonant and consonant elements will be equally balanced. The index for ambivalence ranges from 0.00 to 1.00, from no ambivalence to maximum. Ambivalence towards another may be of greater or less significance depending on the person's ego-involvement in that other. Combining ambivalence with ego-involvement results in a new variable defined as 'entity dissonance'.

$$\text{Dissonance towards} \\ \text{entity } E_i : \quad DISS(E_i) = G_i AMB(E_i) \quad (9)$$

A 10.

Since "entity dissonance" is the product of ego-involvement with ambivalence, it is also known as ego-ambivalence. Its value ranges from 0.00 to 5.00 maximum. (See Table 4.6 for the tabulation of ambivalences and entity dissonances in the computer print-out.)

#### A.2.6. Splitting in construal of entities ( $O_{k,1}$ )

The extent of splitting in a person's construal of two entities is defined as the ratio of the deficiency in actual overlap possible between their attributed characteristics to the total possible overlap, given the set of constructs he uses to construe them both (Section 3.9).

The index of split in a person's construal of two entities,  $E_k$  and  $E_l$ , may be expressed algebraically as:

$$\text{Split in construal of } E_k \text{ and } E_l : O_{k,1} = \frac{(E_k \cup E_l) - (E_k \cap E_l)}{(E_k \cup E_l)} \quad (10)$$

$O_{k,1}$  may range from zero (no split) to unity (total split, or no overlap in a person's construal of the two entities). Since it is of interest to note the extent of splitting in positive and negative attributions, separate split indices are calculated for positive and negative evaluations and the overall index is a weighted sum of these. (See computer print-out Tables 4.10 and 4.11 for tabulation of split indices).

#### A 2.7. Structural pressures on constructs (stability of their evaluative connotations) ( $\lambda_j$ )

The structural pressure on a person's construct is defined as the overall strength of the excess of compatibilities over incompatibilities between the evaluative connotations of attributions he makes to each entity by way of the one construct and his overall evaluation of each entity (Section 3.8).

For the  $j$ th construct in question the set of entities construed are separated into two groups, those for which their overall evaluations  $R(E_i)$  have the same sign as the construct scores  $S_{1,j}$  (consonant) and those for which they have different signs (dissonant). The entities in the consonant group are represented by  $E_{1\kappa}$ , where  $\kappa$  is a summation variable, and the entities in the dissonant group are represented by  $E_{1\ell}$ , where  $\ell$  is another summation variable. The total number of consonant entities is put equal to  $\lambda$ , and the total number of dissonant entities to  $\mu$ .

The two groups of entities consist of.

$E_{11}, E_{12}, E_{13}, \dots, E_{1\lambda}$  - 'consonant' group  
 $E_{11}, E_{12}, E_{13}, \dots, E_{1\mu}$  - 'dissonant' group

The structural pressure against re-evaluation of the  $j$ th construct is defined algebraically as follows:



All.

Structural pressure on construct j :  $\Omega_j = \sum_{k=1}^{\lambda} \left| G_{i_k} s_{i_k,j} \right| - \sum_{l=1}^{\mu} \left| G_{i_l} s_{i_l,j} \right|$  (11)

where the contribution to the summation is weighted by the person's ego-involvement with each entity.  $\Omega_j$  will be positive if the construct in question is generally consonant with respect to each entry in turn i.e. if the sign of the rating of each entity on that construct is generally compatible with the sign of the overall evaluation of that entity.

The sums:  $\Omega_j^+ = \sum_{k=1}^{\lambda} \left| G_{i_k} s_{i_k,j} \right|$  and  $\Omega_j^- = \sum_{l=1}^{\mu} \left| G_{i_l} s_{i_l,j} \right|$

are termed 'positive' and 'negative' pressures respectively.

For comparisons across individuals, in which compensation is made for different response styles, the expression for structural pressures requires 'normalization'. This is done as follows. For each construct the total magnitude of 'pressure', irrespective of sign, is calculated. The maximum value thus obtained provides the comparison base for 'normalization' as represented in the following algebraic definition:

'Normalized' structural pressure on construct j :  $\hat{\Omega}_j = \frac{\Omega_j}{\max(|\Omega^+| + |\Omega^-|)} \times 100$  (12)

This index has a range from 100.00 to -100.00 where a value of 100.00 would represent a case in which the evaluative connotation of the construct in question is consonant with the person's overall evaluation of each entity in turn. ('Positive', 'negative', and 'normalized' structural pressures are given against the polarities of constructs in the computer print-out as in Table 4.3.)

#### A.2.8. Current 'past' identification with another or group ( $\Psi_1^c$ and $\Psi_1^p$ )

The extent of a person's current identification with another is defined as the degree of similarity between the qualities he attributes to the other, whether 'good' or 'bad', and those of his current self-image, (Section 3.3).

Current identification with entity  $E_1$ .  $\Psi_1^c = \frac{E_c \cap E_1}{E_c}$

$$= \frac{(E_c^+ \cap E_1^+) + (E_c^- \cap E_1^-)}{E_c^+ + E_c^-} \quad (13)$$

A12.

where  $E_c$  denotes the person's construal of his current self-image, and  $E^+, E^-$  denote the positive and negative attributed characteristics of the entity.

For past identification with  $E_i$ , substitute  $E_p$  (past self-image) for  $E_c$  in expression (13).

Example 2 indicates how  $\psi_i^c$  is calculated in practice. For simplicity the number of constructs is limited to six. Associated with the person's  $j$ th construct is his ego-rating of it,  $a_j$  (see Section A.1.2). His 'score' for the current self-image,  $E_c$ , using the  $j$ th construct is indicated by  $S_{c,j}$  (see Section A.1.4). Likewise,  $S_{i,j}$  refers to the 'score' entity  $E_i$  obtains. These 'scores' may be positive, negative, or zero depending on whether his ratings correspond to positive or contra values, or irrelevance (refer to Section A.1.4. above). On a nine point rating scale these 'scores' may range from -4 to +4. However, in the calculation of  $\psi_i^c$  the ego ratings of the constructs only are used in the computations. The ego ratings of all of the constructs which contribute 'scores' to a person's construal of his current self-image contribute to the denominator of expression (13) above. The numerator depends on whether the signs of the 'scores' for  $E_c$  and  $E_i$  match. If they are both positive in relation to a particular construct, the person construes his current self-image and the entity in question as sharing the same positive attribute. If they are both negative they are construed as sharing the same negative attribute. In either case, an overlap in attributes, or a match in 'scores', arises whenever their product is positive.

## Example 2

A person's current identification with another.

Construct j    Ego-rating of    Current self-    Entity  $E_i$  ;    Sign of product  
                  constructs ( $a_j$ ) image ( $E_C$ );    scores  $S_{i,j}$     ( $S_{C,j}$ ). ( $S_{i,j}$ ):  
    scores  $S_{C,j}$     cols. (3) and (4)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	$a_1$	3 ( $a_1$ )	4	+ ( $a_1$ )
2	$a_2$	-1 ( $a_2$ )	-3	+ ( $a_2$ )
3	$a_3$	0	4	0
4	$a_4$	2 ( $a_4$ )	-1	-
5	$a_5$	3 ( $a_5$ )	0	0
6	$a_6$	-4 ( $a_6$ )	-3	+ ( $a_6$ )

The denominator of expression (13) depends on the attributes of the current self-image shown in column 3 and the numerator on the 'matches' in attributes indicated by +'s in column 5. The values to be inserted into expression (13) are the ego-ratings given in brackets under columns 3 and 5, i.e.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{from column 5: } (E_C^+ \cap E_i^+) &= a_1 \\ \text{and } (E_C^- \cap E_i^-) &= a_2 + a_6 \end{aligned}$$

$$\text{from column 3 ; } E_C^+ \cap E_C^- = (a_1 + a_4 + a_5) + (a_2 + a_6),$$

hence,

Current identification  
with entity  $E_i$  (Example 2):

$$\psi_1^C = \frac{(a_1 + a_2 + a_6)}{(a_1 + a_2 + a_4 + a_5 + a_6)}$$

The value for the person's past identification with another is obtained in exactly the same way, except that the 'scores' for the past self-image ( $E_P$ ) replace those for the current self-image.

The range of values for a person's current and past identifications range from zero to unity, that is, an absence of, to complete identification with, the entity in question. (Current and past identifications will be found tabulated in sample computer print-outs in Tables 4.9.2 and 4.9.4.)

9. Idealistic identification with another or group ( $f_1^I$ )

The extent of a person's idealistic identification with another is defined as the similarity between the qualities he attributes to the other and those he would like to possess as part of his ideal self-image (Section 3.3).

Let  $I$  represent the ideal self-image attributes and  $E_1$  those of the other, then

$$\text{Idealistic identification with entity } E_1 : f_1^I = \frac{I \cap E_1}{I} \quad (14)$$

where, in practice the overlap between  $I$  and  $E_1$  is represented by the positive attributes  $E_1^+$ , since the ideal self-image,  $I$ , is assumed to be synonymous with the person's positive value system (i.e. the positive poles of the constructs).

In example 2 entity  $E_1$  has two positive attributes, corresponding to constructs 1 and 3, with ego-ratings  $a_1$  and  $a_3$  respectively. The numerator of expression (14) is therefore  $(a_1 + a_3)$ . The denominator is the sum of the ego-ratings of all six constructs, i.e.

$$\text{Idealistic identification with entity } E_1 : f_1^I = \frac{(a_1 + a_3)}{(a_1 + a_2 + a_3 + a_4 + a_5 + a_6)}$$

The value for a person's idealistic identification with another can range from zero to unity. (See sample print-outs in Tables 4.9.2 and 4.9.4).

#### A2.10 Contra-identification with another or group ( $\phi_i^I$ )

The extent of a person's contra-identification with another is defined as the similarity between the qualities he attributes to the other and those from which he would wish to dissociate (Section 3.3).

Let  $\bar{I}$  represent the contra value system (the poles of the person's constructs contrary to those designating his ideal self-image), then

$$\text{Contra-identification: } \phi_i^I = \frac{\bar{I} \cap E_i}{\bar{I}} \quad (15)$$

with entity  $E_i$

$\bar{I} \cap E_i$  is represented by the negative attributes of  $E_i$ . In example 2 these correspond to his constructs 2, 4 and 6, with ego-ratings  $\alpha_2$ ,  $\alpha_4$  and  $\alpha_6$ . The negative poles of the six constructs represent his contra value system, hence

$$\text{Contra-identification: } \phi_i^I = \frac{(\alpha_2 + \alpha_4 + \alpha_6)}{(\alpha_1 + \alpha_2 + \alpha_3 + \alpha_4 + \alpha_5 + \alpha_6)}$$

with entity  $E_i$  (Example 2)

As with the other identification indices, the value for a person's contra-identification with another can range from zero to unity. (See sample print-out in Tables 4.9.2 and 4.9.4.)

#### A2.11 Identification conflict with another or group ( $K_i$ )

In terms of the person's current self-image the extent of his identification conflict with another is defined as a multiplicative function of his current and contra-identifications with that other (Section 3.4).

Algebraically, a person's conflict in identification with some other or with a group of people is defined as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Current conflict in} \\ \text{identification with} \\ \text{entity } E_i : \\ K_i^C &= \sqrt{(\text{current identification})_i (\text{contra-identification})_i} \\ &= \sqrt{\psi_i^C \phi_i^I} \end{aligned} \quad (16)$$

where  $\psi_i^C$  and  $\phi_i^I$  are given by expressions (13) and (15).

The square root of the product (i.e. the geometric mean) is taken so that the index for identification conflict remains a linear parameter.

In example 2 the computational procedures for  $\psi_i^C$  and  $\phi_i^I$  have already been demonstrated. In order to obtain an estimate of the person's conflict in identification with entity  $E_i$  the appropriate values are substituted in expression (16).

Identification conflict may range from zero to a maximum of 1.00.

Note that moderate values of the identification conflict index can occur under rather different circumstances as in Example 3.

#### EXAMPLE 3

Different circumstances under which moderate levels of identification conflict may arise

<u>Conflict in identification with <math>E_i</math></u>	<u>current identification with <math>E_i</math></u>	<u>contra-identification with <math>E_i</math></u>
(1) 0.45	0.46 (fairly close)	0.44 (fairly high)
(2) 0.43	0.95 (very close)	0.20 (low but distinct)
(3) 0.42	0.20 (to some extent)	0.89 (strong)

The extent of the person's identification conflict in the three cases is interpreted as follows: (1) the person perceives the other as sharing nearly half of the attributes of his current self-image, when he would simultaneously wish to dissociate from almost half of the characteristics of the other; (2) he closely identifies with the other, who however possesses some characteristics from which he would wish to dissociate (this may be an analogue to the antagonism that often characterizes relationships between those who believe in largely common aims); (3) the person finds that he shares certain

characteristics with someone he very much dislikes. (See sample computer print-outs in Tables 4.9.2 and 4.9.4.)

#### A2.12 Overall identity diffusion ( $\Delta_c$ )

The degree of a person's identity diffusion is defined as the overall dispersion of and magnitude of his identification conflicts with others (Section 3.4).

Using the ego-involvement variable,  $G_i$  (refer to Section A.2.1), as a weighting factor for each entity, the overall extent of identity diffusion in relation to a person's current self-image is defined algebraically as:

$$\text{Overall current identity diffusion} : \Delta_c = \frac{\sum_i G_i K_i^C}{\sum_i G_i} \quad (17)$$

where  $K_i^C$  is the person's current conflict in identification with entity  $E_i$  (see expression (16)) and  $G_i$  is given by expression (2). Overall identity diffusion with respect to the person's past self-image may be estimated in analogous fashion by substituting for past identifications in expressions (16) and (17). The index for identity diffusion may range from zero to a maximum of 1.00.

A further variable may be taken into account when weighting the contribution of a person's conflicts in identification to his overall identity diffusion. In certain rather extreme cases a person may construe his self-image as split off from his construal of others, whilst at the same time idealizing them. The term 'remote idealization' is used to refer to this kind of situation, i.e.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Remote idealization of entity } E_i \text{ in relation to a person's current self-image} &= \left( \begin{array}{l} \text{split between} \\ \text{current self-image} \\ \text{and entity } E_i \end{array} \right) \left( \begin{array}{l} \text{idealistic-} \\ \text{identification} \\ \text{with } E_i \end{array} \right) \\ &= O_{c,i} \cdot f_i^I \quad (18) \end{aligned}$$

Where  $O_{c,i}$  and  $f_i^I$  are given by expressions (10) and (14).

The greater a person's 'remote idealization' of another in relation to his current self-image, the larger will be the value expressed by expression (18) - which has a range from zero to unity. The following variable is defined so that the more the 'remote idealization' the smaller will be its value, i.e.

$$z_i^c = \{1 - (\text{remote idealization of entity } E_i^I \text{ in relation to current self-image})\} \\ = (1 - \theta_{c,i} \cdot f_i^I) \quad (19)$$

As a person's 'remote idealization' of another approaches unity, the variable  $z_i^c$  approaches zero.

When this variable is introduced as an additional weighting factor, the overall extent of identity diffusion in relation to the person's current self-image is given by (c.f. expression (17)):

$$\text{Overall current identity diffusion (weighted)} : \Delta_c = \frac{\sum_i G_i z_i^c K_i^c}{\sum_i G_i z_i^c} \quad (20)$$

The effect of the factor  $z_i^c$  is generally small and can therefore be omitted. But in exceptional cases, when a person 'remotely idealizes' several others, the effect of this factor will be to reduce the contribution of the remotely idealized others to the overall identity diffusion index. This means that somewhat greater weight will be given to the person's conflicted identifications with others who are not remotely idealized. (Identity diffusion indices in relation to the person's current and past self-images are tabulated in the computer print-out as in Tables 4.9.1 and 4.9.2 respectively.)



APPENDIX 4

BOISSEVAIN ON NETWORK CONCEPTS

The intention had been to reproduce Chapter 2, 'Networks: Interaction and Structure' from Boissevain, J. (1974) Friends of Friends. Unfortunately this has not been possible, for copyright reasons.

APPENDIX 5

SETTINGS WHICH WILL BE EXCLUDED

FROM THE FOUR DOMAINS

(see Chapter 6.3.1)

I shall not try to assign the following settings to any of the four domains (home, adult community, peer-group recreation and school):

'on the phone' (g); 'at friends' parties' (j); 'going shopping' (l); 'staying in another town in Britain' (m); 'in another country' (n); 'on daytrips and outings (not from school)' (s); 'at Videohire' (y); 'at parties' (in certain circumstances - see below).

It seems fruitless to try to classify 'on the phone', since by nature the telephone is communication across settings and therefore often across domains. Informants talk to school mates, recreation associates, kinsmen and immediate family on the phone, in the neighbourhood, in other towns and overseas. The domain into which it might best fit would be the home, but since interlocutors on the phone neither really interact with, nor observe or are observed by members of the other's household, it would seem rather strained to say on the basis of telephone conversations, that two interlocutors co-participated in the home domain, that they were prepared to introduce/expose each other to the value systems operating in their homes.

'At friends' parties' and 'at parties' are partly a casualty of my changing the wording in the course of field-work. On the basis of my pilot run, I started out with just 'at parties', hoping to elicit information on family and adult parties. In contrast to my informants in the pilot who had all arrived in England within the last three years, it soon became clear that my Bedford informants also attended kids' parties, and thus I was in danger of confounding peer-recreational<sup>?</sup> with home and community affairs. Even so, the new wording 'friends' parties', is not as clear as it could be: are they family friends or kids'

friends? So the wording makes it rather a messy category. In addition, kids' parties are on the whole not sufficiently frequent<sup>1</sup> to merit inclusion in my network indices (in which frequency of interaction will be an element), and finally, which domain would they fit in anyway? Do they belong in the peer-group or home domains?

'Parties' then is a tricky label, but its value to domain analysis can however be partly salvaged, (a) if it is mentioned in connection with adult kin (which implies that it is a family (and adult community) party, not a kids' one), and (b) if it is mentioned in relation to co-ethnic non-kin who are seen in at least one other adult community setting (in this latter case, co-participation at parties can then be used as supplementary evidence of co-participation in the adult community, and a social contact can thus qualify under the 'two-setting criterion' outlined in section 7.3).

'Going shopping' can be with either immediate family, kinsmen or friends, and it is hard to see how it automatically entails co-participation in the value-systems of either home, community or peer-group. In contrast, 'staying in another town in Britain' and seeing people 'in another country' are probably very important experiences in either home or community domains, or both (see Helweg 1979:133; Thomson 1974:246; Anwar 1979), and if the dependent variables that I was interested in vis-à-vis network analysis were only values or a sense of ethnic identity, for example, it would be very sensible to include both in an estimate of multiplexity. In contrast however, the dependent variable I am concerned with is vernacular English language usage - more specifically, degrees of conformity to local Bedford speech norms. Focusing on distant and non-local experiences could be a distraction from this.

The penultimate situation/setting to be excluded from consideration in relation to domains is 'daytrips and outings (not from school)'. I originally intended this as an indicator of the

extent to which an individual actively participated in family life (Rampton (in press)), but this is in fact invalid for several reasons. Firstly, what of communal family activity inside the home, such as video-watching - why exclude that and include outings? Secondly, in the course of fieldwork it emerged that a number of the outings on which informants had been with family and kin, had been organised by the Youth Club, and thus the problem of whether to assign it to peer-recreation, family or adult community domains arises. And finally, as with visits to other towns (which could in fact overlap with daytrips and outings) and friends' parties, outings and daytrips are probably too infrequent to merit inclusion in a network index of the type I am intending to construct (i.e. one in which frequency of interaction is an important component).

Finally, 'videohire' will be excluded: this relates to just one informant and as a place of part-time employment, it fits none of the four domains. Admittedly, a number of other informants also do newspaper rounds from time to time, but this does not, I think, merit the creation of a separate work domain - delivering newspapers is a fairly solitary activity and so is rather peripheral to discussion of interactional co-participation.

NOTES

1. Fi reports going to about five a year; Jp to only about two ever; Hp mentions three (yearly) hosts; Lp says only one a year; Tm three; Ue six; Ve five; We three. Unfortunately I do not have data on frequency for everyone, so I cannot include some and cut others out.

APPENDIX 6

DETAILED DISCUSSION OF THE EVIDENCE ON  
INTERSUBJECTIVE AGREEMENT WITHIN A SUBSAMPLE OF  
THE ISM DATA, AND OF SOME DATA-HANDLING PROCEDURES  
DESIGNED TO INCREASE RELIABILITY MORE GENERALLY

(see Chapter 7.3)

Since informants often reported doing things with one another on their ISM matrices, it is possible to cross-check a subsample of the final data

- (a) to indicate the extent to which there is or isn't agreement on who sees whom where; and
- (b) on the basis of this at least intersubjectively verified subsample, to devise general indices and measures of network involvement that are fairly conservative in so far as they accurately correspond to/reflect results that have been intersubjectively validated. In this way, the scoring of network involvement can itself be organised in such a way as to increase the likelihood of accurately reflecting behavioural reality.

Table A.6.1 below shows for each informant the number of other informants mentioned on their ISM matrix who reciprocally include that informant on their own ISM (i.e.: if John mentions Mary and Jim, and Jim and Mary both mention John on their matrices, in column A, headed 'No. of reciprocating informants', the figure by John's name would be 2. John might mention Sam and Malcolm, who are also informants, but if Sam and Malcolm didn't include John on their matrices, those two wouldn't be counted).

Also in the table, in column B, is information on the total number of peers (defined as anyone over 5, under 20 and unmarried) in each informant's ISM, together with a figure in brackets which shows the percentage of these peers who are 'ISM-reciprocating' informants (i.e. column A entries as a % of column B). Column C indicates the total number of entities (adult and peers, collective and singular) presented to each in-

TABLE A.6.1 FOR EACH INFORMANT THE NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF  
OTHER INFORMANTS GIVING RECIPROCAL INFORMATION  
ON THE ISM MATRICES

Informant	Column A: No. of reci- procating informants	Column B: Total No. of peers on ISM; and (A as % of B)	Column C: Total No. of entities on ISM; and (A as % of C)
A	7	24 (29.2)	39 (17.9)
B	7	18 (38.9)	39 (17.9)
C	8	22 (36.4)	35 (22.8)
D	8	27 (29.6)	40 (20.0)
E	6	28 (21.4)	40 (15.0)
F	3	31 (9.7)	42 (7.1)
G	4	34 (11.8)	42 (9.5)
H	7	27 (25.9)	39 (17.9)
I	5	33 (15.1)	40 (12.5)
J	8	33 (24.2)	41 (19.5)
K	9	32 (28.1)	43 (20.9)
L	10	29 (34.5)	41 (24.4)
M	6	35 (17.1)	43 (13.9)
N	7	37 (18.9)	43 (16.3)
O	9	34 (26.5)	42 (21.4)
P	9	25 (36.0)	40 (22.5)
Q	5	25 (20.0)	41 (12.2)
R	3	30 (10.0)	41 (7.3)
S	8	30 (26.7)	42 (19.0)
T	6	35 (17.1)	42 (14.3)
U	4	32 (12.5)	43 (9.3)
V	5	32 (15.6)	39 (12.8)
W	10	33 (30.3)	44 (22.7)
Totals 23	154	686	941
Total of A as % of totals B and C		22.4	16.4
Mean of %s ( $\sigma$ )		23.3 (8.6)	16.4 (5.1)

formant on ISM, together with the 'ISM-reciprocating' informants as a percentage of all the entities on an informant's matrix.

The table shows that the subsample of informants, whose answers it is possible to cross-check with one another, is actually quite large - about 23% of all peers mentioned in ISM, and 16% of everyone (adults and kids) mentioned in ISM.

With regard to improving its representativeness, a larger sample is generally better than one that is smaller; also the sample should comprise subjects who are as similar as possible to the 'population' that one is trying to make estimates about. Both of these general points are arguments for focusing only on peer-group relations when trying to use this subsample as a basis for estimating the proximity of ISM reports to behavioural reality.

In addition, focusing on network relations within the peer-group allows one to intersubjectively verify more of the data (just under a quarter as opposed to around one sixth). In sum, in order to increase the amount of confidence that one may have about ISM reports reflecting behavioural reality, a sensible eventual tactic is to focus on peer-groups rather than on social networks in their entirety.

Table A.6.2 begins the task of calculating the amount of inter-informant agreement and disagreement revealed in the ISM data. Along the horizontal axis are all the main settings covered in ISM; down the vertical axis are the informants. Each cell sets out the number of confirmed statements about the people each informant encounters in each setting, and against this figure is placed the number of non-agreements, such as when X says he saw Y in the club, and Y fails to confirm this.

From this, the proportion of agreements to non-agreements can be shown both with regard to each setting and each informant. This is shown both as a ratio and as a percentage indicating how



TABLE A.6.2 : ISM DATA ON WHO SEES WHOM WHERE: INTER-INFORMANT AGREEMENTS AND NON-AGREEMENTS  
BY INFORMANT AND SETTING

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	XXI	XXII	XXIII	XXIV	XXV	XXVI	XXVII	XXVIII	XXIX	XX			
A	1	1	3	4 3	3	3	1	7	7	2		5 7									7	4	4	1:1	2	3	44 7	11 3	A			
B	1	2	5 2	4 3	4	4		4 7			2	3 4	1								7	5 7	5 7	1:1	1 2	4 2	53 77	7 7	B			
C		1	4 7	4	3	3		4			2	1				2					7	6 7	4 3	1:1	1 3	4 7	41 8	1 2	C			
D			6	5 7	5	3 7	1	5 7			2	5 2	1								8	6	5 7	1		5	1 1	30 6	D			
E			5	1 7	4	2		4				4									6	3	3 2	1		1 2	38 7	41 4	E			
F			1	1	1	1			1 7	1				1 2	3						2 7	2	3	3	1	1	2 4	81 6	F			
G			3	3	2	2			1 7	2					7	3					4	3	2 7		1	1 7	3 4	88 2	G			
H			1 2	1 7		1 2			2 4	7				2 7	6 7						7	7	3		1		31 73	4	H			
I			0 4	2	1	7			2	2											5	5	2	7		24	77 4	I				
J			2 7	1 7	1	2			2 3	3				2	5 7	8					3 7	2	8	8	7 7	1	54 9	8 7	J			
K			5	4 7	2 2	2 7			2 7	4				2	5	8					2 7	2 7	8 7	8	6 7	1 7	2	2	63 72	84 0	K	
L			3 7	3 7	1	3			2 2	6 2					7	7 2						3		10	9	7	7	1 2	2	54 15	78 3	L
M			2 7			2			2	1 7												1 7			7	5	5	25 7	71 4	M		
N	1	1	4 7	2 2	1 7	2 7			1 7	3		4 7									1 7			7	5	3 2	1 7	2	1 2	36 15	7 6	N
O	1	1	3 4	5 7	2 7	3 7	7		5 4	3					6 7	5 7					2			9	6	4 7	2	1 2	4 27	72	O	
P			5 2	6 2	3	2 2	1	3 7				4 2										1 2		9	7	5 2	1	7	6	51 15	77 3	P
Q			1 2	2 2		3		2				1															2	1 7	18 14	6 2	Q	

(c ntd)

TABLE A.6.2 (contd)

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	XXI	XXII	XXIII	XXIV	XXV	XXVI	XXVII	XXVIII	XXIX	XXX
R		1	1 1	1	1	1			1	1				1		3		1			3	3	2	1	1	1	2 7	1 1	1
S		1	1 2	2	1	1			4 3	1				3 1	4 2	8		2 3			8	8	6	1	1 1	1	53 12	81	S
T			3 1	3 1	2				4 2					1	5 1	6		2 1		1	5 1	5	5		1 1		42 9	82 3	T
U			1	1 1	1				1 1	1					1	4	1	12		1	3	4	4			1	22 6	8 6	U
V			1 1	2	1				1	2						5	2			1	5	5	5			1	29 3	90 6	V
W			8	2 0					4 1						6	10				1	9	10	8		1 1	1 1	60 8	88 2	W
Ratio	1	8	68 00	66 00	39 4	32 17	2 2	20 6	33 4	29 7	6 0	26 11	2 0	8 2	34 11	13 4	3 0	16 14	8 4	4 0	14 1	13 4	102 16	8 8	12 2	10 12			
Sample	10	1	72 3	71 7	90 7	65 3	50	76 9	5 5	80 5	100	70 3	1 0	80	75 5	95 4	100	53 3	66 6	100	98 6	97	80 4	0	37 5	6 9			

V/L

Figures in italics = non-agreements

I XXX Informants  
 II Another country  
 III Another town  
 IV In my house  
 V In their house on week with kids  
 VI Visiting with adults  
 VII Mosque, Church, Gurdwara  
 VIII Classes outside school  
 IX Parties

X Friends' parties  
 XI Family parties and weddings  
 XII Cricket team  
 XIII Club  
 XIV Young Indians  
 XV Church Club  
 XVI Evening Club  
 XVII Junior Club  
 XVIII Swimming

XIX Amusement Arcades  
 XX Library  
 XXI Other recreation (tennis etc.)  
 XXII Park, street and round the place  
 XXIII Shopping in free-time  
 XXIV Shopping in leisure  
 XXV Daytrips and outing  
 XXVI Shopping  
 XXVII Phone  
 XXVIII Total ratio of agreements to non-agreements  
 XXIX Total Agreement per informant

much agreement there is. The ratio for agreements to non-agreements is 930:223, which is an overall agreement rate of 80.6%.

This rate can in fact be improved in two stages, which both draw on earlier discussion of domains. The first step relates to the decision not to allocate some settings to any of the four domains (Chapter 6.3.1). It was decided for example to exclude 'going shopping', 'on the phone', 'on daytrips and outings'; as well as 'at friends' parties'. In fact, three of these settings make a disproportionate contribution to lowering the agreement rate: for 'friends' parties' the agreement rate is 55%, for 'daytrips and outings' it is 50% and for 'going shopping' it is 37.5%. Table A.6.3 sets out how much informants agree and non-agree with regard to the ISM settings, and asterisked are those settings which largely on various grounds, it had been decided to exclude. Removing all these asterisked settings from consideration in fact improves the agreement rate for all of my informants, and this is shown in Table A.6.4. Both the mean percentage of agreements and the standard deviation improve as a result.

So, in tidying the data so that we can move from discussion of co-participation in settings (in ISM) to an analysis of co-participation in domains, and thence to an analysis of the multiplexity of network linkages, we also find that the level of inter-informant agreement goes up.

The next step continues this, both taking us further towards domains from settings, and increasing inter-informant agreement. It entails rephrasing the question to date

'do X and Y agree that they meet in setting Z?'

so that it instead becomes

'do X and Y agree that they meet in domain Z?'

In asking this question we find that though informants may not agree with one another with regard to one setting (e.g. the club), they may concur with regard to another (e.g. the park)

TABLE A.6.3 INTER-INFORMANT AGREEMENTS AND NON-AGREEMENTS

BY SETTINGS

Settings	Ratio of agree- ments to non- agreements	% agreement	
Another country	4:0	100	*
Another town	8:0	100	*
In my home	68:26	72.3	
Going into their house on my own or with kids	66:26	71.7	
Visiting with adults	39:4	90.7	
Mosque, Church, Gurdwara	32:17	65.3	
Classes outside school	2:2	50	
Parties	20:6	76.9	*
Friends' parties	33:27	55	*
Family parties and weddings	29:7	80.5	
Cricket team	6:0	100	
Club	26:11	70.3	
Young Indians	2:0	100	
Church Club	8:2	80	
Evening Club	34:11	75.5	
Junior Club	83:4	95.4	
Swimming	3:0	100	
Amusement Arcades	16:14	53.3	
Library	8:4	66.6	
Other recreation	4:0	100	
Park, street etc.	147:2	98.6	
School: free- time	130:4	97	
School: lessons	102:16	86.4	
Daytrips and outings	8:8	50	*
Shopping	12:20	37.5	*
Phone	40:12	76.9	*
Total	930:223		
	Mean %	78.8	
	$\sigma n$	18.59	

TABLE A.6.4 INTER-INFORMANT AGREEMENT RATES BY INFORMANT,  
BEFORE AND AFTER REMOVING SEVEN SETTINGS  
FROM CONSIDERATION

Informant	Agreement rate before removing the seven settings	Agreement rate after removing the seven settings
A	86.3	91.7
B	75.7	82.8
C	85.2	90.2
D	90.6	92.1
E	84.4	88.4
F	88.2	93.7 (+1.2 SD)
G	84.6	88.0
H	70.4	77.5 (-1.3 SD)
I	77.4	80.0
J	85.7	91.5
K	84.0	88.7
L	78.3	84.4
M	71.4	83.3
N	70.6	80.0
O	72.0	80.6
P	77.3	79.7
Q	56.2	66.6 (-2.9 SD)
R	95.8	95.8 (+1.5 SD)
S	81.5	86.9
T	82.3	87.5
U	78.6	81.5
V	90.6	90.6
W	88.2	92.3
$\bar{x}$	80.7	85.8
$\sigma_n$	8.5	6.5

which belongs in the same domain. Thus, while they may not agree with regard to every particular, if they do with regard to some (at least one), they will be taken to be in broad agreement that they do co-participate in that domain (you may say we play poker together, which I may deny. But if we both say we play each other at rummy, this is intersubjective evidence that we co-participate in cards). Non-agreement in certain details can be overlooked at a more abstract level.<sup>1</sup>

Table A.6.5 sets out the proportion of agreement to disagreement with regard to domains.<sup>2</sup>

The mean level of agreement across informants is now 90.42% ( $\sigma$ :6.91), which is clearly an improvement on the level of agreement evident in the data on first examination: 80.7 ( $\sigma$ :8.8) (see Table A.6.4). It is however noticeable that the level of inter-informant agreement is much higher with regard to peer-group and school domains than it is for home and the adult community, and it must be admitted that by the criterion of intersubjective agreement, there is less basis in connection with home and adult community for supposing that our final network scores will not merely replicate the psychological orientation covered in ISA (though some ways of compensating for this will be outlined soon).

The next task must be to show how these steps to improve the reliability of ISM-derived network measures can be carried out with regard to ISM responses which cannot be intersubjectively checked. How far can the same degree of reliability be ensured with regard to ISM responses concerned with the remaining 532 peer- and 256 adult-related entities that cannot be cross-checked? The first step of removing seven settings from consideration in terms of domain can be enacted quite simply. The second stage is however more difficult. With the verifiable subsample data, this stage entailed collecting several settings into one domain, which meant that though there were often some settings containing non-agreements, other settings did contain

TABLE A.6.5 THE PROPORTIONS OF PEOPLE AGREEING AND NON-AGREEING WITH EACH INFORMANT  
THAT THEY CO-PARTICIPATE IN EACH DOMAIN

Informant	No. of other informants on ISM	Home	Adult Community	Peer-group recreation	School	Proportion of agreements to non-agreements in all four domains	% of agreements per informant
A	7	4:3	3:0	7:0	4:0	18:3	85.7
B	7	5:2	4:0	7:0	5:1	21:3	87.5
C	8	4:1	3:0	7:0	6:1	20:2	90.9
D	8	6:0	5:0	8:0	6:0	25:0	100
E	6	5:1	4:0	6:0	3:2	18:3	85.7
F	3	1:0	1:0	3:0	3:0	8:0	100
G	4	3:0	2:0	4:0	3:0	12:0	100
H	7	2:1	1:2	7:0	7:0	17:3	85.0
I	5	2:2	2:1	5:0	5:0	14:3	82.3
J	8	2:2	3:0	8:0	8:0	21:2	91.3
K	9	6:1	4:0	9:0	8:0	27:1	96.4
L	10	4:1	6:2	10:0	9:0	29:3	90.6
M	6	2:1	1:2	5:0	5:0	13:3	81.2
N	7	4:1	3:1	7:0	5:0	19:2	90.5

(contd)

TABLE A.6.5 (contd)

Informant	No. of other informants on ISM	Home	Adult Community	Peer-group recreation	School	Proportion of agreements to non-agreements in all four domains	% of agreements per informant
O	9	6:1	6:0	9:0	6:0	27:1	96.4
P	9	6:2	3:1	9:0	7:0	25:3	89.3
Q	5	2:2	0:3	5:0	5:0	12:5	70.6
R	3	1:1	1:0	3:0	3:0	8:1	88.8
S	8	2:1	1:0	8:0	8:0	19:1	95.0
T	6	3:2	2:0	6:0	5:0	16:2	88.8
U	4	1:1	1:0	4:0	4:0	10:1	90.9
V	5	2:0	1:1	5:0	5:0	13:1	92.8
W	10	8:0	0:0	10:0	10:0	28:0	100
Totals	154	81:26	57:13	152:0	130:4	420:43	
Percentage of agreements per domain		75.7%	81.4%	100%	97.0%	90.7%	



intersubjectively verified co-participation and on that basis, the amount of overall agreement about (domain) co-participation improved. The benefit derived from informants having several opportunities to express their co-participation in a domain: they did make idiosyncratic statements with regard to some settings, but in the light of agreements in others, these could be overlooked.

What this suggests for the non-verifiable majority of ISM responses is that before we accept statements about co-participation, we should perhaps sometimes require informants to say that they see X in at least two of the settings allocated to a domain. On the basis of the subsample, we know that some settings produce more consistent responses than others, and for settings with regard to which there is generally a high degree of agreement (such as the park, or school in free-time), one response may be adequate as evidence. It would not be wise to consider only these highly reliable settings, since there may be important members of an informant's network whose recreational interests for example are rather specialised, so that maybe they avoid messing around in the park and only go swimming and fishing. However, with a less reliable setting it may be sensible to insist that it should only be counted as evidence of co-participation in a domain in tandem with another.

Looking back at Table A.6.2 and A.6.3, it emerges within the home domain, both settings produce quite a lot of non-agreement; apart from visiting with adults, all the settings within the adult community domain are also characterised by a fair degree of non-agreement. For convenience these are set out overleaf.

Domain	Setting	Ratio of agree to non-agree	% Agreement	Overall ratio of agree to non-agree for domain: calcu- lated with refer- ence to setting	Overall % agreement for domain
Home	In my home	68:26	72.3%	134:52	72.0%
	In their home on my own etc.	66:26	71.7%		
Adult Community	Visiting with adults	39:4	90.7%	102:30	77.3%
	Mosques etc.	32:17	65.3%		
	Classes	2:2	50.0%		
	Family parties	29:7	80.5%		

- (a) What would be the effect if we were to insist on an informant reporting that he encountered X in two settings within each of these domains before we accepted that he really co-participated in that domain? How different would the emerging picture be from the one that would be produced if
- (b) we did not insist on this double criterion, and simply accepted domain co-participation on the basis of single-setting encounters? How would both of these compare with behavioural reality?

It is useful to try out both of these scoring possibilities on the intersubjectively verified data, using intersubjectively verified encounters (as analysed after step two) as our yardstick of truth (or 'criterion measure').

Table A.6.6 takes the home domain and on the left hand side sets out in detail whom each informant personally claims to see.<sup>3</sup> These are subdivided under ✓ and X, which indicates whether or not a particular claim has been intersubjectively verified or not. On the right hand side (under (2)), is the way in which claims would appear if we were only to accept as 'true claims' those which reported seeing someone in two settings. These are also classified under ✓. Those which would not qualify are placed under X - these are references to encounters only within one setting. The final column in the table sets out the proportion of agreement between 'intersubjective reality' and 'reality' as defined by our two-setting criterion. From this comparison it emerges that there is an 81% correspondence between intersubjectively verified reality and what our somewhat arbitrary criterion reveals.

Table A.6.7 does the same thing with regard to the adult community domain, and here the correspondence is lower: there is an agreement between intersubjective reality and reality as defined by the two setting criterion of only 72%.

As a result, we cannot claim that to use this criterion on

TABLE A.6.6 WHO REPORTS ENCOUNTERING WHOM IN THE HOME DOMAIN - A COMPARISON OF THE PATTERNS AS INTER-SUBJECTIVELY VERIFIED (=1), AND AS IDENTIFIED USING THE CRITERION THAT DOMAIN CO-PARTICIPATION ONLY REALLY OCCURS WHEN AN INFORMANT REPORTS SEEING SOMEONE IN TWO SETTINGS (=2)

Informant	(1) 'REALITY' AS INTERSUBJECTIVELY ATTESTED		(2) HOW PATTERNS OF CO-PARTICIPATION WOULD APPEAR IF TWO SETTING EN- COUNTERS WERE OUR CRITERION		No. of agreements and non-agreements between (1) and (2)
	✓ Verified co- participation	X Non-verified, falsely claimed co-participation	✓ Verified co- participation	X Non-verified, falsely claimed co-participation	
A	b c d l	i r h	b c d	i r h <u>l</u>	6:1
B	a c d e p	n q	a c d e <u>n</u> p	q	6:1
C	a b d e		a b d e		4:0
D	a b c e o p		a b c e o p		6:0
E	b c d g p	m	b c d g p	m	6:0
F	g		g		1:0
G	e f k		e f k		3:0
H	i w		<u>i</u>	<u>w</u>	1:1
I	h w			<u>h</u> <u>w</u>	0:2
J	k o	l	k	<u>l</u> <u>o</u>	2:1
K	g i j l p w	t	g i j p	<u>l</u> <u>t</u> <u>w</u>	5:2
L	a k m w		a m w	<u>k</u>	4:1

(contd)

TABLE A.6.6 (contd)

Informant	(1) 'REALITY' AS INTERSUBJECTIVELY ATTESTED		(2) HOW PATTERNS OF CO-PARTICIPATION WOULD APPEAR IF TWO SETTING EN- COUNTERS WERE OUR CRITERION		No. of agreements and non-agreements between (1) and (2)
	✓ Verified co- participation	X Non-verified, falsely claimed co-participation	✓ Verified co- participation	X Non-verified, falsely claimed co-participation	
M	l q		l q		2:0
N	o p q t		p t	<u>o</u> <u>q</u>	2:2
O	d j n p t w		j n p t	<u>d</u> <u>w</u>	4:2
P	b d e k n o	c q	<u>c</u> d e k n o	<u>b</u> q	6:2
Q	m n	b p	m	b p <u>n</u>	3:1
R	s		s		1:0
S	r w		r w		2:0
T	n o w	s	n o w	s	4:0
U	v	o	v	o	2:0
V	u w		u	<u>w</u>	1:1
W	h i k l o s t v		h i l o s t v	<u>k</u>	7:1
Total					78:18
Overall correspondence					81.25%

TABLE A.6.7 WHO REPORTS ENCOUNTERING WHOM IN THE ADULT COMMUNITY DOMAIN - A COMPARISON OF THE PATTERNS AS  
(1) INTERSUBJECTIVELY VERIFIED AND (2) AS IDENTIFIED USING THE CRITERION THAT DOMAIN CO-  
PARTICIPATION ONLY REALLY OCCURS WHEN AN INFORMANT REPORTS SEEING SOMEONE IN TWO SETTINGS

	(1) REALITY AS INTERSUBJECTIVELY ATTESTED		(2) PATTERNS OF CO-PARTICIPATION ACCORDING TO A TWO SETTING CRITERION		No. of agreements and non-agreements between (1) and (2)
	✓	x	✓	x	
A	b c d		b c d		3:0
B	a c d e		a c d e		4:0
C	a b d		a b d		3:0
D	a b c e p		a b c e	<u>p</u>	4:1
E	b c d g		b g	<u>c</u> <u>d</u>	2:2
F	g		g		1:0
G	e f		e f		2:0
H	o	l i		l i <u>o</u>	2:1
I	k l		k	<u>l</u>	1:1
J	k l o		k o	<u>l</u>	2:1
K	i j l p		i j p l		4:0
L	i j k m o	v h	m	v h <u>i</u> <u>j</u> <u>k</u> <u>o</u>	3:4
M	l	p q	l q	p	2:1
N	o p d	q	o p	q <u>d</u>	3:1
O	n p t h j l		n p j l	<u>t</u> <u>h</u>	4:2

(contd)

TABLE A.6.7 (contd)

	(1) REALITY AS INTERSUBJECTIVELY ATTESTED		(2) PATTERNS OF CO-PARTICIPATION ACCORDING TO A TWO SETTING CRITERION		No. of agreements and non-agreements between (1) and (2)
	✓	x	✓	x	
P	k n o	q	k n o	q	4:0
Q					
R	s		s		1:0
S	r		r		1:0
T	n o			<u>n</u> <u>o</u>	0:2
U	v		v		1:1
V	u			u	0:1
W					
Total					47:18
Overall correspondence					72.3%

all the ISM data would produce a picture of domain co-participation that corresponds closely to reality at least in so far as we have been able to establish this in our subsample.

Would the correspondence between 'reality' and all the ISM report data improve if we dispensed with this two-setting criterion? How would it be if we simply accepted as true all assertions that informants made? Again, we can easily try out this possibility on our subsample, again using intersubjective verification as our yardstick of reality. With regard to both Tables A.6.6 and A.6.7, this is quite simply calculated by taking (1) in each, and assuming that no statements are regarded as false (i.e. that there are entries only under the  $\checkmark$  column). For the home domain, the correspondence between reality according to this 'every-statement-is-true' criterion and reality intersubjectively defined, is

82:14,

or 85.4%.

For the adult community domains, these figures are

57:8

and 87.7%.

We can set this out systematically:

<u>CORRESPONDENCE OF ESTIMATES WITH</u>		
<u>INTERSUBJECTIVELY VERIFIED</u>		
<u>REALITY USING:</u>		
	One-setting criterion	Two-setting criterion
Home domain	85.4%	81.2%
Adult com- munity domain	87.7%	72.3%

Beyond their respective 'accuracy' levels, there is however an important difference between the results produced by the two-setting vs one-setting scoring procedures, and this must in



general lead us to prefer the tougher two-setting measure. Although the one-setting measure comes closer to the 'truth', in fact it over-estimates the amount of co-participation in each domain: used on the subsample it produces a picture of domain co-participation with a greater number of people than is intersubjectively attested. In contrast, the two-setting measure under-estimates the number of interactional partners that an informant has in a given domain. In view of the attempt being made here to try and differentiate behavioural association from psychological identification, it is probably best to opt for the two-setting measure, for the following reasons.

Regardless of how we construct network indices, there is unavoidably some lack of correspondence between reported and intersubjectively attested social associations. There is clearly a fair degree of space for idiosyncratic psychological perceptions to enter the ISM data. The question then arises: are informants really only reacting to the ISM matrix as a kind of ISA questionnaire merely recording whom they would like to see in particular domains rather than whom they really see? Do the ISM results with regard to adult community and home domains really only reflect patterns of psycho-social identification? Of course, it is well to remember that while in both there is intersubjective disagreement there is also 4/5s and 3/4s agreement as well - the results don't simply reflect an aggregation of idiosyncratic 'hallucinations'. Even so, a fair degree of unverified reporting is taking place (on the evidence of the subsample) and this cannot be eliminated. What we might do however, is to take steps to counteract the way in which particular types of identification might be expected to bias reports of interactional involvement, and here the availability of a one-setting and an alternative two-setting measure for uncheckable data becomes potentially useful. Thus, when considering idealistic identification with a particular entity, we might expect an informant to exaggerate his social connectedness: by employing the two-setting measure which in effect treats in-

formant reports with greater scepticism, we could hope to compensate against this. Knowing that informants are not completely reliable, we could try to prevent private unrealised aspiration from getting mixed up with data on behaviour by using a tough measure which appears to underestimate the amount of interactional contact. The ensuing network index probably would not very accurately reflect what people actually do, but in its inaccuracy at least it is unlikely to reflect associations which people aspire to but don't have. In this way, we can hope that the network measures will not merely replicate ISA.

Ideally perhaps, when it came to considering contra-identification in relation to particular entities, then the one setting criterion could be used. This is because in relation to aversion, we would normally expect the inaccuracy in people's reports about social association to be due to under-reporting: if informants did not give completely truthful accounts, the desire to forget/conceal etc. might be logically expected as the explanation. In this context, the mention of an association in only one setting might be counted, and generally to avoid replicating ISA and merely reflecting people's (aversive) desires rather than their deeds, if we had to accept a level of inaccuracy in our network index, we should prefer this inaccuracy to be in the direction of an over-estimate of a person's social involvement with disliked entities. In practice however, switching between these two types of measure would simply get too complicated, and since anyway, most of the ensuing, empirical discussion of ISA concerns idealistic and current identification, the two-setting measure will be used throughout (in relation to less reliable settings and domains).

NOTES

1. Note that the criterion for agreement is complete concurrence with regard to at least one setting within a domain: it is not enough for X to say he meets Y at the club, and for Y to say he meets X in the park, and this would not be counted as agreement even though they are within the same recreations domain. This latter course would I think, perhaps rest the business of empirical validation too heavily on the analyst's conceptual framework (i.e. that park and club belong in the same domain).
2. Table A.6.5 is constructed on a slightly different basis from Table A.6.2. Table A.6.2 showed the proportion of statements in agreement or non-agreement; Table A.6.5 involves collating statements across settings within domains, and it produces a figure for each informant which shows the number of people (i.e. other informants) agreeing (and not agreeing that they co-participate in at least one of the settings designated as belonging to the domain in question).
3. The data here does not match up precisely with Table A.6.5, since Table A.6.5 also includes for each informant the number of other people claiming to see them even though that informant makes no claim himself. Thus Table A.6.5 records apparent omissions: Table A.6.6 here only covers assertions.

APPENDIX 7

A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE ELICITATION AND  
SELECTION OF ISA CONSTRUCTS AND ENTITIES

(see Chapter 8.1,8.2)

1. The Elicitation of Personal Constructs

The constructs eventually used in the ISA rating procedure were collected from four sources. Two of these were specifically designed for construct elicitation.

The first of these occurred in the first half of the approximately seven to ten sessions I had with each informant - it varied between being the second and sixth sessions, mostly being the third or fourth. This was an interview with me alone, which I introduced by saying that I wanted to ask them a bit about themselves, the things they liked doing, what they wanted to do when they were older and the things they generally felt were important (I shall refer to it as the ISA Personal interview). These interviews lasted between 20 and 45 minutes, and the questions which I had in mind to cover were as follows:

ISA Personal

- About the future : would you like to change when you're older?  
: what kind of person would you like to be?  
: is there anyone in particular who you'd like to be like?
- About the past : what were you like when you were little?  
: have you changed?  
: were there important things that happened to make you change? What?  
: have you ever lived in any other towns? What was it like? How did it compare with Bedford?  
: was there a time when you were happiest?
- About the present : what kinds of thing make you happy and unhappy now?

- : how would you say home and school compared?  
Which do you like best?
- : how does this school compare with other  
ones you've been to?
- : how do you generally enjoy yourself now?
- Friends : who were your friends when you were little?
- : (who are they now?) What kinds of things  
do you do together?
- : would you say you're similar or different  
from your friends? In what ways?
- : what about arguments with them, and breaking  
friends?
- Relatives : are you similar or different from your  
relatives? Who? How?
- Immediate family: : which are you most similar to, your dad or  
your mum? In what ways? How would you  
describe them?
- : are you similar or different from your  
brothers and sisters? Which ones? How?

This schedule was not rigidly adhered to, and not always followed in the same order. But generally one topic flowed on quite naturally from the one preceding. Informants varied in how expansive they were (Ci and Ve being least) and sometimes questions were skipped (e.g. where I already knew who their friends were).

The question arises, were the constructs derived the most relevant ones to the respondent, or do they represent the more accessible superficial categories of surface self-presentation (Weinreich 1980:B1)? The starting questions about the future were I think generally the least successful in this, and informants generally replied with information on jobs and celebrities. However, the questions about the past radically changed the tone to a more personal one - in particular the question 'what were you like when you were little?' had this effect. Normally interviews continued after that in a similar vein and in my own subjective view, were very interesting, often enter-

taining and I think enhancing of the researcher-informant relationship.

Within personal construct psychology, the elicitation of constructs often entails 'triadic sorts', in which the researcher asks informants to comment on entities presented to them in threes, the first two being designed to elicit a judgment or description of similarity, and the third being used to cue informants about difference (A and B are similar in respect of x, B and C are similar in respect of y and therefore C and A are different with regard to w). In this way, the contrast pole of a construct can be ascertained, it being axiomatic within the theory that constructs have two poles.

This method is not however always adhered to (and comprises several variants - Fransella and Bannister 1977:Ch.1; Salmon 1976) and in fact, following Weinreich who comments on the artificiality of the 'triadic sort', the semi-structured interview was preferred. As can be seen from its agenda, it was organised around the principles of comparison and contrast: you in the future, you now and you in the past, Bedford and other towns, happiness and unhappiness, you and your friends, you and your family and relatives. However, I cannot claim that I always managed to elicit from informants a clear statement of the contrast pole, and thus when it came to the rating booklet, I often needed to supply them myself (see below p 752-3 ). This was maybe partly because I am myself not personally very enthusiastic about the bipolarity of constructs axiom, and partly because it requires a lot of skill to elicit two poles naturally. During this interview the priority was upon eliciting fluent self-expression and, given my competence in ascertaining contrast poles, these were not always clearly ascertained.

The same caveats apply to the data to emerge from the second source from which constructs were derived. Usually this was an interview later on in my contact with each informant (between the fifth and ninth contact sessions, though with M and N it was the

first and second) and informants participated in this in pairs and occasionally in threes (Ci,Mp,Ei; Bi,Np,Qp). They were always with very good friends (and sometimes with much liked cousins). Seven involved informants from a single ethnic background, while five involved informants of different ethnicities.<sup>1</sup> The interview (called henceforth 'ISA Groups') was introduced in terms of my wanting to find out what they thought about the community generally, and about life in Bedford. It lasted between half an hour to an hour. The agenda I had for this (which again was not rigidly adhered to) was as follows:

ISA Groups

- |                                |   |  |
|--------------------------------|---|--|
| Local styles                   | : | what are the local styles around the place<br>(clothes, behaviour, music etc.)?  |
|                                | : | who has which styles?  |
|                                | : | which do you and which don't you like?   |
| Ethnic groups                  | : | do people who can speak different<br>languages act differently?  |
|                                | : | what are Bangladeshi, English, Indian,<br>Italian, Pakistani and West Indian kids<br>like - how do they compare (e.g. English<br>vs West Indian kids; Pakistani vs Indian<br>kids etc.)? |
|                                | : | what about Bedford School and Bedford<br>Modern (two posh local private schools)?  |
|                                | : | what about Jats, Chamars, Churdas, Bains<br>etc. (caste)?  |
| Ethnic relations               | : | how do they get on?  |
|                                | : | any racialism? Name calling? National<br>Front?  |
| General local social<br>values | : | what about shaming up?   |
|                                | : | splitting?   |
|                                | : | respect?   |
|                                | : | getting spoilt?  |
|                                | : | acting hard?   |

In the current climate of race-relations in Britain, it is not always easy to talk about ethnicity but this format generally produced fluent discussion and never any animosity, though I felt some awkwardness particularly in two (with Ue and Ve, and Rw and Sw). Not all the topics were introduced (for example, the questions about caste were left out with non-Asian informants); as with the ISA Personal interview, informants differed in what they talked about most; and questions about ethnic groups were introduced so that informants were asked about their own last. The first two topics - styles and ethnic groups - were organised in such a way as to elicit comparisons and contrasts in line with construct theory principles, but it seemed inhibitory (and sometimes pedantic) to push this all the way, and in the interests of open discussion, consideration of ethnic relations was unconstrained by these (as were varying degrees of the earlier discussion). When discussing local social values, the question of contrast poles was however sometimes fairly explicitly addressed.

Apart from content, the ISA Groups interview obviously differed from the Personal one in involving more than just one informant, and this has several possible consequences.

Firstly, some informants talked more than others. Generally I still managed to obtain enough constructs for the rating procedure though in two cases, I had a second session in which I covered similar ground (this was with C and E, and O - there were no signs at all of boredom or staleness). Secondly, some pairings were ethnically mixed while others were not: would this make a difference? My view is that it wouldn't since anyway I am white, most of my informants are not and all of the interviews except one were therefore cross-ethnic anyway. The third issue again centres on the question of whether the constructs elicited are the most personally relevant ones to the informant, or 'represent the more accessible superficial categories of self-presentation'. Having a member of the peer-group present is likely to have influenced informants to express concepts more in line with the peer-group's shared ideology than might have hap-



pened in single interviews: it is more likely that this produced collective stock constructs and perhaps in clinical psychological uses of ISA this would be unacceptable. In the present context however, it need not be unduly worrying: firstly, the focus is after all primarily on the peer-group domain in which people may well use fairly stock collective constructs in running their lives. Secondly, this is not the only source of constructs: it could form quite good balance with the single interview data. Thirdly, informants are not committed to the constructs they produce in the company of their friends - the rating procedure allows them reassess these privately. Finally, who says the constructs elicited privately with me are any more penetrating - the presence of close friends might well prevent me from being taken for a ride.

The third source of constructs, which was not as extensively used as these first two, were other interviews which I had with informants. On the protocols which I used to analyse interviews immediately after they had been completed, one heading was 'Constructs' and this reminded me to look out for (and helped me record) salient constructs that emerged in the course of discussion about languages, local networks etc.

The fourth source of constructs was people and sources other than the informant himself. My own lack of proficiency in Punjabi and of first hand experience in ethnically Afro-Caribbean, Asian and white working-class communities meant that I did not try to systematically explore or to integrate key Punjabi, Sikh, Pakistani Muslim, Grenadan or Anglo constructs into each informant's rating booklet, though I did ask about these where they appeared to cross-cut local peer-group values and concerns with quite wide currency. To this extent I drew on secondary ethnographic sources (e.g. Purewal 1976; Helweg 1979; Eglar 1960; also Imtiaz Chaudhri personal communication): for example, how far did 'shaming up' in the peer-group intersect with the concept 'beizti'; similarly, how did what some kids reported about respect for adults connect with 'khidmet'; and did 'getting spoilt'

as a peer-group concern connect with wider adult preoccupations (Anwar 1976:37,38). For other constructs, I drew on the wording of other informants, particularly where this tied in with my own specific research concern. This was the case for example with 'speaks normal English - don't know much English'.

These then are the four sources from which constructs were elicited, together with something of the manner of their elicitation. All of the interviews were taped, and the task of identifying constructs to be used in the rating procedure represented a separate stage of analysis, to which we can now turn.

## 2. The Selection of Constructs and Entities for Inclusion in the ISA Rating Booklet

In order to prepare a rating booklet, one may either use constructs supplied by the researcher (in line with her/his interests), or use informants' own. I used a combination.

I originally intended to insert six constructs which particular individuals might not themselves have mentioned in the course of discussions (though ultimately some of these were rejected by some). Despite this, I knew that at least some informants did use them, and these guided their wording.

The six constructs which I intended to supply were:

1. 'speaks normal English' vs 'don't know much English'  
This related to my concern with the sociolinguistic status of English as a second language (see Part Three) and this kind of wording had been used in the language attitude discussions.
2. 'got a lot of advantages' vs 'haven't got a lot of advantages'  
This was intended to broach the issue of social equality: its wording suited most informants well enough to be used in the rating procedure, though 5 out of 21 rejected the construct as one meaningless to them.

3. 'follow their tradition' vs ' \_\_\_\_\_ '

This was intended to elicit perception of ethnic continuity/conformity, and I asked informants immediately prior to the rating procedure what the contrast pole should be. Informants proposed a number of wordings for this: 'don't believe in God and that' (1); 'don't follow their tradition' (14); 'follow the English' (1); 'change' (2); 'follow white people's tradition' (1). In fact, with all of these supplied constructs, I used informants' own wording if this came close to what I intended (so here some people used 'customs' instead of 'tradition').

4. 'racialist' vs 'not racist'/'friendly'

Informants varied in how the contrast pole was phrased. I thought this could be an important construct in their perception of entities.

5. Respect. This seemed likely to be an important construct on a reading of ethnographic texts, though the wordings eventually included in booklets varied a lot and indeed might not be easily analysed in view of this variety.

6. 'similar to me' vs 'different from me'

I supplied this in order to see how people's explicit perceptions of their comparability might compare with the eventual computed indices on the matter.

Sometimes (as implied above), informants themselves volunteered these constructs. When they did not my motives in supplying these six were to try and ensure some kind of cultural depth beyond what the interviews might have achieved (3,5) or to provide a basis for more systematic analysis of themes of interest to me (1,2,3,4). In the event, I have only used the first of these for this type of specific analysis (see Part Three).

These were six constructs: given the constraints of the time available for completing it and concentration spans, there was space in the booklet for up to fourteen more (each booklet eventually contained between fifteen and twenty constructs - Weinreich recommends a working maximum of about twenty constructs

and twenty entities). How was this remaining majority selected?

I listened to each of the ISA interviews twice (there was no time to transcribe all of them) and noted down the precise wording of everything that could later be used as a construct. In fact in general, this did not result in a huge surfeit since much of these interviews was often taken up with narrative and anecdote as opposed to the description and evaluation from which useful constructs are most easily drawn.

With a list constructed in this manner (mainly from both ISA interviews), the next task was to select the most appropriate, and in deciding appropriacy for the rating procedure, several factors had to be borne in mind (see Fransella and Bannister 1977:14 for a slightly stricter setting of criteria).

Firstly, constructs needed to be potentially applicable to more than the particular person or group in relation to whom it had been originally expressed (in Kellian terms, constructs need to be 'permeable', and must not have too narrow 'a range of convenience').

Secondly, constructs should be relatively permanent, not just emerging for the first time in the course of the ISA interviews. Of course, to a degree it is hard to tell whether someone has just created a new construct for themselves or not, but if it has occurred beforehand, or recurs with some frequency, this may be some clue that it has had or does have a more than completely ephemeral role in structuring perception.

Another factor to recommend a construct is the clarity of its contrast pole: as I have earlier admitted, I was not always successful in getting these explicit and as a result I sometimes used constructs with the contrast pole merely represented by a negative (e.g. 'explicit' vs 'not explicit'). Alternatively, on occasions I left the contrast pole blank, waiting until I encountered the informant at the start of the rating procedure for

them to supply wording for the contrast pole themselves.

Two further considerations informed the eventual selection: how closely two constructs resembled one another, and how many other constructs there were which seemed more likely to refer to a particular set of entities. In the case of the former, I sometimes combined constructs when they seemed pretty similar (thus 'posh' and 'shows off' were occasionally joined). As far as the latter was concerned, it seemed likely that the range of constructs applicable to family members might not be the same as those relevant to school-mates, and I was eager that all of the constructs used should not be applicable only to one type of entity. The entities to be used fell intuitively into four broad categories - self, the family, friends and ethnic groups: I was particularly conscious that I ran the risk of selecting constructs which might be of little relevance to adult kin. Clearly, in so far as Punjabi language constructs were not included, there probably is a bias towards those relevant to entities encountered in interethnic domains (which is indeed appropriate to this study's central focus on the peer-group). In the event however, ego-involvement scores with the entities 'dad', 'mum', 'uncles and aunts' are not consistently lower than ego-involvements with peer entities, which is an indication that I succeeded in selecting constructs which did have bearing on adult kin.

These then were the issues I considered in selecting constructs for each person's rating booklet and when it came to deciding on wording, I made one or two grammatical modifications in order to encourage consideration of that construct across a wider range of people and groups (I often excluded pronouns, and changed active sentences into passives). I also selected two or three more from each informant's list, to hold in reserve if any of those initially selected should prove meaningless to informants later on. The constructs that each informant finally used in their ratings are given at the end of this appendix, together with reserves. Here it is perhaps helpful to try and give a summary of some of the main themes that were covered.

This summary cannot indicate what everyone used, since all were to quite a degree idiosyncratic. It also summarises themes at a level of abstraction greater than that actually presented - it unites constructs in a way that may very well reflect only my own construct system, not my informants'. Even so it is helpful to indicate some of the evaluative and descriptive dimensions that inform the final identification indices (although they cannot be said to be representative of them all).

The 'supplied' constructs (together with the number of informants ultimately using them) related to :

± speaking normal English	(21)
± having advantages	(16)
± following tradition	(19)
± being racist	(21)
± respect	(18)
± similarity	(21)

Some of the 'elicited' constructs can be placed in the following very approximative macro-categories:

± cleverness (braininess, intelligence)	(13)
± toughness	(17)
± making trouble	(21)
± being bad (going with bad people, stealing, smoking)	(11)
± messing about	(9)
± independence (being told what to do, being supervised)	(11)
± staying in	(6)
± being posh and showing off	(12)
± being religious	(14)
± being solidary (trust, sticking up for people)	(15)
± being decent (sharing, generosity, caring, helping, being kind)	

That covers the selection of constructs. What about entities? As indicated in the main text (section 5.4.2, pp.111 ff ), five entities are mandatory - 'me as I am now', 'me as I would

like to be', 'me as I used to be', 'a person I admire', 'a person I dislike'. The first three are the anchors for the computation of identity indices, the latter two are safeguards in the event of the ideal self being given a zero rating. There is also a facility for including two situational selves, and this was taken up with ethnically Indian, Pakistani, Afro-Caribbean and Mixed informants in the form of the entities 'me speaking English' and 'me speaking Punjabi/Pakistani/West Indian'. During the language interviews, informants had been asked for example whether they thought they acted differently when speaking different languages, and these two entities provided a way of taking that question a little further, in order to see whether informants evaluated themselves differently according to their linguistic 'guise', and whether they felt that when using their ethnic language, they were more or less similar to the people around them than when using English.

In fact, neither of these two situational selves form any part of the analysis here, nor do a number of the entities still remaining to be outlined (in contrast to this of course, potentially all the constructs are used in the current idealistic and contra-identification indices). Even so, it is an opportune moment to introduce and briefly gloss those that will remain in the background as well as those that will inform the immediate analysis.

Eight 'generic' entities were supplied to virtually all the informants, all of which had been ratified as having local currency in the course of preceding discussions. These were (as presented in alphabetical order)

'Bangladeshi kids'

'English kids'

'Indian kids'

'Italian kids'

'Pakistani kids'

'West Indian kids'

'Teachers'

Ingroup 'adults' ('Pakistani' for Pakistani informants,  
'English' for Anglos etc.)  
'Kids' were preferred to 'adults' in terms of filling the ethnic  
\_\_\_\_\_ slot for several reasons:

- (a) kids are more likely to be e.g. reference models, at least as far as some outgroups are concerned. Ego-involvement with kids is likely to be greater and there will be more direct comparability between informants and outgroup kids, in school and peer-recreational domains;
- (b) since network analysis here will focus on peers, this ISA attention to kids is complementary;
- (c) as far as speech modelling is concerned, it is kids who universally use English, not adults, and therefore this focus on youngsters is germinal to the question of contact varieties of English (see the discussion in section 7.4.1, in the main text).

Gender differences had not consistently formed a part of ISA discussions, and therefore 'kids' was preferred to 'boys' or 'girls'. Neither had generational differences, yet 'kids' was preferred to 'people' since there were likely to be key generational differences in English language usage and for this reason, 'adults' and 'kids' could not be merged.

In fact, the inclusion of e.g. 'Pakistani adults' with 'Pakistani kids' gave informants the chance to make ingroup inter-generational comparisons. Ingroup adults are much more likely to form a regular psycho-social reference point than outgroup ones, except where these are teachers: this further explains the inclusion of the final two entities above. In fact, the entity 'Teachers' can be probably read as 'adult middle-class whites'.

The remaining entities which were used were more intimately connected with informants. These were:



'Dad'

'Mum'

Favourite brother or sister, or best friend

Other brother(s) and sister(s)

'My main friends'

'My uncles and aunts round Bedford (real ones)'

'My real cousins (round Bedford)'

'My "kind of" cousins (round Bedford)'

'Dad' and 'Mum' were included separately, mainly because of their likely importance but also because language shift might for example be occurring at different rates for each. With the next entity, 'favourite brother or sister or best friend', a choice was made of one from the three. If a favourite brother or sister had emerged in the course of previous discussion, they were included, usually by name. If, on the other hand, an informant only had little brothers and sisters, 'my best friend' was used instead, on the assumption that small siblings might not serve as such powerful reference models.

The next slot, 'other brother(s) and sister(s)', comprised whatever siblings remained, and these were again sometimes referred to by name. 'My main friends' might be the only opportunity for informants to rate friends - for some however it might supplement the 'my best friend' entity. From the LTT elicitation, I usually had a fairly good idea of who these friends were.

The next entity was designed to elicit attitudes to close adult kin and hence 'real' was added (and explained). Beyond paternal and maternal siblings, many adults in ethnically Asian (and in Afro-Caribbean?) social networks are regarded as kin (see e.g. Saifullah Khan 1976; also several of the references cited in Chapter 6.1), as well as 'Uncle' and 'Auntie' being widely used as courtesy titles. Hence the need to define more precisely the 'uncles and aunts' to be considered, on whom it was hoped there would also be data on interactional association (it was

specifically in order to achieve comparability between the ISA and network data that 'round Bedford' was also added). The same logic applied to the 'real' and 'kind of' 'cousins' distinction, which again aimed to distinguish the children of parental siblings from wider 'biraderi' relationships. It was hoped this time however that the ISM data might also reveal patterns of interactional association with 'kind of' as well as 'real' cousins, and in some cases this further complementarity may have been achieved. This is however uncertain, since it appeared in fact that some informants were using the kind of cousin designation to refer to adult members of the 'biraderi' or 'rishtadar'.

Here is a complete list of the entities with which in variant forms informants were presented:

- Me as I am now
- Me as I would like to be
- Me as I used to be
- Bangladeshi kids
- English kids
- Indian kids
- Italian kids
- Pakistani kids
- West Indian kids
- Teachers
- (Ingroup adults)
- (Me speaking English)
- (Me speaking Punjabi/Pakistani/West Indian)
- A person I dislike
- A person I admire
- Dad
- Mum
- Favourite brother or sister or best friend
- (Other brother(s) and sister(s))
- 'My main friends'
- 'My uncles and aunts round Bedford (real ones)'
- 'My real cousins (round Bedford)'
- ('My "kind of" cousins (round Bedford)')

In addition, very occasionally 'my nan(s)' and 'American kids' were used: see below for a complete list of the entities used with each informant.

3. The Constructs and Entities Used with Each Informant  
in the ISA Rating Procedure

A list of the constructs used for each informant in the rating procedure is given immediately below. This is followed by lists of each informant's entities.

Ai's Constructs

hard - weak

don't want to go in the fashion - follow the fashion

racialist -

you can trust what they say - they make up stories and lies

start trouble - keep out of trouble

got a lot of advantages - haven't got a lot of advantages

act posh, show off -

similar to me - different to me

look after things - don't take care of things

don't know much English - speak normal English

clever - not clever

follow their tradition -

sticks with you if there's trouble - walks away from you

naughty - well-behaved

look bad in the street -

Bi's Constructs

sticks with something - doesn't take  
till it's over and done - it seriously

dress badly - dress normally

trust them and - don't trust  
rely on them - them

doesn't know - speaks normal  
much English - English

hard - shows off

shouts at you - talks to you and tells  
you not to do it again

friendly - racist

thick - brainy

similar to me - different from me

kind, keeps cool - gets mad

picks on people - peaceful,  
and makes trouble - don't make trouble

follow their tradition -

respect them - don't respect them

hang around with bad  
people and get spoilt - act normal

got a lot of - haven't got a lot  
advantages - of advantages

respect them - don't respect them

feel a disgrace - like being with them  
with them

-----

Reserve:

feel like your brothers - don't feel like your  
and sisters - brothers and sisters

Ci's Constructs

gets involved in smoking, \_  
stealing and that

similar to me - different from me

listens to people - talk about what they  
want to say

cheat in games - play fair

wouldn't shame a person up - might shame a person up

starts a lot of trouble - walks away from fights

got a lot of advantages - haven't got a lot of advantages

loudmouths - keeps quiet

only fight people their size - pick on little kids

doesn't know much English - speaks normal English

gets angry about just about anything -

complains a lot - don't complain much

racialist - friendly

can be respected - don't respect them much

it's up to them what \_ have to do what  
they want to do they're told

high up - not high

-----

Reserve:

religious - not religious

Ei's Constructs

likes indoor - likes outdoor  
sports best - sports best

cruel - kind

would like to - wouldn't like to  
live in India - live in India

they complain a lot - they don't say nothing

pick on people and - don't make trouble  
boss them around

go around nicking - don't go around  
and smoking and that - thieving and that

don't know much English - speaks normal English

weak - tough

let you join in with them - tell you to go away

their parents are very strict - their parents explain  
with them, don't given them - things, give them the  
the right money, and that - right money etc.

shows people respect - don't show people respect

similar to me - different from me

racialist - friendly

walks away from - gets into  
trouble - fights

follow their tradition -

got a lot of advantages - haven't got a lot of advantages

-----  
Reserve:

reads a lot and watches a lot of TV - doesn't read much or watch  
much TV

doesn't like going out to places - likes going out to places

helps at home - doesn't help at home

likes computers - doesn't like computers

goes reading - doesn't go reading

Fl's Constructs

kind, care about people - don't care about people

listen - don't listen

like people to think - don't care what  
they're good - people think

racialist - friendly

works hard - rests a lot

don't know much English - speak normal English

share things,  
give you things - don't give you things

brainy - not brainy

mess about - don't like messing about

know the meaning of money - don't know the meaning of money

follow their tradition,  
act in their way -

make trouble, act hard - don't make trouble

ask other people  
all the time - know it's up to them

not religious,  
don't care in God and that - religious

tough - weak

haven't got a lot of advantages - got a lot of advantages

similar to me - different from me

-----

Reserve:

steal things, tell lies and that -

show respect - don't show respect

like another country better than England - like England best



Gi's Constructs

scrooge - generous

keeps it under control - go over the limit

weak - tough, hard

it's up to them - do what people  
what they do - tell them

follow their tradition, -  
take their own way

like dossing about -

think respect is important - don't care about respect

ill-mannered and cheeky -

speak normal English - don't know much English

like to go out - stay in

religious - not religious

make trouble, act hard -

care about other people, - don't care about other people  
try to help them

got a lot of advantages - haven't got a lot of advantages

racialist - friendly

like schoolwork best - like other work more than school work

similar to me - different from me

treat you like an adult - treat you like a kid

-----

Reserve:

will grass on people,  
make comments about them - won't make comments about you  
to other people

Hp's Constructs

keep their mouth shut - tell other people

show respect - don't show respect

get wild, blow their top -

- like to go out with friends

strict - kind

think they're hard, don't really - do a lot of things  
do big things and that

similar to me - different from me

don't know much English - speak normal English

have a laugh, muck about - posh, snobbish

do what they want to do - have to do things

weak - tough

follow their tradition -

make trouble - keep away from trouble

not religious - religious, reads, go to Mosque etc.

help people out if they're in difficulty -

haven't got a lot of advantages - got a lot of advantages

racialist - friendly

would like to live in another country - likes to live in  
England

-----

Reserve:

rich - not rich

Ip's Constructs

sticks up for you -

use their strength - use their mind

got a lot of advantages - haven't got a lot of advantages

act hard - don't say nothing to nobody

greedy and selfish - unselfish, lends you things and that

similar to me -different from me

don't split on people - make fun of people  
or shame them up

look bad in the street

speak normal English - don't know much English

fun to be with - not fun to be with

gets into fights - walks away from fights

follow their tradition -

racialist -

can go out - have to stay in

listen to big people - don't listen to them

would like to live in      would like to live in  
England                      Pakistan and visit England

-----

Reserve:

religious, reads a lot -

gets angry - doesn't complain

Jp's Constructs

picks on some people and lets other people get away with it - fair

brainy - not brainy

copy other people -

got a lot of advantages - haven't got a lot of advantages

stay in - go out

don't know much English - speak normal English

get a lot of money, buy expensive things and that - not rich

similar to me - different to me

get involved in things like stealing, taking money off people and that -

religious - not religious

split on people, tell tales - keep quiet

learn a lot from them - don't learn a lot from them

have to do what they're told - can do what they want

tough - weak

racialist - friendly

act posh, show off, pose -

have got respect - don't have respect

follow their tradition -

make trouble -

Kp's Constructs

don't like waiting for things - don't mind waiting for  
things if they have to

- act posh, pose

follow their tradition -

have a lot of money - don't get a lot of money

talk about people behind their back -

clever - not clever

racialist - friendly

- make trouble, say bad things and that

show respect - don't show respect

explain things - tell them to go away  
to people - if they don't know something

don't know much English - speak normal English

on the good track - on the bad track

weak - tough

kind, care about people - don't care about people

complains a lot - don't complain

helps people out - don't help people out

got a lot of advantages - haven't got a lot of advantages

similar to me - different from me

religious - not religious

-----

Reserve:

shy of talking - not shy of talking

likes life in England best - likes life in another country best

can go out when they like -

like to mess about -

Lp's Constructs

likes to be top - don't mind

she, weak - tough

follow their own customs and that -

brainy - thick

similar to me - different from me

get jealous - don't get jealous

racialist -

stick with a person - go with people with better things

got a lot of advantages - haven't got a lot of advantages

think they're good and that -  
(put on an act, show off)

help you out -

fair - pick on people

out of hand -

don't know much English - speak normal English

don't look for trouble - look for trouble

posh -

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Reserve:

religious - not religious

good at sport - not good at sport

- shames people up

Mp's Constructs

generous - not generous

think they're hard, - stick to their own business  
make trouble

intelligent - not intelligent

racialist - friendly

want to be top,  
can't take it if they lose -

follow their tradition -

- give good advice

got a bad temper - got self-control

speak normal English - don't know much English

can do what they want - have to do things

gets on well with people -

don't concentrate on work, -  
lazy

think they're great -

naughty - not naughty

tease people, try to shame them up -

religious - not religious

similar to me - different from me

got a lot of advantages - haven't got a lot of advantages

-----

Reserve:

talk too much -

want to look smart - don't want to look smart

have respect - don't have respect

weak - tough

Op's Constructs

brainy - not brainy

follow the fashion - don't think fashion is important

got a lot of advantages - haven't got a lot of advantages

have fun with them -

similar to me - different from me

act hard and - help people out if  
trouble people - they're in trouble

scared, or weak - tough

speak normal English - don't know much English

would like to have a big house, -  
and be rich

boss people around - ask people what they want to do

racialist -

smokes, steals, lies and that -

walks away from trouble - gets into fights

follow their tradition -

try hard to improve - mess about

act posh, show off and that -

naughty - not naughty

religious - not religious



Pp's Constructs

brainy - dumb

says if he's done wrong - blames things on other people

got a lot of advantages - haven't got a lot of advantages

posh,  
tries to show off - normal

does something boring - likes to do something really  
and says it's not bad - good and say it's good

scared - will fight their own battles

do what they want to do - are made to do things

might talk behind your back - can rely on them

explain what's - shout at people and  
right and wrong - tell them not to do it

deserves respect - doesn't deserve respect

racialist - friendly

goes out with friends - stays at home

doesn't know much English - speaks normal English

don't cause trouble - starts trouble,  
and acts normal - swears at people and that

go with their tradition - change

knows what he's - don't know what  
saying and doing - they're doing

smokes and thieves -

similar to me - different from me

-----

Reserve:

gets on with things - messes around

thinks Pakistan is better - thinks Bedford is better  
than Bedford - than Pakistan

in the fashion - not in the fashion

Op's Constructs

show respect - doesn't show respect

dopey - brainy

makes trouble, nicks money - doesn't make trouble  
bullies and that

kind and fair - strict and gives you no chances

got a lot of advantages - haven't got a lot of advantages

go about with anyone they like - their parents care for them

weak - tough

jealous - tries to do as good as other  
people without making excuses

can be trusted - can't be trusted

don't know much English - speaks normal English

racialist - friendly

sits down and thinks hard about things -

follow their tradition -

dresses normal - dresses bad

rich - poor

similar to me - different from me

-----

Reserve:

got a link with you - haven't got a link with you

feel shameful going round with them -

knows about things - doesn't know about things  
like banes - like banes

don't want to learn - want to learn their  
their own language - own language

Rw's Constructs

Bossy -

tough, likes a fight - weak and scared

won't lend things to people - lends things to people

follow their own tradition and that -

- gentle and kind

show-off and think they're good -

speak normal English - don't know much English

can do what they like - do what they're told

get blamed for things - don't get the blame

racialist - friendly

goes after the girls -

want to go to their parents' country -

get carried away - don't get carried away

get people into trouble -

got a lot of advantages - haven't got a lot of advantages

argues, or sulks and that - takes it, plays fair

similar to me - different from me

religious - not religious

-----

Reserve:

has got respect - don't have respect

make fun of people, shame them up -

Sw's Constructs

like making things and fixing things -

can't take a joke -

religious - not religious

give people things, - don't give people things,  
and lend them things - or lend them

not clever - clever

speak normal English - don't know much English

strict - soft

follow their tradition - don't follow their tradition

got a sense of business - haven't got a sense of business

get in trouble - keep out of trouble

got a lot of advantages - haven't got a lot of advantages

prefers active things - likes quiet things

don't mess about - mess about

do things for the fun of it - do things to win

racialist - friendly

weak - tough

similar to me - different from me

it's hard to understand -  
why they do things

-----

Reserve:

think mostly about playing - think about work

get blamed for things - get away with it

got respect - haven't got respect

Tm's Constructs

Like making things -

got self-respect and respect for others -

weak - tough

don't spend their money - spend their money

not religious - religious

listen to other people - don't listen to other people

- like going out, playing  
games, talking and that

racialist - friendly

don't know much English - speak normal English

don't ask for trouble, - make trouble  
go their own way

don't know what's happening, - know what they're doing  
do anything they like

follow their own traditions, -  
and fashions and that

got things to do - got nothing to do

well-dressed - not well-dressed

got a lot of advantages - haven't got a lot of advantages

takes it seriously - can take a joke

similar to me - different from me

helps at home - don't help at home

-----

Reserve:

shame people up -

don't look after things - look after things

Ue's Constructs

- act silly, do things they're  
not supposed to do

don't worry about little things -

act posh, show off, pose -

got a lot of advantages - haven't got a lot of advantages

brainy, know a lot - not brainy, don't know very much

get away with it - get caught, get told off

share things - tight

don't know much English - speak normal English

tough - weak

like learning - not interested in learning

religious - not religious

clean - not clean

like to mess around, and have a laugh -

often change what they like best - stick to one thing

cause trouble - don't cause trouble

not racist - racist

like peacefulness -

different from me - similar to me

follow their tradition -

kind, help people -

-----

Reserve:

can do what they want to - do what they're told

can be respected -

interested in girls - not interested in girls

Ve's Constructs

tell tales - keep quiet

religious, believes in God and that -

tough - weak

behave well -

a good laugh -

gets in a mood -

can do what they want - have to do what they're told

racialist - firendly

get caught, get told off - get away with it

don't know much English - speak normal English

let you do things - boss people about

similar to me - different to me

posh -

tease people, try to shame them up -

got a lot of advantages - haven't got a lot of advantages

follow their tradition

-----

Reserve:

smoke and that -

swear - don't swear

got respect - haven't got respect

We's Constructs

muck around a lot - don't muck around a lot

likes another country - likes England best  
better than England

have got respect - don't have respect

fight their own battles - get other people to help them

racist - friendly

religious - not religious

complains a lot - don't complain

likes taking the mickey -

don't know much English - speak normal English

kind, do things for you -

follow their tradition -

weak - tough

want to be the best - don't mind if they're  
in the world - not the best

clever - stupid

gets mad - keeps it soft

got a lot of advantages - haven't got a lot of advantages

causes trouble, bullies people -

similar to me - different from me

-----

Reserve:

posh, think they're good -

don't care about fashion - care about fashion



Ai's Entities

Me as I am now

Me as I would like to be

Me as I used to be

Bangladeshi kids

English kids

Indian kids

Italian kids

Pakistani kids

West Indian kids

Teachers

Indian adults

Me speaking English

Me speaking Punjabi

A person I dislike

A person I admire

Dad

Mum

My brother

My sister

My main friends

My uncles and aunts  
round Bedford (real)

My real cousins  
(round Bedford)

My 'kind of' cousins  
(round Bedford)

Bi's Entities

Me as I am now

Me as I would like to be

Me as I used to be

Bangladeshi kids

English kids

Indian kids

Italian kids

Pakistani kids

West Indian kids

Teachers

Indian adults

Me speaking English

Me speaking Punjabi

A person I dislike

A person I admire

Dad

Mum

My brother and sister

My best friend

My other main friends

My uncles and aunties  
round Bedford (real)

My real cousins  
(round Bedford)

My 'kind of' cousins  
(round Bedford)

Ci's Entities

Me as I am now

Me as I would like to be

Me as I used to be

Bangladeshi kids

English kids

Indian kids

Italian kids

Pakistani kids

West Indian kids

Teachers

Indian adults

Me speaking English

Me speaking Punjabi

A person I dislike

A person I admire

Dad

Mum

My brother

My uncles and aunts  
round Bedford

My cousins  
(round Bedford)

My sort of cousins  
(round Bedford)

My main friends

Ei's Entities

Me as I am now

Me as I would like to be

Me as I used to be

Bangladeshi kids

English kids

Indian kids

Italian kids

Pakistani kids

West Indian kids

Teachers

Indian adults

Me speaking English

Me speaking Punjabi

A person I dislike

A person I admire

Dad

Mum

Sister

My brothers

My main friends

My uncles and aunties  
round Bedford (real)

My real cousins  
(round Bedford)

My 'kind of' cousins  
(round Bedford)

Fi's Entities

Me as I am now

Me as I would like to be

Me as I used to be

Bangladeshi kids

English kids

Indian kids

Italian kids

Pakistani kids

West Indian kids

Teachers

Indian adults

Me speaking English

Me speaking Punjabi

A person I dislike

A person I admire

Dad

Mum

My brother and sisters

My best friend

My other main friends

My uncles and aunties  
(round Bedford)

My cousins  
(round Bedford)

My 'kind of' cousins  
(round Bedford)

Gi's Entities

Me as I am now

Me as I would like to be

Me as I used to be

Bangladeshi kids

English kids

Indian kids

Italian kids

Pakistani kids

West Indian kids

Teachers

Indian adults

Me speaking English

Me speaking Punjabi

A person I dislike

A person I admire

Dad

Mum

Brother

Sister

My main friends

My uncles and aunties  
(round Bedford)

My cousins  
(round Bedford)

My 'kind of' cousins  
(round Bedford)

Hp's Entities

Me as I am now

Me as I would like to be

Me as I used to be

Bangladeshi kids

English kids

Indian kids

Italian kids

Pakistani kids

West Indian kids

Teachers

Pakistani adults

Me speaking English

Me speaking Punjabi

A person I dislike

A person I admire

Dad

Mum

Brother

Brother

My main friends

Real Uncle and Aunt

'Kind of' Uncle and Aunt

'Kind of' cousins

Ip's Entities

Me as I am now

Me as I would like to be

Me as I used to be

Bangladeshi kids

English kids

Indian kids

Italian kids

Pakistani kids

West Indian kids

Teachers

Pakistani adults

Me speaking English

Me speaking Punjabi

A person I dislike

A person I admire

Dad

Mum

My big brother

My other brother  
and sisters

My main friends

My uncles and aunts  
(round Bedford)

My 'kind of' cousins  
(round Bedford)

---

My real cousins  
(in other towns)



Jp's Entities

Me as I am now

Me as I would like to be

Me as I used to be

Bangladeshi kids

English kids

Indian kids

Italian kids

Pakistani kids

West Indian kids

Teachers

Pakistani adults

Me speaking English

Me speaking Pakistani

A person I dislike

A person I admire

Dad

Mum

My big brother

My other brother  
and sisters

My uncles and aunties  
(round Bedford)

My cousins  
(round Bedford)

My 'kind of' cousins  
(round Bedford)

My other main friends

Kp's Entities

Me as I am now

Me as I would like to be

Me as I used to be

Bangladeshi kids

English kids

Indian kids

Italian kids

Pakistani kids

West Indian kids

Teachers

Pakistani adults

Me speaking English

Me speaking Pakistani

A person I dislike

A person I admire

Dad

Mum

My brother

My best friend

My other main friends

My uncles and aunties  
round Bedford (real)

My real cousins  
(round Bedford)

My 'kind of' cousins  
(round Bedford)

Lp's Entities

Me as I am now

Me as I would like to be

Me as I used to be

Bangladeshi kids

English kids

Indian kids

Italian kids

Pakistani kids

West Indian kids

Teachers

Pakistani adults

Me speaking English

Me speaking Punjabi

A person I dislike

A person I admire

Dad

Mum

My big brother

My sisters

My main friends

My uncles and aunts  
round Bedford (real)

My real cousins  
(round Bedford)

My 'kind of' cousins  
(round Bedford)

Mo's Entities

Me as I am now

Me as I would like to be

Me as I used to be

Bangladeshi kids

English kids

Indian kids

Italian kids

Pakistani kids

West Indian kids

Teachers

Pakistani adults

Me speaking English

Me speaking Pakistani

A person I dislike

A person I admire

Dad

Mum

Two younger brothers

Other brothers and sister

My uncles and aunties  
(round Bedford)

My cousins  
(round Bedford)

My main friends

Op's Entities

Me as I am now

Me as I would like to be

Me as I used to be

Bangladeshi kids

English kids

Indian kids

Italian kids

Pakistani kids

West Indian kids

Teachers

Pakistani adults

Me speaking English

Me speaking Punjabi

A person I dislike

A person I admire

Dad

Mum

My favourite brother

My other brothers  
and sisters

My main friends

My uncles and aunts  
(round Bedford)

My 'sort of' cousins  
(round Bedford)

My real cousins  
(in other towns)

Pp's Entities

Me as I am now

Me as I would like to be

Me as I used to be

Bangladeshi kids

English kids

Indian kids

Italian kids

Pakistani kids

West Indian kids

Teachers

Pakistani adults

Me speaking English

Me speaking Punjabi

A person I dislike

A person I admire

Dad

Mum

Older brother

My sisters and other brother

My main friends

My uncles and aunties  
round Bedford (real)

My real cousins  
(round Bedford)

My 'kind of' cousins  
(round Bedford)

Op's Entities

Me as I am now

Me as I would like to be

Me as I used to be

Bangladeshi kids

English kids

Indian kids

Italian kids

Pakistani kids

West Indian kids

Teachers

Pakistani adults

Me speaking English

Me speaking Punjabi

A person I dislike

A person I admire

Dad

Mum

My brother and sisters

My best friend

My other main friends

My uncles and aunties  
round Bedford (real)

My real cousins  
(round Bedford)

My 'kind of' cousins  
(round Bedford)

Rw's Entities

Me as I am now

Me as I would like to be

Me as I used to be

Bangladeshi kids

English kids

Indian kids

Italian kids

Pakistani kids

West Indian kids

Teachers

West Indian adults

Me speaking English

Me speaking West Indian

A person I dislike

A person I admire

Dad

Mum

My brother

My sister

My best friend

My uncles and aunties  
(in Bedfordshire)

My cousins  
(in Bedfordshire)



Sw's Entities

Me as I am now

Me as I would like to be

Me as I used to be

Bangladeshi kids

English kids

Indian kids

Italian kids

Pakistani kids

West Indian kids

Teachers

West Indian adults

Me speaking English

Me speaking West Indian

A person I dislike

A person I admire

Dad

Mum

Brother

My other brothers  
and sister

My best friends

My uncles and aunties  
(in Bedfordshire)

My cousins  
(in Bedfordshire)

Tm's Entities

Me as I am now

Me as I would like to be

Me as I used to be

Bangladeshi kids

English kids

Indian kids

Italian kids

Pakistani kids

West Indian kids

Teachers

Me speaking West Indian

Me speaking English

A person I dislike

A person I admire

Dad

Mum

My older brother

My other brother  
and sisters

My best friends

My uncles and aunties  
(round Bedford)

My cousins  
(round Bedford)

Ue's Entities

Me as I am now

Me as I would like to be

Me as I used to be

Bangladeshi kids

English kids

Indian kids

Italian kids

Pakistani kids

West Indian kids

Teachers

English adults

A person I dislike

A person I admire

Dad

Mum

My sister

My best friend

My other main friends

My uncles and aunties  
(round Bedford)

My cousins  
(round Bedford)

My nans

Ve's Entities

Me as I am now

Me as I would like to be

Me as I used to be

Bangladeshi kids

English kids

Indian kids

Italian kids

Pakistani kids

West Indian kids

Teachers

English adults

A person I dislike

A person I admire

Dad

Mum

Brother

Sister

My nans

My uncle and auntie  
in Birmingham

My cousins in Birmingham

My main friends

We's Entities

Me as I am now

Me as I would like to be

Me as I used to be

American kids

Bangladeshi kids

English kids

Indian kids

Italian kids

Pakistani kids

West Indian kids

Teachers

English adults

A person I dislike

A person I admire

Dad

Mum

Older brother

Younger brother and sister

My main friends

My uncles and aunts  
(round Bedford)

My cousins  
(round Bedford)

NOTES

1. The pairings were:

Ci, Mp and Ei (then Ci and Ei);

Bi, Qp, Np;

Op and Pp;

Op and Lp;

Ai and Ip;

We and Tm;

Jp and Kp;

Hp and 2w;

Rw and Sw;

Fi and Gi;

Ue and Ve.

## APPENDIX 8

### EGO-INVOLVEMENT RANKINGS FOR THE SIX ISA ENTITIES BEING USED IN THE ANALYSES OF PSYCHO-SOCIAL IDENTIFICATION IN PART TWO (see Chapter 8.4)

The entities 'English kids', 'Indian kids', 'Pakistani kids', 'West Indian kids', Ingroup 'adults' and 'Teachers' have been selected in the course of setting out to compare patterns of psycho-social identification with language and network interaction. How far do these entities appear to matter to informants? How salient are they within their psycho-social landscapes? To assess this, it is useful to draw in the sibling entities (which we can assume are likely to be important) and to look at ISA ego-involvement scores for all seven.

Ego-involvement in ISA says nothing about whether identifications are positive or negative, but it does summarise how much of a response an entity elicited during the rating procedure (see section 5.4.2, p.117). One of the ego-involvement indices produced by the Idexidio programme gives a clear idea of the 'importance' to each informant of an entity relative to the rest by means of a rank: the programme splits the range of the informant's scores from maximum to minimum into five equal divisions and then assigns a rank position to each entity, from 5 (high) to 1 (low) (Weinreich et al. 1983:15). Using this data, Table A.8.1 sets out the ranking by each informant of the six entities selected here (together with the sibling entity with the highest ranking). It also gives the mean ego-involvement rank for each entity across the group as a whole.

This table usefully puts these entities into perspective. At least on the evidence of the ISA rating booklet, they are not the entities about which informants have the strongest 'views'. On average, siblings elicit more of a response, and in the ensuing discussion it should not be thought that these six entities have been selected as, for example, the most salient or urgent points of reference in local psycho-social space: they

TABLE A.8.1 EGO-INVOLVEMENT RANKINGS OF THE SIX SELECTED ENTITIES, BY INFORMANT WITH SIBLINGS INCLUDED AS A POINT OF COMPARISON

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
Ai	4	4	5	4	5	4	2
Bi	5	4	4	2	3	3	4
Ci	3	3	3	3	3	4	5
Ei	4	1	1	4	4	2	3
Fi	3	3	3	2	4	3	3
Gi	4	3	2	3	1	1	3
Hp	2	2	2	4	2	1	4
Ip	4	4	4	2	5	4	4
Jp	3	2	3	3	4	3	4
Kp	3	3	3	3	4	2	4
Lp	2	3	3	4	2	2	3
Mp	1	1	1	1	1	3	3
Op	1	3	2	3	4	1	5
Pp	2	3	1	1	4	3	3
Qp	3	3	3	2	2	2	3
Rw	4	2	3	4	4	1	5
Sw	0	0	0	1	2	2	5
Tm	2	2	3	3		5	3
Ue	1	1	1	1	3	5	2
Ve	4	3	3	5	1	2	3
We	0	0	0	1	2	2	4
Mean	2.6	2.4	2.4	2.7	3	2.6	3.6
$\sigma$	1.4	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.3	1.2	0.9

5 = high involvement, 1 = low involvement,  
0 = too low to be ranked

Key: I = Informant  
II = 'English kids'  
III = 'Indian kids'  
IV = 'Pakistani kids'  
V = 'West Indian kids'  
VI = Ingroup adults  
VII = 'Teachers'  
VIII = Siblings



have been chosen for analytic reasons and there are other entities around who clearly matter more (on this empirical definition). Even so, this table can be seen as justifying this selection of entities in the way that for the large majority of informants (16 out of 21), at least one and usually more entities are ranked equal with or higher than siblings. Evidently there are a fair number of generic entities here that are either as or more 'salient' than the intimate entity 'siblings'. The entities selected here may not generally be the most important for informants, but neither are they generally the most inconsequential.

APPENDIX 9

WHICH PEER-GROUP ENTITIES DOES EACH INFORMANT  
IDENTIFY WITH MOST, AND WHICH DOES HE LEAST  
IDENTIFY WITH? VERBAL IDIOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISATIONS  
(see Chapter 8.5.2)

This appendix gives a verbal account of how each informant's ISA identifications are distributed with regard to the entities 'English kids', 'Indian kids', 'Pakistani kids' and 'West Indian kids'. These characterisations are based on the numerical data on patterns of current, idealistic and contra-identification which are presented in Table 8.4 in the main text.

- Ai: A identifies equally with all groups. His current identification with each is strong, his contra-identification weak.
- Bi: B's strongest identification is with 'English kids' (highest current and idealistic identification, and weakest contra-identification). After that, he next identifies most with 'Pakistani kids'; then 'Indian kids'; and 'West Indian kids' least (the lowest current and idealistic id; the highest contra-id).
- Ci: C identifies equally strongly with 'Pakistani kids' and 'Indian kids'. His current, idealistic and contra-id. indices all show less 'positive' identification with 'English kids'; and least with 'West Indian kids'.
- Ei: E's identification is broadly comparable across all four entities. His current identification with Afro-Caribbean kids is highest, but so too is his contra-id. His contra-id is higher with 'English kids' than 'Indian kids' and 'Pakistani kids', but idealistic and current id with 'English kids' is higher than with 'Indian kids'.  
E's entities are not easily graded, and calling them equal is a little bit of a compromise perhaps.
- Fi: F's strongest identifications are with 'Indian kids' and 'Pakistani kids' (on the former, the current id score is lower but the idealistic index higher). Current identifi-

cation with 'English kids' is lower than with 'West Indian kids', but idealistic identification is much higher. So maybe 'West Indian kids' can be described as the entity least identified with.

- Gi: G's strongest identifications are with 'West Indian kids': these are however rather marginally so, and as a result we can say his identifications are about equal.
- Hp: H's strongest identification is with 'West Indian kids' (highest current and idealistic id, lowest contra-id). His weakest is with 'English kids'; 'Indian kids' and 'Pakistani kids' come in the middle.
- Ip: I's identification can be summarised as roughly equivalent for 'Indian kids' and 'Pakistani kids' (slightly higher idealistic id and lower contra-id with 'Pakistani kids' than with 'Indian kids'). After these, 'English kids' and finally 'West Indian kids'.
- Jp: J's strongest idealistic identification is with 'West Indian kids': the difference between identification scores is however fairly evenly spread and his identification can be summarised as fairly evenly spread.
- Kp: So can K's - his current identification with 'Pakistani kids' is strongest, but so marginally is his contra-identification.
- Lp: L's idealistic and contra-identification with 'West Indian kids' is the same as for 'English kids', but his current identification is much stronger, so 'West Indian kids' can be described as his strongest identification. His identifications with 'Indian kids' and 'Pakistani kids' can be classed together as weakest.
- Mp: M's current identification with 'English kids' is a bit stronger than with the others, but his contra-identification is also a lot more marked, and his idealistic identification is weaker. He can be said to identify most with 'Indian kids' and 'Pakistani kids' (marginally); then 'West Indian kids' and 'English kids' least.

Op: O's strongest identification is with 'Indian kids'; his weakest with 'English kids'.

Pp: P most strongly identifies with 'Indian kids'; then 'English kids'; then 'Pakistani kids'; then 'West Indian kids'.

Qp: Q's identifications are equal with regard to 'English kids', 'Indian kids' and 'Pakistani kids'. 'West Indian kids' are least strongly identified with.

Rw: R's strongest identification is maybe with 'West Indian kids' (due to his current and contra-identification scores), though 'English kids' are not easily separable, nor indeed are the entities 'Indian kids' and 'Pakistani kids'. So it is probably best to describe his identifications as evenly distributed.

Sw: S chose the zero rating on too many occasions with 'English kids', 'Indian kids' and 'Pakistani kids' for the ISA programme to produce identity indices. Ego-involvement with 'West Indian kids' is also extremely low, so we can say that, from an ISA perspective anyway, 'West Indian kids' also appear to be a virtually non-significant entity. It is safest to class S as not distinguishing between these entities.

Tm: T's highest identification appears to be with 'Pakistani kids', fairly closely followed by 'West Indian kids' and 'English kids'. Contra-id and idealistic-id indices prompt one to place 'Indian kids' last.

Ue: U's strongest identification is easily with 'English kids'; then 'West Indian kids'; and finally 'Indian kids' and 'Pakistani kids'.

Ve: V identifies to roughly the same degree with 'Indian kids' and 'Pakistani kids' (slightly more with the former). Then come 'English kids' and finally 'West Indian kids'.

We: Like S, we have to summarise W's identifications as equally indeterminate for all four entities, in view of the very low ego-involvement with 'West Indian kids' and its low indices.

APPENDIX 10

GRIDS FOR THE ENVIRONMENTAL CLASSIFICATION

PHONETIC VARIANTS OF (ʃ) AND (ɬ)

(see Chapter 9.4)

GRID FOR THE CLASSIFICATION OF VARIANTS OF (ð)

PERSONAL					
	Bilabial/Labiodental	Dental, Alveolar, Post Alveolar	Palato-alveolar, Palatal, Velar	Glottals	
STOPS					ð
					d
					θ
FRICATIVES					ð
					d
					θ
NASALS					ð
					d
					θ
	ð d θ	ð d θ	ð d θ	ð d θ	
POSTDORSAL					ð
					d
					θ
POSTVOCALIC					ð
					d
					θ
LATERAL					ð
					d
					θ
	ð d θ	ð d θ	ð d θ	ð d θ	
GROUPS					
	Bilabial/Labiodental	Dental, Alveolar, Post Alveolar	Palato-alveolar, Palatal, Velar	Glottal	
STOPS					ð
					d
					θ
FRICATIVES					ð
					d
					θ
NASALS					ð
					d
					θ
	ð d θ	ð d θ	ð d θ	ð d θ	
POSTDORSAL					ð
					d
					θ
POSTVOCALIC					ð
					d
					θ
LATERAL					ð
					d
					θ
	ð d θ	ð d θ	ð d θ	ð d θ	



APPENDIX 11

THE INFLUENCE OF PHONETIC ENVIRONMENT ON THE USE  
OF VARIANTS OF (ɤ) AND WORD-INITIAL (ʔ)

(see Chapter 9.4)

Did phonetic environment influence the use of variants, and would the uneven representation of particular environments distort the overall scores which emerge when phonological contexts are combined?

For word-initial (ʔ), the main environments were  $\parallel -$ ,  $V\#\# -$ ,  $/t_d/\#\# -$ ,  $/s_z/\#\# -$ ,  $/h/\#\# -$ ; for (ɤ) they were  $V - C$ ,  $V - \#\# C$  and  $C - \#\# C$  (this latter being syllabic). To examine their possible influence, every informant's % score on each variant in each environment was taken from the triadic interview, and across all (9-18) informants, a mean % score was calculated for the use of each in all these main contexts. Tables A.11.1 to A.11.3 show the emerging patterns with regard to (ʔ). For the group as a whole, the post pausal, post vocalic and post /t/ and /d/ environments are broadly comparable in terms of their influence on [ʔ] and [ɤ].

TABLE A.11.1 MEAN % USE OF [ʔ] BY PHONETIC ENVIRONMENT

[ʔ]	$\parallel -$	$V\#\# -$	$/t_d/\#\# -$	$/s_z/\#\# -$	$/h/\#\# -$
$\bar{x}$	65.0	57.6	59.1	40.8	41.4
$\sigma$	23.1	17.5	20.1	27.1	17.7
n*	18	17	16	16	18

\* Where an informant used variants of (ʔ) in an environment less than five times, his % score was not included in the calculation of means.



TABLE A.11.2 MEAN % USE OF [d] BY PHONETIC ENVIRONMENT

[d]	—	V##—	/t/d##—	/s/z##—	/n##—
$\bar{x}$	32.4	38.5	28.3	19.4	22.4
$\sigma$	24.2	18.1	20.2	20.0	18.3
n*	18	17	16	16	18

TABLE A.11.3 MEAN % USE OF Zero TH BY PHONETIC ENVIRONMENT

Zero TH	—	V##—	/t/d##—	/s/z##—	/n##—
$\bar{x}$	2.7	3.9	11.9	39.8	35.9
$\sigma$	4.6	5.4	6.5	25.9	22.0
n*	18	17	16	16	18

The environments /s/z##— and /n##— clearly favour [ʒ] less, and Zero TH more. With [d] it also looks as though there is a difference in the effect of the post vocalic environment as opposed to /s/z##—. In sum, phonetic environment does appear to influence the selection of variants.

Tables A.11.4 and A.11.5 present the mean % use of variants of (t) according to the three most common environments.

TABLE A.11.4 MEAN % USE OF Vocalic L and [ɹ] BY PHONETIC ENVIRONMENT

	Vocalic L			[ɹ]		
	Post Vocalic		Syllabic	Post Vocalic		Syllabic
	-C	-##C	-##C	-C	-##C	-##C
$\bar{x}$	43.3	41.5	46.2	36.9	27.5	30.8
$\sigma_n$	21.8	24.3	27.2	22.8	15.9	15.2
n*	18	17	9	18	17	9

TABLE A.11.5 MEAN % USE OF [ɪ] AND [ʊ] BY PHONETIC ENVIRONMENT

	[ɪ]			[ʊ]		
	Post Vocalic		Syllabic	Post Vocalic		Syllabic
	-C	-##C	-##C	-C	-##C	-##C
$\bar{x}$	5.9	17.6	3.2	13.9	12.7	19.7
$\sigma_n$	9.1	14.9	6.7	17.9	17.5	19.2
n*	18	17	9	18	17	9

\* n's vary since any case in which there were less than five items within a given environment was excluded.

The influence of phonetic environment is not as marked here as it was for (ʃ). However, for individual speakers environment may still systematically affect variant usage, and so it is as well to impose controls with regard to overall (ɹ) scores as well.

APPENDIX 12

ADJUSTING OVERALL LANGUAGE SCORES TO CONTROL FOR  
THE INFLUENCE OF PHONETIC ENVIRONMENT (see  
Chapter 9.4)

The use of variants of word-initial (ʔ) appears to be influenced by their phonological context, and since for some individuals environment might influence (ʔ) use as well, some means of controlling the contribution of particular environments to overall scores needs to be introduced (see Appendix 11).

One way of doing this artificially reduces the contribution of over-represented environments while at the same time preserving the proportionate distribution of variants within each context. For example, if the environment /n/##\_ were to represent 50% of all uses of (ʔ), we could reduce this to 20% while still maintaining the same relative occurrence amongst the variants [ʔ], [d] and Zero TH. Imagine that post-/n/ (ʔ)'s represented 50/100 of a person's uses and that amongst these 50, 25 were [d] and 25 Zero TH. To reduce post /n/ settings to 20% of the total, we would have to say that we would accept only thirteen [ $13/63 = 20.6\%$ ], yet we could preserve the original ratio of [d] to Zero TH within that environment by accepting 6.5 [d]'s and 6.5 Zero TH's in our final overall count. In this way we could prevent any unusual preponderance of one environment from unduly influencing overall scores, while benefiting from the originally much larger sample of instances we had in that particular phonological context.

The question of course arises, what limits do we impose on the contribution of particular environments to overall scores? Should /n/##\_ be accepted as 10%, 20%, 60% of the total?

The limit imposed on the acceptance of particular environments was partly decided with reference to the distribution of environments across the group of informants as a whole. For

word initial TH, the commonest environments were post pausal, post vocalic, and post post-dental/alveolar stops, fricatives and nasals. Amongst these, the commonest was post /n/ (often due to the frequency of the phrase ' n that' . In the group style, this ranged from 51.6% of one person's uses to 16.9% of another's [ $\bar{x}$  = 27.3; n = 18;  $\sigma_n$  = 8.7]; only very rarely did post -pausal, post-vocalic, post /d,t/ and post /z,s/ environments represent more than 20% of the total. For this reason, it seemed sensible to fix a 20% limit on the acceptance of /n/##\_ (it should not be excluded altogether, since not all individuals are necessarily disposed to using it predominantly for  $\phi$  realisations of TH). Indeed, a maximum limit of 21% was placed on all environments, so that we can be relatively confident that the overall scores represent a reasonable cross-section of potential sites of occurrence.

The \_C environment ranged from representing 25 to 66.6% of the environments in which informants used variants of (†) ( $\bar{x}$ : 31.8 , n : 18 ,  $\sigma_n$  : 8.4). The syllabic \_##\_C environment contributed little in comparison. In fact, I finally fixed a maximum limit of 40%, which was much easier to fix in terms of the calculations it required than say 35%; this lower limit could also be justified in so far as the conditioning effect of \_C on (†) was much less striking than the effect of /n/##\_ and /z/##\_ on (x).

Having classified the reasons for fixing these limits, it is now necessary to outline the way in which this led to the adjustment of individual scores. Let us take (x) first.

For the inter-individual comparison of (x) use in the group interviews, the scores of all informants needed to be at least partially adjusted so that no environment contributed more than about 20% to the overall scores. Table A.12.1 presents the raw frequencies with which the main environments occurred in the triadic interviews, after they have been adjusted to meet this 21% limit. The original frequencies are shown in brackets.

TABLE A.12.1 FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF THE MAIN ENVIRONMENTS FOR WORD INITIAL ( % ) IN THE GROUP INTERVIEW, AFTER ADJUSTMENT (ORIGINAL FREQUENCIES IN BRACKETS)

Informant	Environments					Total
	Post pausal	Post vocalic	/t/##_	/s/##_	/n/##_	
A	26	35 (39)	26	11	35 (52)	172 (193)
B	27 (36)	27 (29)	16	13	23	129 (141)
C	8	9	7	5	12 (14)	59 (61)
E	19 (21)	7	12	6	19 (82)	94 (159)
H	17	25	19	17	30 (42)	148 (160)
I	21	19	8	9	21 (29)	104 (112)
J	20	26 (27)	11	9	26	124 (125)
K	19	25	18	15	28 (48)	136 (156)
L	34 (37)	34	14	20	34	170 (173)
O	10 (15)	8	4	5	9	48 (53)
Q	14	25 (29)	13	10	25 (31)	123 (133)
R	8	10 (11)	6	4	10 (26)	50 (67)
S	8 (10)	8 (10)	5	5	8 (18)	39 (53)
T	19	25	18	13	28 (44)	137 (153)
U	20	33 (41)	13	23	33 (39)	160 (174)
V	6	3	2	3	6 (8)	30 (32)
W	24	23	22	15	26 (28)	130 (132)
2	6	7 (8)	5	4	7 (19)	35 (48)

With (†), the number of environmental occurrences which needed to be artificially reduced in order to meet the 40% limit was fewer. Table A.12.2 presents the frequencies with which the two main environments occurred, after adjustment. Again, original frequencies are shown in brackets.

TABLE A.12.2 FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF THE MAIN ENVIRONMENTS FOR (†) IN THE GROUP INTERVIEW, AFTER ADJUSTMENT (ORIGINAL FREQUENCIES IN BRACKETS)

	-C	-##C	Total
A	24	25	63
B	20	18	55
C	6	7 (9)	18 (20)
E	6 (20)	6 (7)	15 (30)
H	41 (47)	25	102 (108)
I	14	15	42
J	26	20	72
K	14	17	49
L	20	16	59
O	7 (8)	7	18 (19)
Q	11	15 (21)	38 (44)
R	10	6	25
S	10	5	25
T	25	24	65
U	21	17	53
V	5 (7)	3	13 (15)
W	32	31	89
2	8 (11)	5	20 (23)

Of course, as was indicated at the outset, the process of reducing the number of environments counted in the analysis does not actually affect the proportionate uses of variants within each; what happens is that the capacity of any environmentally favoured variant to contribute to overall scores is limited

whenever their environments are unfairly over-represented in the original data. As a result of these controls, the following overall % scores emerge for the use of variants of (ʒ) and (ɹ) in the group session (see Table A.12.3). In brackets are the variant scores that would appear without these adjustments. In Table A.12.4, in a similar format, the overall frequencies on which these %'s are based, are shown.

For (ɹ) the effects of adjusting % scores to control for the influence of phonetic environment are generally slight (though maybe this wasn't knowable till the adjustments had been done?); for (ʒ) however, these adjustments make quite a difference to particular cases, notably R and E.

TABLE A.12.3 OVERALL % SCORES FOR THE USE OF VARIANTS OF ( + ) AND ( ǂ ) IN THE GROUP INTERVIEW,  
AFTER ADJUSTMENTS (% SCORES PRIOR TO ADJUSTMENT ARE SHOWN IN BRACKETS)

	Vocalic L	[ + ]	[   ]	[ ǁ ]	[ ǂ ]	[ d ]	Zero TH
A	39.7	31.7	9.5	19.0	66.7 (67.4)	21.9 (21.8)	11.2 (10.9)
B	54.5	23.6	3.6	18.2	48.8 (49.6)	33.3 (33.3)	16.9 (15.6)
C	10 (10)	21.1 (20)	8.3 (10)	60.5 (60)	79.3 (78.7)	5.1 (4.9)	15.4 (16.4)
E	34 (36.7)	28 (26.7)	12 (6.7)	26 (30)	47.3 (38.4)	22.4 (18.2)	30.1 (43.4)
H	34 (34.3)	58.2 (58.3)	7.7 (7.4)	0	59.9 (58.7)	7.9 (7.5)	31.5 (33.1)
I	23.8	47.6	9.5	19	29.6 (29.5)	51.6 (50.9)	18.7 (19.6)
J	13.9	41.7	9.7	34.7	78.4 (78.4)	11.9 (12.0)	9.7 (9.6)
K	26.5	20.4	4.1	48.9	40.9 (39.1)	33.0 (33.3)	22.7 (24.4)
L	83	13.6	0	3.4	30.4 (30.6)	53.8 (53.8)	15.8 (15.6)
O	58.3 (57.9)	10.5 (10.5)	25.5 (26.3)	5.5 (5.3)	26.5 (26.4)	54.8 (56.6)	18.7 (16.9)
Q	36.6 (36.4)	33.4 (34.1)	10 (11.4)	19.5 (18.2)	47.2 (48.1)	29.6 (30.1)	23.1 (21.8)
R	20	56	24	0	45 (37.3)	25.2 (19.4)	29.4 (43.3)
S	28	72	0	0	78.5 (77.3)	12.8 (11.3)	8.7 (11.3)
T	52.3	30.8	16.9	0	49.8 (48.4)	29.6 (27.4)	20.7 (24.2)
U	39.6	58.5	1.9	0	56.6 (56.9)	4.7 (5.2)	38.6 (37.9)
V	76.9 (80)	15.4 (13.3)	7.7 (6.7)	0	57.3 (56.2)	9.0 (9.4)	33.3 (34.4)
W	48.3	37.1	13.5	1.1	45.6 (45.5)	44.8 (44.7)	9.6 (9.8)
2	26 (26.1)	35.5 (39.1)	38.5 (34.8)	0	28.3 (29.2)	48.3 (50.0)	23.1 (20.8)



TABLE A.12.4 OVERALL FREQUENCIES FOR THE USE OF VARIANTS OF (ɹ) AND (ʁ) IN THE GROUP INTERVIEW,  
AFTER ADJUSTMENTS (FREQUENCIES PRIOR TO ADJUSTMENT ARE SHOWN IN BRACKETS)

	Vocalic L	[ɹ]	[ɪ]	[ɛ]	[ʁ]	[d]	Zero TH
A	25	20	6	12	114.7 (130)	37.6 (42)	19.6 (21)
B	30	13	2	10	62.9 (70)	43 (47)	21.9 (22)
C	1.8 (2)	3.8 (4)	1.5 (2)	10.9 (10)	46.8 (48)	3 (3)	9.1 (10)
E	5.1 (11)	4.2 (8)	1.7 (2)	3.9 (9)	44.5 (61)	21.1 (29)	28.3 (69)
H	34.7 (37)	59.4 (63)	7.9 (8)	0 (0)	88.6 (94)	11.7 (12)	46.7 (53)
I	10	20	4	8	30.8 (33)	53.7 (57)	19.5 (22)
J	10	30	7	25	97.2 (98)	14.8 (15)	12 (12)
K	13	10	2	24	55.6 (61)	44.9 (52)	30.9 (38)
L	49	8	0	2	51.7 (53)	91.4 (93)	26.9 (27)
O	10.5 (11)	1.9 (2)	4.6 (5)	1 (1)	12.7 (14)	26.3 (30)	9 (9)
Q	13.9 (16)	12.7 (15)	3.8 (5)	7.4 (8)	58.1 (64)	36.4 (40)	28.45 (29)
R	5	14	6	0	22.5 (25)	12.6 (13)	14.7 (29)
S	7	18	0	0	30.6 (41)	5 (6)	3.4 (6)
T	34	20	11	0	68.2 (17)	40.5 (42)	28.3 (37)
U	21	31	1	0	90.6 (99)	7.6 (9)	61.7 (66)
V	11 (12)	2	1	0	17.2 (18)	2.7 (3)	10 (11)
W	43	33	12	1	59.3 (60)	58.2 (59)	12.5 (13)
2	5.2 (6)	7.1 (9)	7.7 (8)	0	9.9 (14)	16.9 (24)	8.1 (10)

APPENDIX 13  
A COMPARISON OF THE USE OF (ʔ) AND (ɿ) ACROSS  
TWO ELICITATION CONTEXTS  
(see Chapter 9.2)

In order to increase the speech sample on which subsequent sociolinguistic analyses would be based, it was originally intended to examine uses of (ʔ) and (ɿ) in two separate interviews. Ultimately the emerging patterns were too diverse and irregular to permit the incorporation of data from both in any readily manageable way. Any attempt to explicate the patterns they revealed would present a major and complex distraction from the main analytic concerns of Part Two. So finally only the triadic ISA Groups interview provided the phonological data examined in relation to interactional association and psycho-social identification.

Because of this, the comparison of speech in the dyadic vs triadic interviews was treated only parenthetically in Chapter 9.2. Here however there is an opportunity to discuss it in some detail.

1. Differentiating the Two Interviews

Both interviews were primarily concerned with personal construct elicitation and neither contained speech elicitation devices such as word lists or reading passages. However, as already indicated, the two interviews took place at different stages in my contact with each informant, the dyadic interview coming relatively early on and the triadic one normally coming towards the end. In this respect, I thought that informants' phonological behaviour would differ: the earlier dyadic style being more 'formal' as I got to know informants, and the later triadic interview being more informal, since by that time we knew each other quite well. The fact that a friend (or two) was present was also thought likely to incline the triadic interview to greater informality.

The topics covered also differed: the dyadic (ISA Personal) interview covered informants' perceptions of themselves now, in the future and in the past; their friends, their relatives and their immediate family. The triadic (ISA Groups) interview covered local styles, fashions, social and ethnic groupings and relations, and shared peer-group values (see section 8.1 in the main text for a more detailed account). This orientation of the triadic session to life in the peer-group was also thought likely to mean greater informality and certainly the mood in the two interviews differed a good deal. The dyadic interview can be summarised as being generally more serious and thoughtful, with pauses while informants thought. The triadic session was not I hope lighthearted or frivolous, but in general it was noisier and there were more jokes and many inter-informant interruptions (and interruptions of me).

When it came to the transcription of these two types of interview, not all of both were used. Sometimes the moods, topics and events in one might resemble the other so in order to differentiate them as much as possible in the final speech data, I excluded, for instance, external interruptions and discussions of my project from both. In the dyadic (ISA Personal) interviews, phonetic transcription was only given to discussion focusing on personal relationships, personal and family memories, personal aims and, within these contexts, comparisons of past and present. Discussion of general social topics (e.g. the miners' strike) was excluded, as well as talk about general social conventions (e.g. telling tales). In the group interview, talk about social relationships, social groups, common values, styles, shared memories, 'vernacular' themes (theft, fights, trouble), and local social institutions (YTS, the Youth Club, rival schools) were transcribed, while personal relationships, personal information about e.g. job and non Bedford-based activities were not counted.

Another device to try to differentiate these two interviews concerned the selection of tokens for phonetic analysis. In the

dyadic interview about 100 (X) tokens were counted in from the start, whereas in the triadic/group interview, the count started at the back. In this way it was hoped to get the most formal part of the more formal interview (i.e. while informants settled in), and the least formal bits of the less formal session (i.e. when informants were more likely to be into the swing). Of course this was a very approximate strategy as far as getting data which reflected different moods, and in some cases where there were less than 100 tokens, I transcribed all the session. (For (†), all instances were analysed in both sessions.)

These then were the ways in which it was hoped that the dyadic ISA Personal interview would elicit speech that differed systematically from the triadic ISA Groups session's. Before moving to an account of the results, it is now necessary to describe the way in which composite score for the use of variants of (X) and (†) were adjusted in order to prevent the over-representation of certain phonetic environments biasing the results.

## 2. Adjusting Overall Scores on (X) and (†) to Control for the Influence of Phonetic Environment

The main body of the text refers to the way in which controls were imposed to prevent any particular environments being unduly over-represented. Appendix 12 expands on this.

In fact, the approach taken with regard to the comparison of data from the two interviews differed from the approach adopted when it came to comparing individuals within a single elicitation context (the triadic interviews). In the latter, no environment for (X) was allowed to constitute more than about 20% of the final composite indices; for (†), the upper limit for any single environment was 40%. In analysing stylistic variation across interviews, the approach was different, because the first aim was not to contrast individuals across the group, but to make intra-individual comparisons: thus, rather than

having the problem of one person using a given environment much more than somebody else, we had the intra-individually based problem of one style containing many more instances of a particular environment than the other style.

For example, O's use of post /n/ environments was 35% in the dyadic interview, but only about 17% in the triadic. How validly could overall scores in each be compared in these two interviews if within them environments were differentially represented in this way? My course of action here was to reduce to within about 10% the difference in the extent to which a particular environment contributed to the overall score on each session.

Of course the foolish thing about having two separate approaches to score-adjustment, one for 'style' comparison and the other for cross-sectional analysis, is that it prevents the use of the famous Labovian graphs which showed, for example, LMC speakers exceeding UMC speakers in their use of particular variants in the most formal styles. It is not possible here to combine (a) the description of variable use intra-individually across styles with (b) the description of one speaker's usage in each style relative to another's. Fortunately however, this combination of stylistic and social variation descriptions was not required in this project, and so it was eventually unnecessary to revise the adjustment-procedure worked out for the stylistic comparison. Having said that, the implementation of these controls for the stylistic analysis can now be outlined in more detail.

In the dyadic and triadic interviews, three informants used environments for (ɤ) which differed from one another in their relative frequency by more than about 10%. These were Bi, in whose dyadic speech the post pausal environment represented 7.8%, whereas in the triadic/group interview it was 25.5%; Op with 14.5% of post pausal environments in the dyadic, 28.3% in the other, and 35.4% dyadic post /n/ environments vs 16.9% in the triad; and lastly Rw, with 23.8% dyadic post nasal environments

as opposed to 38.8% in the group context. For the rest, the analysis of stylistic variation could proceed using occurrences of (ʔ) exactly as they appeared in the interviews. Table A.13.1 summarises the % contribution of each major environment to overall scores for (ʔ) in each interview: in brackets it sometimes shows original proportions before they had been adjusted to within the 10% range of each other.

For (ʈ), the same controls were also applied. The 10% difference limit needed to be imposed for five speakers:

Speaker	Environment	Dyadic Session	Group Session	Difference
A	_##C	23.1%	39.7%	16.6%
C	_C	42.8%	30%	12.8%
E	_##C	42.6%	30%	12.6%
E	_C	33.3%	66.6%	33.3%
O	_C	26.5%	42.1%	15.6%
U	_C	25%	39.6%	14.6%

This resulted in Table A.13.2.

TABLE A.13.1 EACH OF THE MAIN ENVIRONMENTS AS A % OF ALL WORD INITIAL (%) ENVIRONMENTS IN DYADIC AND GROUP STYLES, AFTER ADJUSTMENT TO ENSURE THAT THE DIFFERENCE IS NOT MORE THAN  $\pm 10\%$  (ORIGINAL % IN BRACKETS)

	—		V# —		/t/ ## —		/s/ ## —		/n/ ## —	
	Dyadic	Group	Dyadic	Group	Dyadic	Group	Dyadic	Group	Dyadic	Group
A	14.6	13.5	20.8	20.2	14.6	13.5	6.2	5.7	25	26.9
B	7.8	17.3(25.5)	23.3	22.8(20.6)	5.5	12.6(11.3)	5.5	10.2 (9.5)	26.7	18.1(16.3) *
C	8.2	13.1	10.2	14.7	10.2	11.5	4.1	8.2	24.5	22.9
E	12.3	13.2	15.3	4.4	5.9	13.2	2.5	3.8	45.8	51.6
H	7.9	10.6	22.2	15.6	14.3	11.9	7.9	10.6	19	26.2
I	13.5	18.7	21.8	16.9	17.3	7.1	8.3	8.0	17.3	25.9
J	26.2	16	21.4	21.6	10.7	8.8	7.1	7.2	17.8	20.8
O	17.9(14.5)	20 (28.3)	21.3(17.3)	16.7(15.1)	10.1 (8.2)	8.3 (7.5)	6.7 (5.4)	10.4 (9.4)	20 (35.4)	18.7 (6.9) *
R	20.6	16(11.9)	14.3	22 (16.4)	4.8	12 (8.9)	9.5	8 (5.9)	23.8	20 (38.8) *
S	23.4	18.9	14.9	18.9	12.1	9.4	9.3	9.4	24.3	33.9
U	16.2	11.5	31.2	23.6	12.5	7.5	5	13.2	13.7	22.4
W	11.2	18	19.8	17.4	12.9	16.7	6.9	11.4	23.3	21.2

\* In the process of reducing the total number of environments contributing to overall (%) scores - a process entailed in reducing the contribution of particular environments - the proportionate representation of other environments was also often altered.

TABLE A.13.2 THE TWO MAIN ENVIRONMENTS FOR (ʈ), EACH AS A  
% OF ALL (ʈ) ENVIRONMENTS, OCCURRING IN DYADIC  
AND GROUP SESSIONS, AFTER ADJUSTMENT TO ENSURE  
THAT THE DIFFERENCE IS NOT MORE THAN ABOUT 10%  
(ORIGINAL % IN BRACKETS)

	V-C		V-##C	
	Dyadic	Group	Dyadic	Group
A	30.8	32.5 (38.1)	23.1	32.5 (39.7)
B	31.3	36.4	34.6	32.7
C	38.5 (42.8)	30	38.5 (35.7)	45
E	35.2 (33.3)	40 (66.6)	39.2 (42.6)	40 (30)
H	40	43.5	26	23.1
I	38.8	33.3	38.8	35.7
J	29.7	36.1	26.6	27.8
O	26.5	35.7 (42.1)	30.6	35.7 (36.9)
R	33.3	40.0	26.7	24
S	31.1	40.0	20	20
U	25.0	34.7 (39.6)	38.6	34.7 (32.1)
W	40.9	35.9	24.6	34.8

Table A.13.3 shows the results of these adjustment processes for (ʈ). It shows the overall % score on the use of each variant, and in brackets it shows the % for each variant that would have appeared if phonetic environments had not been controlled to within the 10% limit. The table also shows the actual total number of tokens used in the analysis of each style, both after adjustment and, in brackets, before.

For B and O this adjustment process has made little difference, but for R, reducing the frequency of occurrence of the post nasal environments in both interviews to within 10% of each other has quite dramatically reduced his % score for Zero TH in the triadic session. For (ʈ) this adjustment process has been justified, and we are now comparing like with like to a greater degree than originally.



TABLE A.13.3 % USE OF VARIANTS OF (ʒ) IN TWO SESSIONS, AFTER ADJUSTMENT FOR THE INFLUENCE OF  
 PHONETIC ENVIRONMENT (IN BRACKETS, % USE OF VARIANTS, WHICH WOULD HAVE APPEARED  
 WITHOUT THESE ADJUSTMENTS)

Informant	[ʒ]		[d]		Zero TH		No. of tokens overall used in analysis	
	Dyadic	Group	Dyadic	Group	Dyadic	Group	Dyadic	Group
A	68.7	67.4	16.7	21.8	14.6	10.9	48	193
B	58.9	47.8(49.6)	23.3	33.3(33.3)	15.5	17.3(15.6)	90	127 (141)
C	61.2	78.7	22.4	4.9	16.3	16.4	49	61
E	24.1	38.4	26.1	18.2	49.7	43.4	203	159
H	66.7	58.7	3.2	7.5	30.1	33.1	63	160
I	43.6	29.5	42.1	50.9	14.3	19.6	133	112
J	77.4	78.4	11.9	12	9.5	9.6	84	125
O	47.5(47.3)	26.5(26.4)	42.9(44.5)	54.8(56.6)	9.5 (8.2)	18.7(16.9)	89 (110)	48 (53)
R	39.7	45 (37.3)	20.6	25.2(19.4)	39.7	29.4(43.3)	63	50 (67)
S	71.0	77.3	12.1	11.3	16.8	11.3	107	53
U	63.7	56.9	5.0	5.2	31.2	37.9	80	174
W	49.1	45.5	39.6	44.7	10.3	9.8	116	132

Table A.13.4 shows the results of these adjustments for (4). It again shows the overall % score on the use of each variant and in brackets the % for each variant that would have appeared if phonetic environments had not been controlled with the 10% limit. Likewise, the table also shows the actual total number of tokens used in the analysis of each style, both after adjustment and, in brackets, before.

Here the adjustments have been rather more inconsequential than they were with (5).

These then were the ways in which scores were adjusted in order to permit a valid comparison of phonological 'style' across two interviews. We can now proceed to the analysis of stylistic variability itself.

TABLE A.13.4 % USE OF VARIANTS OF (†) IN TWO SESSIONS, AFTER ADJUSTMENT FOR THE INFLUENCE OF  
 PHONETIC ENVIRONMENT (IN BRACKETS, % USE OF VARIANTS WHICH WOULD HAVE APPEARED  
 WITHOUT THESE ADJUSTMENTS)

	Vocalic L		[†]		[l]		[ɫ]		No. of tokens overall used in analysis	
	Dyadic	Group	Dyadic	Group	Dyadic	Group	Dyadic	Group	Dyadic	Group
A	23.1	39.2(39.7)	38.5	30 (31.7)	23.1	6.7 (9.5)	15.4	24 (19.6)	13	40 (63)
B	69.1	54.5	13.6	23.6	12.3	3.6	4.9	18.2	81	55
C	13.8(14.3)	10	0 (0)	20	13.8(14.3)	10	71.8(71.4)	60	13 (14)	20
E	41.8(40.7)	34 (36.7)	29.2(29.6)	28 (26.7)	17.4(16.7)	12 (6.7)	13.1(12.9)	26 (30)	51 (54)	15 (30)
H	28	34.3	64	58.3	8	7.4	0	0	50	108
I	32.8	23.8	50.7	47.6	14.9	9.5	1.5	19	67	42
J	17.2	13.9	31.2	41.7	21.9	9.7	29.7	34.7	64	72
Ō	42.9	55.7(57.9)	12.2	9.3(10.5)	34.7	27.9(26.3)	10.2	7.1 (5.3)	49	14 (19)
R	16.7	20	80	56	3.3	24	0	0	30	25
S	42.2	28	48.9	72	8.9	0	0	0	45	25
U	22.7	39.4(39.6)	77.3	58.6(58.5)	0	2.0 (1.9)	0	0	44	49 (53)
W	78.7	48.3	20.5	37.1	0.8	13.5	0	1.1	122	89

3. The Evidence of Variation in the Use of (ʔ) and (ɬ)  
From One Interview to the Other

After making adjustments so that no environment was represented in the data from one interview 10% more or less than in the other, the following % scores emerged for the use of variants of (ɬ) and (ʔ) across the two speech contexts (Tables A.13.5 and A.13.6).

Table A.13.7 below shows the % and raw frequencies for word initial Zero TH after dental and alveolar consonants (because the focus was on broadly comparable environments merged into one - i.e. it was much less of an environment non-specific overall score than the rest - the adjustments described above were not applied).

TABLE A.13.7 % USE OF WORD INITIAL Zero TH AFTER DENTAL  
AND ALVEOLAR CONSONANTS IN TWO SESSIONS  
(RAW FREQUENCIES IN BRACKETS)

Informant	Word initial Zero TH after dental alveolar consonants	
	Dyadic	Group
A	9.5 (2)	11.2 (10)
B	23.5 (8)	32.7 (17)
C	21.0 (4)	26.9 (7)
E	72.7 (80)	56.0 (56)
H	38.5 (10)	50.0 (39)
I	21.0 (12)	26.1 (12)
J	19.3 (6)	13.0 (6)
O	5.5 (3)	22.2 (4)
R	62.5 (15)	72.2 (26)
S	30.6 (15)	25.0 (7)
U	60.0 (15)	56.0 (42)
W	22.0 (11)	16.9 (11)

TABLE A.13.5 % USE OF VARIANTS OF (ɫ) IN TWO SESSIONS, AFTER ADJUSTMENT FOR THE INFLUENCE OF  
PHONETIC ENVIRONMENT

	Vocalic L		[ɫ]		[ɪ]		[ʌ]		No. of tokens overall used in analysis	
	Dyadic	Group	Dyadic	Group	Dyadic	Group	Dyadic	Group	Dyadic	Group
A	23.1	39.2	38.5	30	23.1	6.7	15.4	24	13	40
B	69.1	54.5	13.6	23.6	12.3	3.6	4.9	18.2	81	55
C	13.8	10	0	20	13.8	10	71.8	60	13	20
E	41.8	34	29.2	28	17.4	12	13.1	26	51	15
H	28	34.3	64	58.3	8	7.4	0	0	50	108
I	32.8	23.8	50.7	47.6	14.9	9.5	1.5	19	67	42
J	17.2	13.9	31.2	41.7	21.9	9.7	29.7	34.7	64	72
O	42.9	55.7	12.2	9.3	34.7	27.9	10.2	7.1	49	14
R	16.7	20	80	56	3.3	24	0	0	30	25
S	42.2	28	48.9	72	8.9	0	0	0	45	25
U	22.7	39.4	77.3	58.6	0	2.0	0	0	44	49
W	78.7	48.3	20.5	37.1	0.8	13.5	0	1.1	122	89

TABLE A.13.6 % USE OF VARIANTS OF (ʒ) IN TWO SESSIONS, AFTER ADJUSTMENT FOR  
THE INFLUENCE OF PHONETIC ENVIRONMENT

Informant	[ʒ]		[d]		ZeroTH		No. of tokens overall used in analysis	
	Dyadic	Group	Dyadic	Group	Dyadic	Group	Dyadic	Group
A	68.7	67.4	16.7	21.8	14.6	10.9	48	193
B	58.9	47.8	23.3	33.3	15.5	17.3	90	127
C	61.2	78.7	22.4	4.9	16.3	16.4	49	61
E	24.1	38.4	26.1	18.2	49.7	43.4	203	159
H	66.7	58.7	3.2	7.5	30.1	33.1	63	160
I	43.6	29.5	42.1	50.9	14.3	19.6	133	112
J	77.4	78.4	11.9	12	9.5	9.6	84	125
O	47.5	26.5	42.9	54.8	9.5	18.7	89	48
R	39.7	45	20.6	25.2	39.7	29.4	63	50
S	71.0	77.3	12.1	11.3	16.8	11.3	107	53
U	63.7	56.9	5.0	5.2	31.2	37.9	80	174
W	49.1	45.5	39.6	44.7	10.3	9.8	116	132

It was thought that the organisation of each interview in terms of topics, interlocutors and timing during the period of field-work contact might result in each sampling a different part of informants' linguistic repertoires, the first dyadic interview being more formal and the second triadic interview being less. In fact, for the group of twelve informants as a whole, mean % scores on each variant show extremely little variation from one session to the next. These scores are shown in Tables A.13.8 and A.13.9.

All the group means are within 4% points of one another.

However, individuals of course differed from one another in the extent to which their uses of variants of (↑) and (↯) changed across these two contexts. Table A.13.10 shows in percentage points the difference between informants' usage of (↑) in each interview. Table A.13.11 does the same with regard to variants of (↯). In both tables, a plus sign indicates greater proportionate use in the dyadic session, and a minus means greater relative use in the group interview.

(↑) produced the greatest shift - 30% points on W's use of Vocalic L. But otherwise neither variable shows much cross-situational variability. All of the other Vocalic L users have a shift of within 17% points, and of these, six speakers' proportionate uses in the two sessions are within 10% of each other. The shift on [↑] is always within 25% and for six it is also within 10%; on [l] all shift is within 21% and here eight are within 10%. On [ɫ] all are within 18% and half of those are within 10%. On [↯] all shift is within 25%, and in seven out of twelve cases within 10%; on [d] it is all within 20%, and ten out of twelve within 10%; on overall Zero TH, all shifts are within 11% and on Zero TH in post dental/alveolar consonant environments, all are within 17% and nine are within 10% (see Table A.13.12).

TABLE A.13.8 MEAN % SCORES FOR (ʈ), ON EACH VARIANT IN TWO INTERVIEWS, FOR ALL TWELVE INFORMANTS

	Vocalic L		[ʈ]		[ɭ]		[ɮ]	
	Dyadic int.	Group int.	Dyadic int.	Group int.	Dyadic int.	Group int.	Dyadic int.	Group int.
Mean % score	35.7	33.4	38.8	40.2	13.3	10.5	12.2	15.8
$\sigma$	19.7	14.3	24.8	17.9	9.7	7.9	19.9	17.8
n	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12

TABLE A.13.9 MEAN % SCORES FOR (ɖ), ON EACH VARIANT IN TWO INTERVIEWS, FOR ALL TWELVE INFORMANTS

	[ɖ]		[d]		Zero TH		Zero TH after dental/alveolar C	
	Dyadic int.	Group int.	Dyadic int.	Group int.	Dyadic int.	Group int.	Dyadic int.	Group int.
Mean % score	55.9	54.2	22.2	24.1	21.5	21.4	32.2	34.0
$\sigma$	14.7	17.7	13.0	17.1	12.6	11.2	20.8	18.9
n	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12



TABLE A.13.10 AMOUNT OF SHIFT IN THE USE OF VARIANTS OF  
( + ) FROM ONE SESSION TO THE OTHER

[+ = dyadic session favoured this variant;  
- = group session favoured this variant]

	V	[ + ]	[   ]	[ ↓ ]
A	- 16.1	+ 8.5	+ 16.4	- 8.6
B	+ 14.6	- 10	+ 8.7	- 13.3
C	+ 3.8	- 20	+ 3.8	+ 11.8
E	+ 7.8	+ 1.2	+ 5.4	- 12.9
H	- 6.3	+ 5.7	+ 0.6	0
I	+ 9	+ 3.1	+ 5.4	- 17.5
J	+ 3.3	- 10.5	+ 12.2	- 5
O	- 12.8	+ 2.9	+ 6.8	+ 3.1
R	- 3.3	+ 24	- 20.7	0
S	+ 14.2	- 23.1	+ 8.9	0
U	- 16.7	+ 18.7	- 2	0
W	+ 30.4	- 16.6	- 12.7	- 1.1

TABLE A.13.11 AMOUNT OF SHIFT IN THE USE OF VARIANTS OF  
( % ) FROM ONE SESSION TO THE OTHER

[+ = dyadic session favoured this variant;  
- = group session favoured this variant]

	%	d	Zero TH	Zero TH after dental/alveolar C
A	+ 1.3	- 5.1	+ 3.7	- 1.7
B	+ 11.1	- 10	- 1.8	- 9.2
C	- 17.5	+ 17.5	- 0.1	- 5.9
E	- 14.3	+ 7.9	+ 6.3	+ 16.7
H	+ 8	- 4.3	- 3	- 11.5
I	+ 14.1	- 8.8	- 5.3	- 5.1
J	- 1	- 0.1	- 0.1	+ 6.3
O	+ 21	- 11.9	- 9.2	- 16.7
R	- 5.3	- 4.6	+ 10.3	- 9.7
S	- 6.3	+ 0.8	+ 5.5	+ 5.6
U	+ 6.8	- 0.2	- 6.7	+ 4.0
W	+ 3.6	- 5.1	+ 0.5	+ 5.1

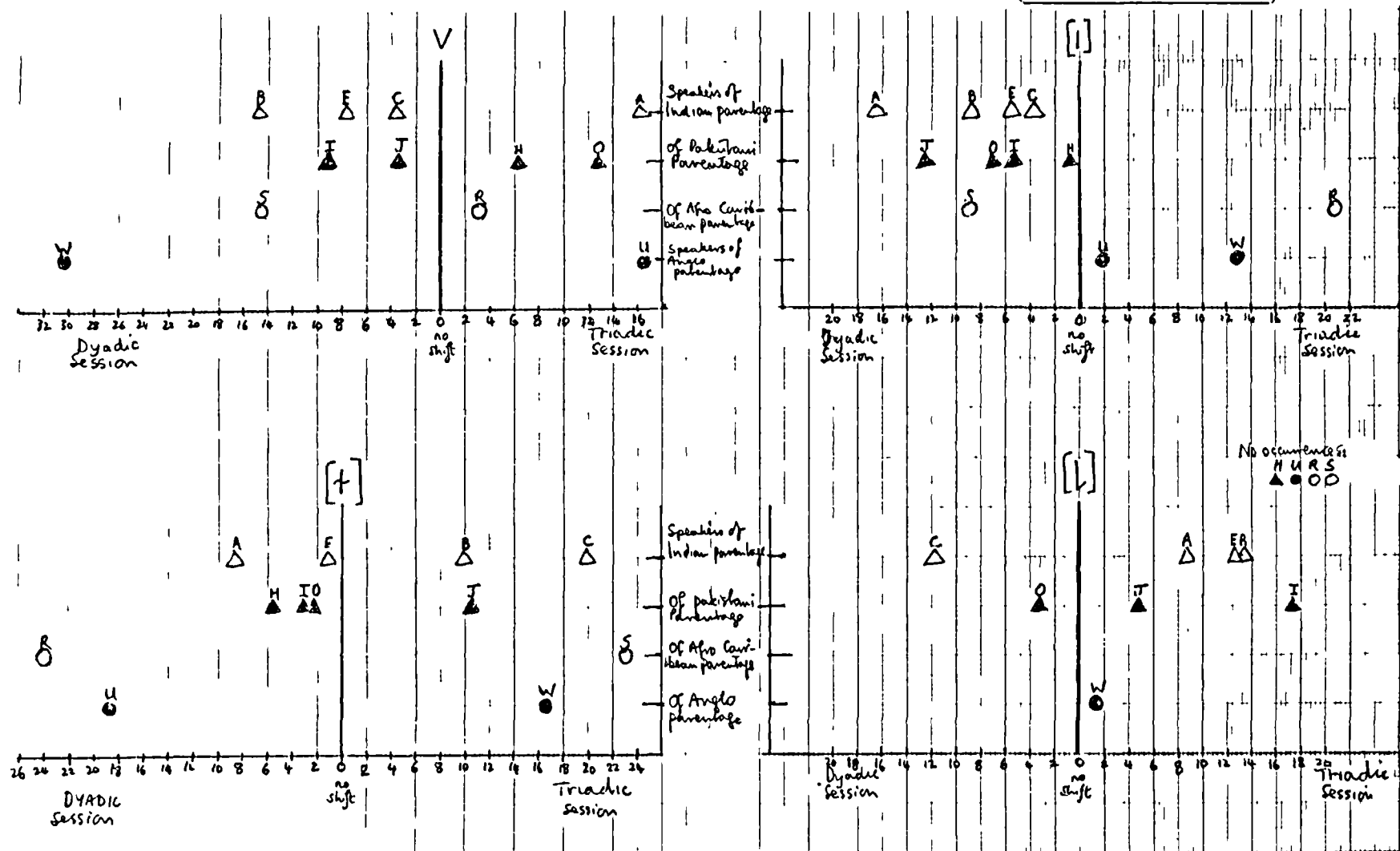
So the actual quantum of shift on these variables for individuals is generally small; beyond that, there is usually no unanimity in directions of shift (it is this which produces such a small difference between group means for the two settings). For some informants, usage of a variant increases in the dyadic interview, while for others that variant is used more in the triadic session. Charts A.13.1 to A.13.8 plot the amount and direction of shift for each informant on each variant. In addition, the ethnicity of informants is indicated.

TABLE A.13.12 AMOUNT OF SHIFT IN % POINTS IN USE OF (ʃ) AND (ɹ) ACROSS THE TWO INTERVIEWS (total No. of informants = 12)

	No. of informants with less than 25% shift	No. of informants with less than 20% shift	No. of informants with less than 10% shift
Vocalic L	→	11	6
[ɹ]	12	→	6
[l]	12	→	8
(no. of informants = 8) [ɹ]	→	8	4
[ʃ]	12	→	7
[d]	→	12	10
Zero TH	→	12	11
Zero TH after dental/alveolar C	→	12	9

In terms of direction of shift there appears to be most agreement on [l] and [d]: the dyadic session favoured [l] for all eight informants of Asian parentage, whereas with the exception of two Sikh boys and one boy of Afro-Caribbean parentage, the triadic session favoured [d] (though two speakers showed

CHARTS A.13.1-4: DIRECTION AND AMOUNT OF SHIFT IN THE USE OF VARIANTS OF (+) ACROSS TWO INTERVIEWS  
(BY ETHNIC INFORMANT)



CHARTS A.13.5-7: DIRECTION & AMOUNT OF SHIFT IN USE OF (8) ACROSS TWO INTERVIEWS (BY ETHNIC INFORMANT)

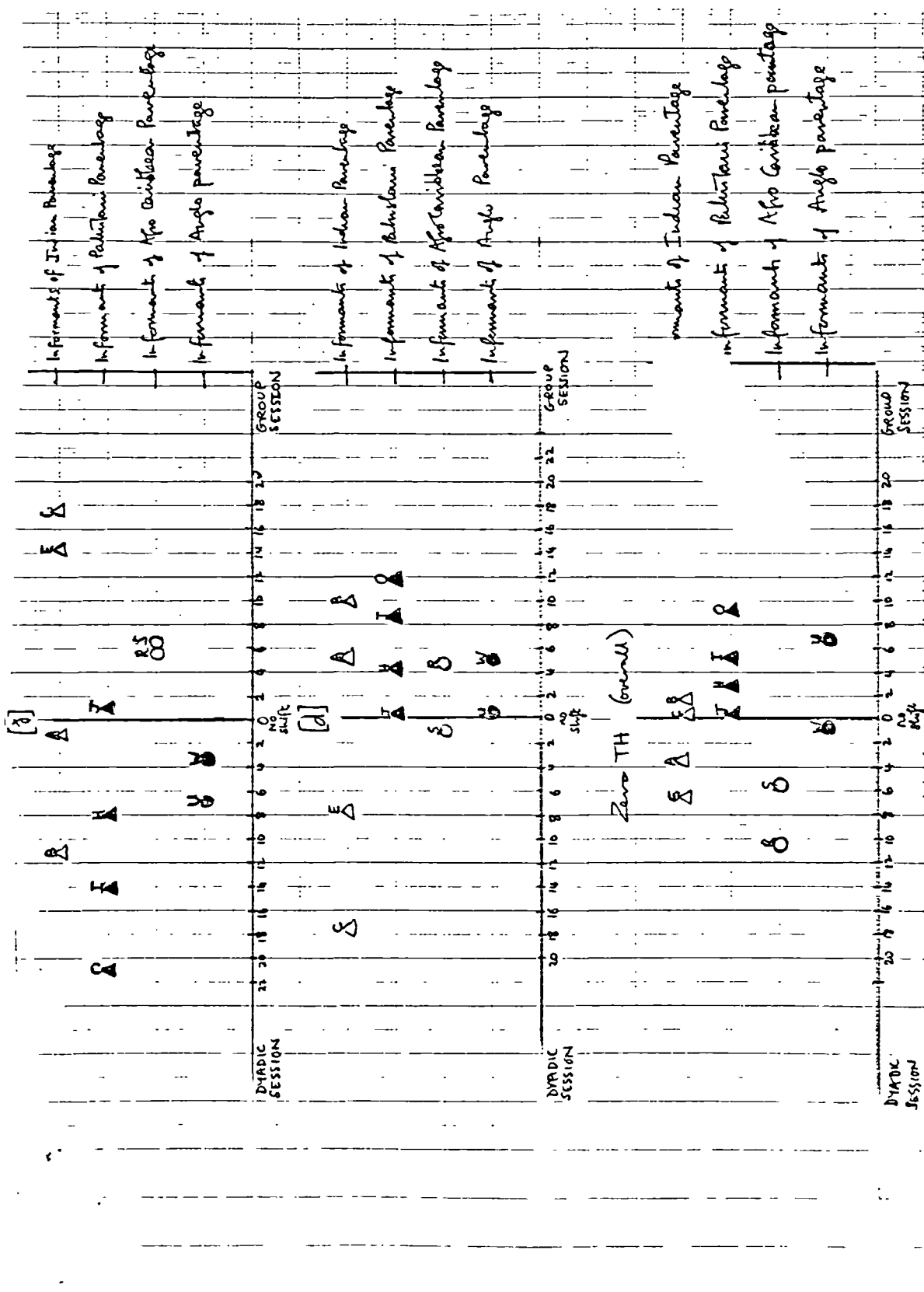
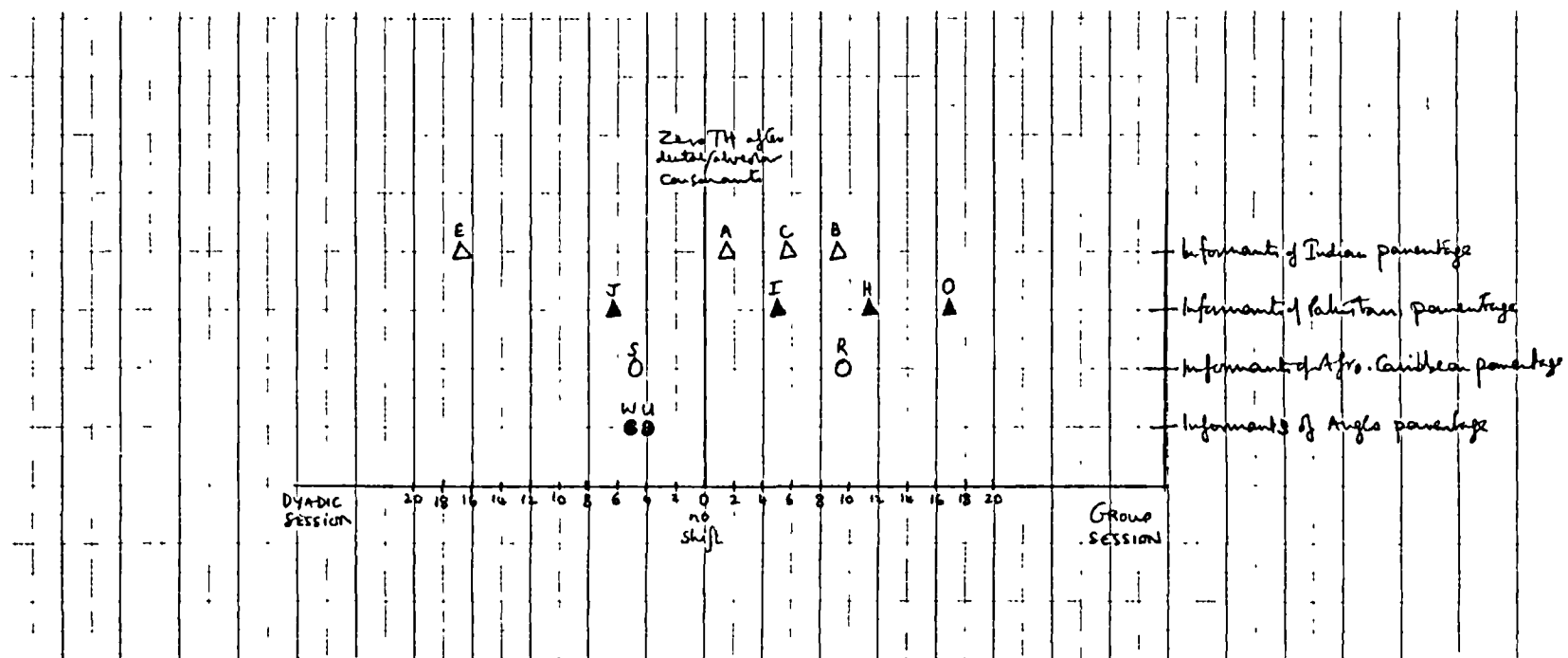


CHART A.13.8: DIRECTION & AMOUNT OF SHIFT IN USE OF Zero TH AFTER DENTAL/ALVEOLAR CONSONANTS ACROSS  
TWO INTERVIEWS (BY ETHNIC INFORMANT)



virtually no shift at all). In terms of ethnic subgroups, the pattern for their variants of (ɫ) is very diffuse: there is agreement within no subgroups as to which session favours which variant, and the disagreement is sometimes quite pronounced. For word initial (ʃ), the four ethnically Pakistani boys are fairly unanimous about [ʃ] being used more in the dyadic interviews, about [d] in the group session, maybe along with overall Zero TH (though for Zero TH after dental/alveolar consonants, they differ again in directions of increase). The patterns of shift are much more diffuse for Sikh boys on (ʃ) and while the two ethnically Afro-Caribbean informants concur on [ʃ], as do the two ethnic Anglos, these two pairs differ as to which situation favours this fricative variant.

To sum up these results, we can say that in general there is not much cross-contextual difference in the use of variants of (ʃ) and (ɫ), and that there is even less consensus on which interview favours which variants (the ethnically Pakistani boys are more unified in terms of shift direction than the others). Why?

Obviously the approach to 'style' being taken here cannot adequately investigate this issue: I am making no attempt to consider interpersonal speech accommodation (e.g. Thakerar et al. 1982); there is no examination of variant selection in the light of speakers' rhetorical, communicative or expressive intentions (cf. e.g. Dressler and Wodak 1982; Brown and Frazer 1979:37). However, with a practical eye to the sampling concerns which directed this cross-situational comparison, there are obviously two possible lines of response.

Firstly, the interviews were simply too similar to one another to elicit greater and more systematic variation (here the absence of reading elicitations etc. may be criticised, though one might have thought that the differential presence of a peer might have compensated for this (cf. Bell 1984)). Alternatively, none of the variants here are Labovian 'markers' (1972a:237)

(whether they are 'indicators' or not is a question that requires cross-sectional analysis).

It would be more convenient here to opt for the second view, which would in theory permit wide generalisation about linguistic repertoires from a relatively small data base, without the need for situational qualification. Indeed if a wider range of linguistic variables had been studied, and some had indeed been found to vary systematically across these two interviews, there would be firmer grounds for saying that (ʒ) and (†) were not markers. However, whether the patterns of (ʒ) and (†) usage to emerge here reflect inadequate elicitation or intrinsic linguistic properties must remain an open question.<sup>1</sup>

From a practical point of view however, the lack of systematic difference across these two interviews justifies the use of just one interview in the cross-sectional analysis. In view of the fact that (a) its themes and participants probably draw it closer to peer-group life than the dyadic interview, and (b) due to the ready facility it provides for including six more informants, the interview selected for analysis in relation to the data on interactional association and psycho-social identification is the triadic/group session. Thus, in the main text very little reference is made to linguistic data from the dyadic ISA Personal discussions. The percentage scores on (ʒ) and (†) usage in the group interview (adjusted specifically for the purposes of cross-sectional analysis), are the exclusive focus when it comes to an analysis of the relationship between language, interactional association and psycho-social identification.

NOTES

1. It is perhaps worth noting in relation to Sikh informants on (ʃ) that Agnihotri (1979:250) reports that [d] is not used in style shift, that it is an indicator rather than a marker. His elicitation methodology followed the Labovian model more closely than mine (he also did not control for the effects of phonetic environment).

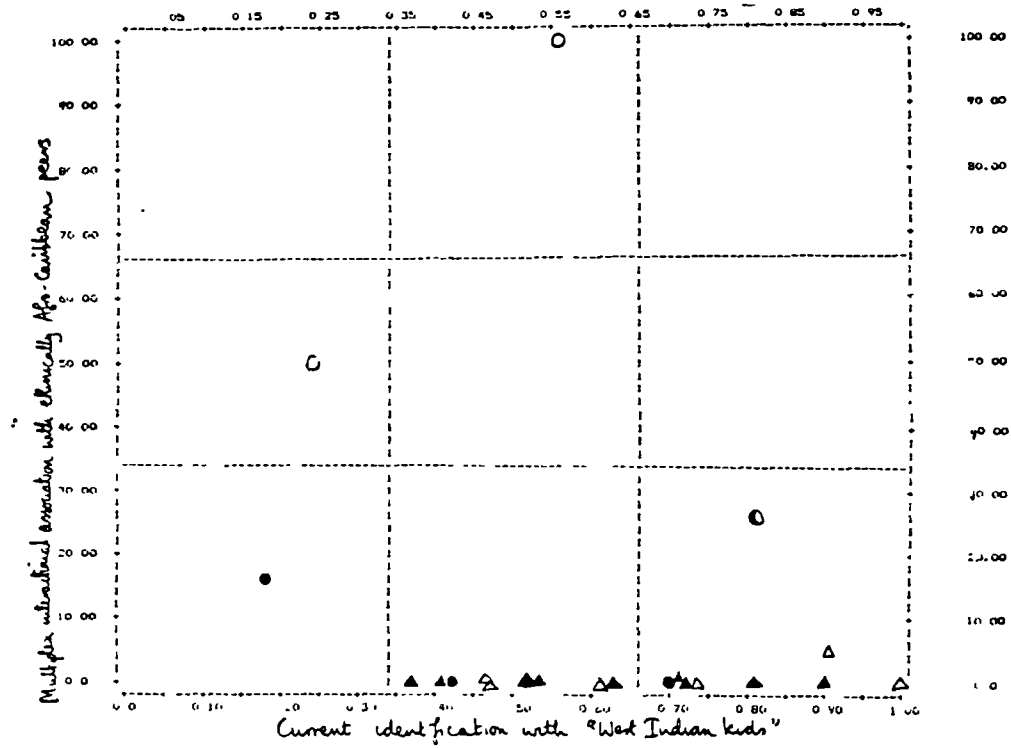


APPENDIX 14

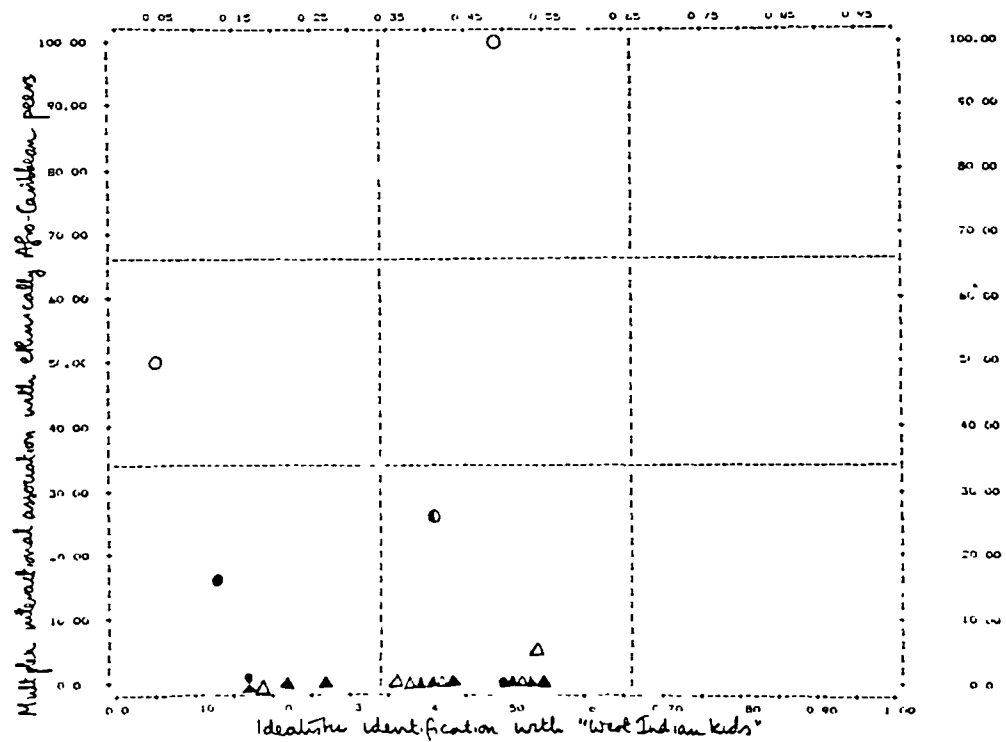
SCATTERPLOTS DISPLAYING THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN  
MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL TIES AND ISA IDENTIFICATION  
WITH ETHNICALLY AFRO-CARIBBEAN AND ANGLO KIDS

(see Chapter 12.3)

SCATTERPLOT A.14.1: MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION x CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH AFRO-CARIBBEAN KIDS

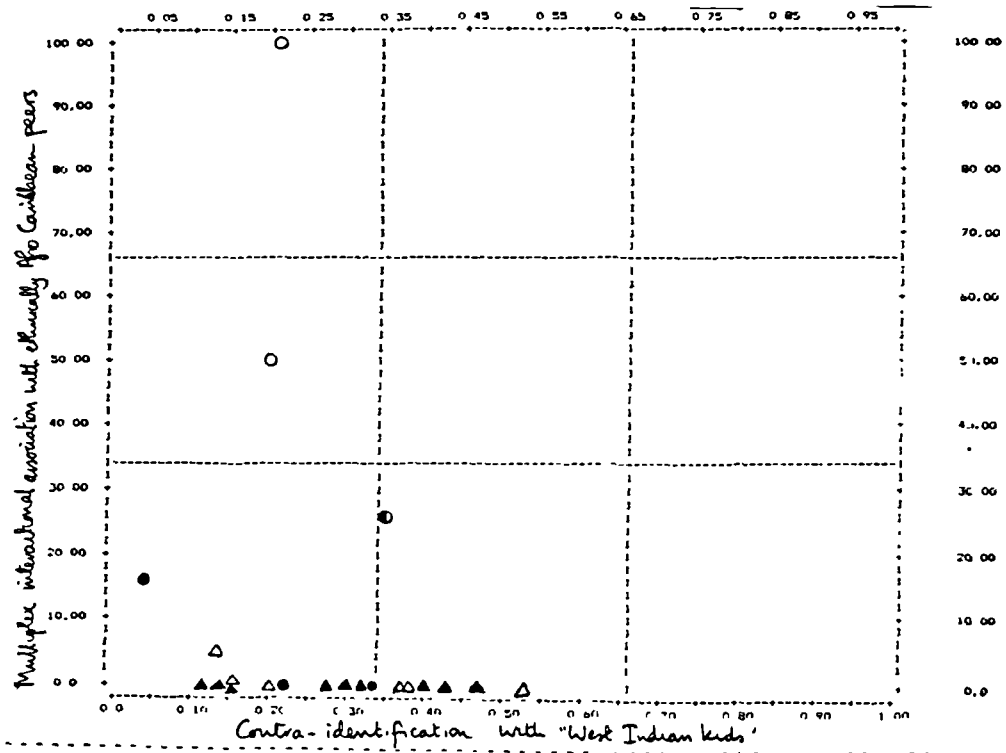


SCATTERPLOT A.14.2: MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION x IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH AFRO-CARIBBEAN KIDS



Key:  $\Delta$  Informants of Indian parentage  
 $\blacktriangle$  Informants of Pakistani parentage  
 $\circ$  Informants of Afro-Caribbean parentage  
 $\bullet$  Informants of Anglo parentage  
 $\odot$  Informants of Mixed parentage

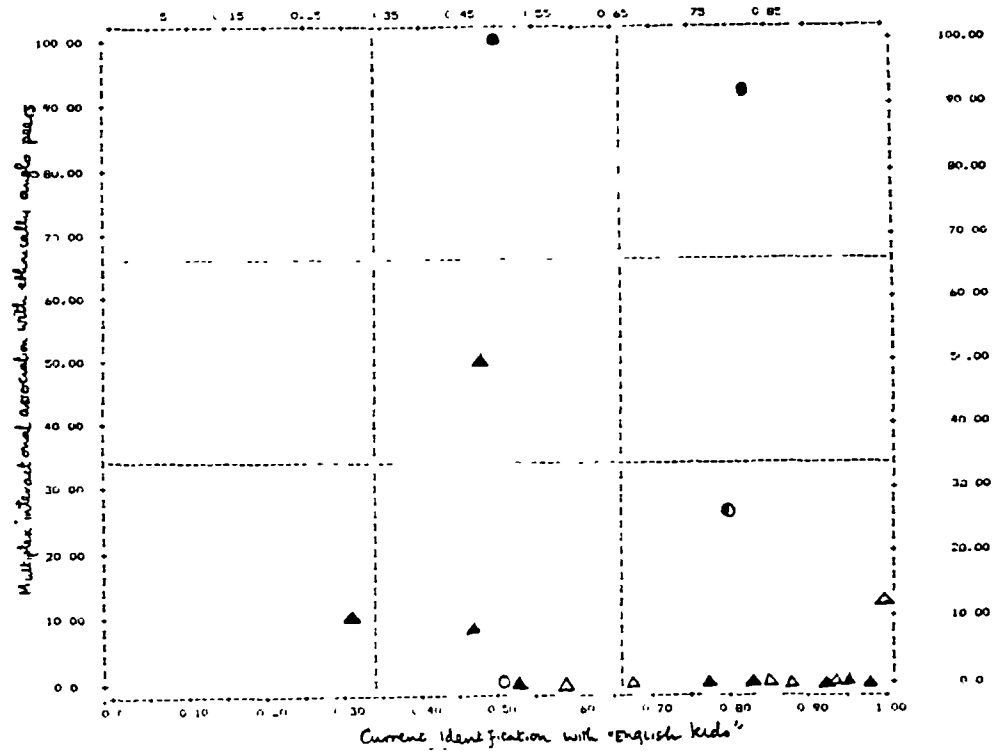
SCATTERPLOT A.14.3: MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION x CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION WITH AFRO-CARIBBEAN PEERS



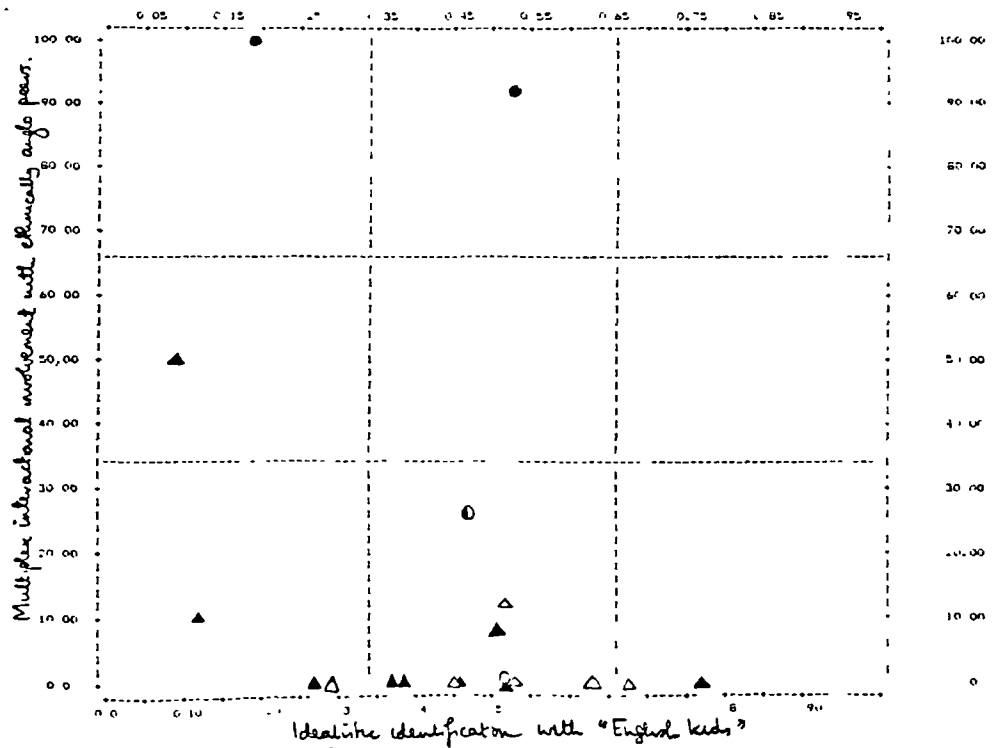
Key

- △ informants of Indian parentage
- ▲ informants of Pakistani parentage
- informants of Afro-Caribbean parentage
- informants of Anglo parentage
- ⊙ informant of mixed parentage

SCATTERPLOT A.14.4: MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION x CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH ANGLO KIDS

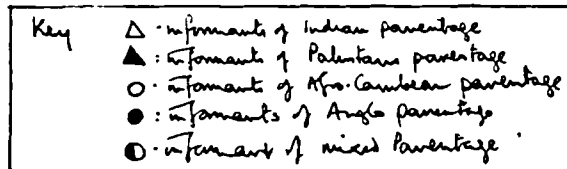
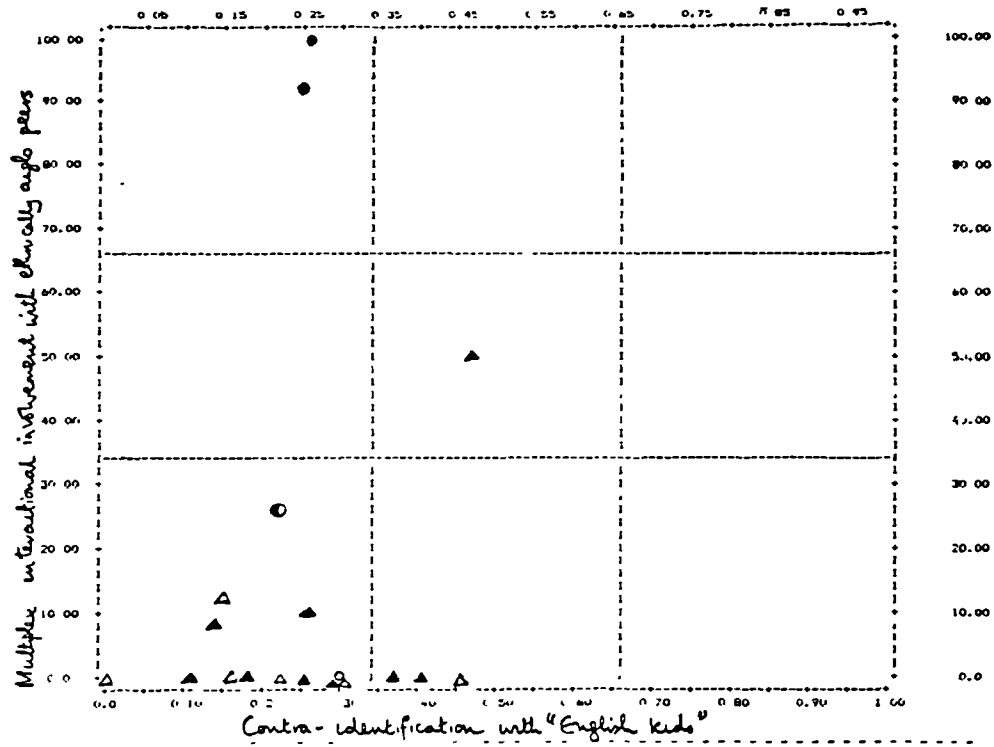


SCATTERPLOT A.14.5: MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION x IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH ANGLO KIDS



Key  
 △ informant of Indian parentage  
 ▲ informant of Pakistani parentage  
 ○ informant of Afro Caribbean parentage  
 ● informant of Anglo parentage  
 ◐ informant of mixed parentage

SCATTERPLOT A.14.6: MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION x CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION WITH ANGLO KIDS



APPENDIX 15

ANALYSIS OF ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN MULTIPLEX  
INTERACTIONAL TIES AND Vocalic L, Zero TH AFTER  
DENTAL/ALVEOLAR CONSONANTS, [ l ] AND [ ɾ ]

(see Chapter 13.2)

1. In Chapter 9.1.1, it was suggested that the main users of Vocalic L would be ethnically Anglo. A degree of support for this emerged in Chapter 13.1. Here we can ask whether multiplex interactional links with ethnically Anglo peers influence Vocalic L use.

Table A.15.1 shows the distribution of informants (by ethnicity) above and below the medians for Vocalic L use and for multiplex interactional association with ethnically Anglo peers.

Across the polyethnic peer-group as a whole, there does appear to be some association between Vocalic L use and multiplex Anglo ties: if one ignores fixed ethnicity completely, the pattern to emerge is as below:

TABLE A.15.2 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND MEDIANS FOR  
MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION WITH  
ETHNICALLY ANGLO PEERS AND FOR Vocalic L  
USE (IGNORING FIXED ETHNICITY)

		Multiplex	Anglo Ties		
Use of Vocalic L		2 22	6 75	Median	
		7 78	2 25		
		Median			

However, this patterning is not sustained within ethnic subgroups: all three ethnically Anglo informants both use

TABLE A.15.1 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND MEDIAN FOR MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL  
ASSOCIATION WITH ETHNICALLY ANGLO PEERS AND FOR Vocalic L USE

Multiplex Interactional Association with Ethnically Anglo Peers

		MEDIAN (=8.3)											
Use of Vocalic L	a b o v e r b e l o w	In.	Pa.	AC	En	Mi	In.	Pa.	AC	En	Mi	a b o v e r b e l o w	MEDIAN (-36)
		1	1				1	1		3	1		
		33	20*				100	50		100	(100)		
		2	4	1				1	1				
		67	80**	100				50	100				
lower						higher							
MEDIAN													

\* = includes informant with vertical median scores, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

\*\* = ditto, for informant with horizontal median score

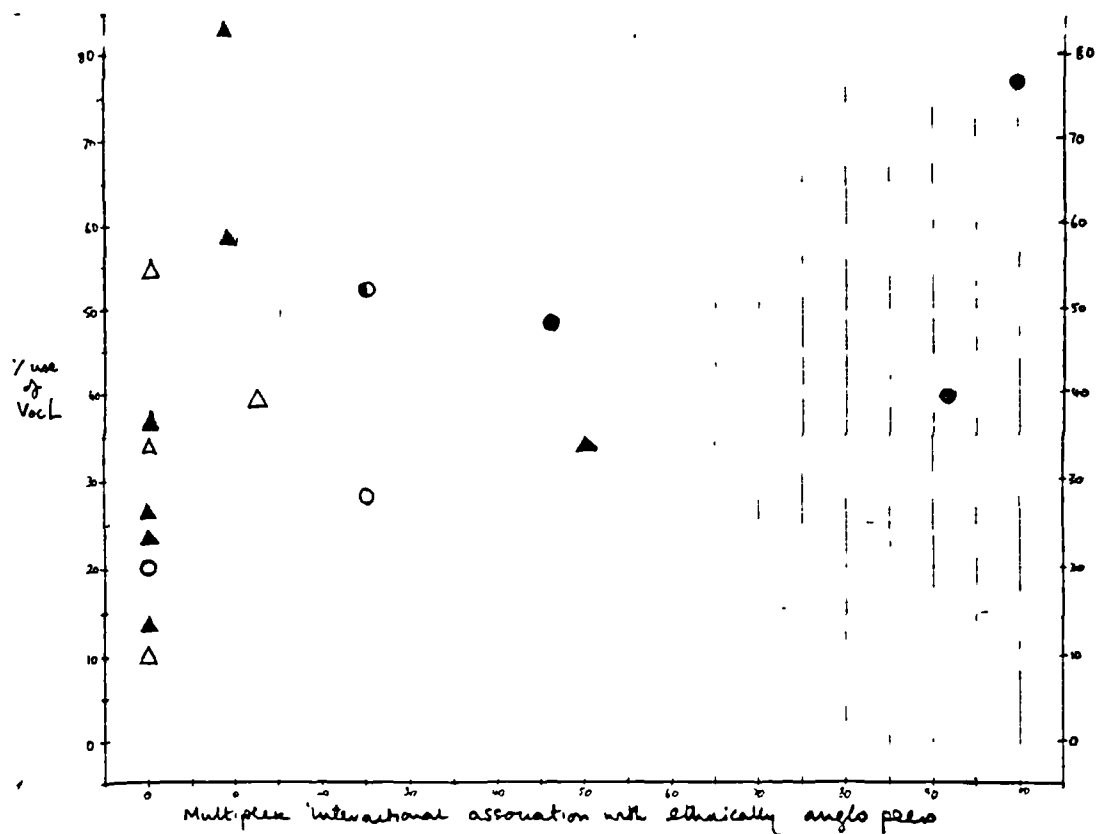
Vocalic L more than average and have a greater than average proportion of multiplex Anglo ties. Not many of the informants of Indian and Pakistani parentage join them in this, so one cannot say that lower use of Vocalic L in combination with less Anglo networks is counterbalanced within these two subgroups by higher Vocalic L use accompanied by more interaction. In other words, the association in Table A.15.2 for the polyethnic group as a whole largely results from the particular combination of ethnicities comprising it. That it is not a constant association running through the peer-group irrespective of ethnicity is finally indicated in Table A.15.3, where the non-Anglo cell in the top right corner scarcely contains more informants either than the bottom left, or the cell for non-Anglos with a below average proportion of multiplex Anglo ties but above average Vocalic L use. In sum, the patterns here cannot be seen as attesting the influence of multiplex Anglo ties, either irrespective of ethnicity, or within specific ethnic subgroups (see also Scatterplot A.15.1).

TABLE A.15.3 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND MEDIANS FOR MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION WITH ETHNICALLY ANGLO PEERS AND FOR Vocalic L USE (ANGLOS AND NON-ANGLOS COMPARED)

Multiplex Interactional Association with Ethnically Anglo Peers					
MEDIAN (=8.3)					
		Anglo	Non-Anglo		
Use of Vocalic L		2	3	3	a
		22	100	60	b
		7	2		o
		78	40		v
	lower	MEDIAN		higher	e
					b
					e
					l
					o
					w
					MEDIAN (=36)



SCATTERPLOT A.15.1: Vocalic L x MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION  
WITH ETHNICALLY ANGLO PEERS



Key:  
 ▽ informant of Indian parentage  
 ▲ informant of Palestinian parentage  
 ○ informant of Afro-Caribbean parentage  
 ● informant of Anglo parentage  
 ⊙ informant of mixed parentage

2. One of the hypotheses about (ʔ) and ethnicity concerned Zero TH, firstly after dental and alveolar consonants, and secondly, in all environments. It was hypothesised that in both cases (though particularly in the former), Zero TH would be associated with Anglo ethnicity. In the data on group means, the Anglo means were considerably reduced by W who can in various way be regarded as ethnically exceptional (see Chapter 14 in the main text): even so, Anglo means were higher than the rest.

Table A.15.4 examines the association between the post-consonantal variant of Zero TH and multiplex interactional association with ethnically Anglo peers.

This is rather a messy picture. What happens if non-Anglos are separated from Anglos? The result is Table A.15.5, which further indicates that in this group of informants, interactional association with ethnically Anglo peers is not systematically connected with use of Zero TH in this post-consonantal environment (a glance at scatterplot A.15.2 also indicates that it is not worth redefining the medians to the exclusion of ethnically Anglo informants).

TABLE A.15.5 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND MEDIAN FOR MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION WITH ETHNICALLY ANGLO PEERS AND FOR USE OF WORD INITIAL Zero TH AFTER DENTAL AND ALVEOLAR CONSONANTS (ANGLOS AND NON-ANGLOS COMPARED)

Multiplex Anglo Ties					
MEDIAN (= 8)					
		Anglo	Non-Anglo	Anglo	Non-Anglo
Use of Zero TH after dental and alveolar consonants		4	2	3	a
		50	67	50	b
					o
					v
					e
					MEDIAN
					(= 33)
		4	1	3	b
		50	33	50	e
					l
					o
					w
		lower		higher	
MEDIAN					

MEDIAN  
(= 33)

TABLE A.15.4 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND MEDIAN FOR MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION  
WITH ETHNICALLY ANGLO PEERS AND FOR USE OF WORD-INITIAL Zero TH AFTER DENTAL  
AND ALVEOLAR CONSONANTS (BY ETHNIC SUBGROUPS)

	MEDIAN (= 8)										
	In.	Pa.	AC	En	Mi	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	
Use of Zero TH after dental and alveolar consonants	2 67**	1 25	1 100				2 67*		2 67	1 (100)	a b o v e
	1 33	3 75				1 100	1 33	1 100	1 33		b e l o w
	lower					higher					
	MEDIAN										
											MEDIAN (= 33)

\* includes informant with score on the vertical median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

\*\* includes informant with score on the horizontal median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

What about overall use of word-initial Zero TH (i.e. in all environments)? Table A.15.6 presents the data on this, breaking informants down into fixed ethnic subgroups. Table A.15.7 considers the same data, but distinguishes only between Anglos and non-Anglos.

TABLE A.15.7 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND MEDIAN FOR MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION WITH ETHNICALLY ANGLO PEERS AND FOR THE USE OF WORD-INITIAL Zero TH IN ALL ENVIRONMENTS

Multiplex Anglo Ties					
MEDIAN (=8.33)					
Anglo		Non-Anglo	Anglo		Non-Anglo
Use of Zero TH	4		2	2	a
	44		67	40	b
	5		1	3	o
	56		33	60	v
lower		higher		e	MEDIAN
(18.7)					
MEDIAN					

Again there are no grounds here for assuming an association between interactional involvement with Anglo peers and Zero TH: on this linguistic variant, analysis in the light of network data lends no support to the tentative inferences made on the basis of subgroup means inspection.

TABLE A.15.6 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND MEDIAN FOR MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION  
WITH ETHNICALLY ANGLO PEERS AND FOR THE USE OF WORD-INITIAL Zero TH IN ALL  
ENVIRONMENTS (BY FIXED ETHNIC SUBGROUP)

Multiplex Interactional Association with Ethnically Anglo Peers										
MEDIAN (= 8.3)										
Use of Zero TH	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.
	1	2	1				1		2	1
	33	40	100				50		67	(100)
	Lower					Higher				
	2	3					1	1	1	
	67	60*					50**	100	33	
MEDIAN										

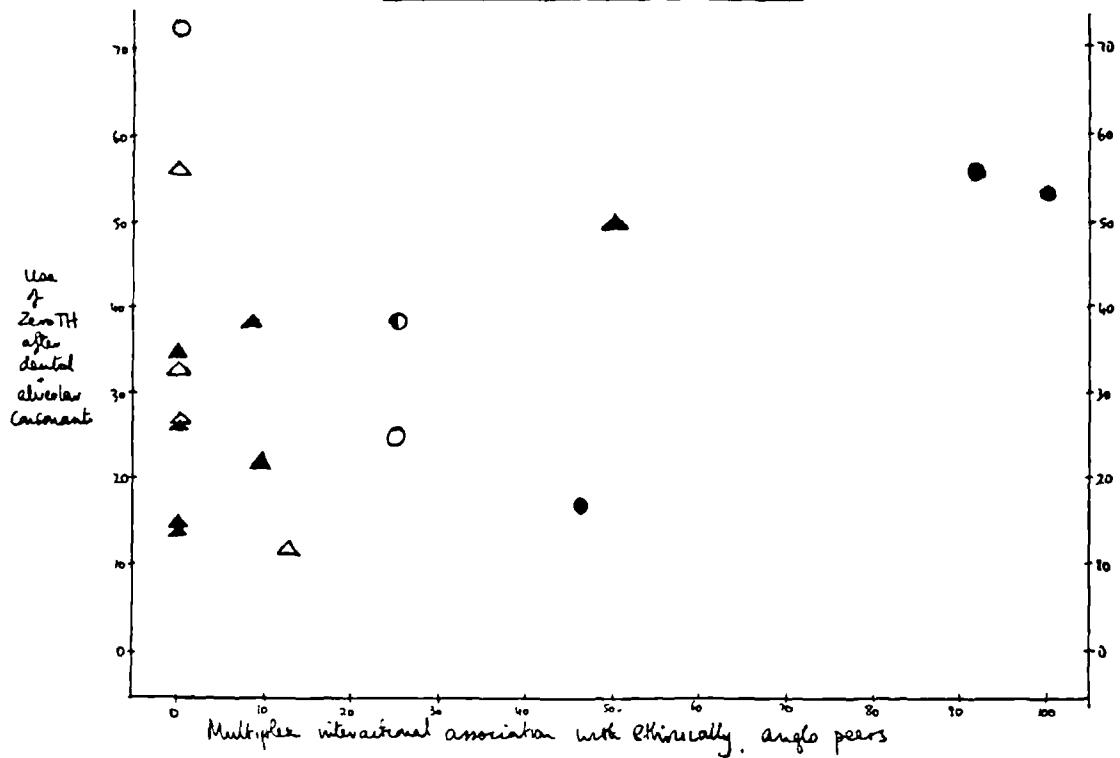
a  
b  
o  
v  
e  
  
b  
e  
l  
o  
w

MEDIAN  
(=18.7)

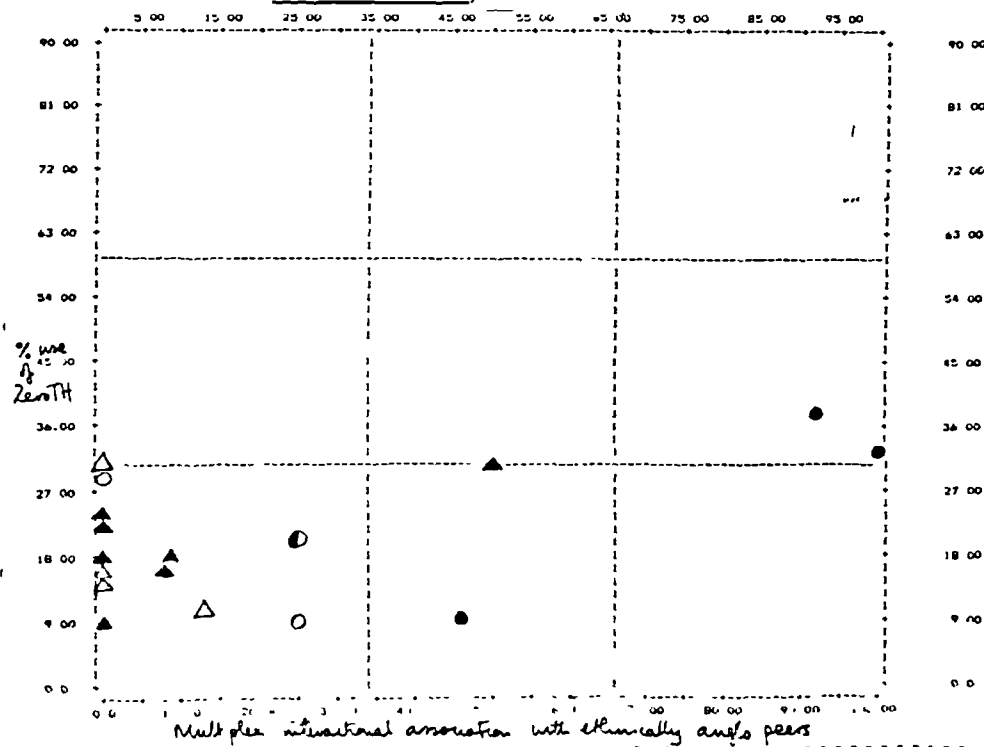
\* Includes informant with vertical median scores, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin.

\*\* ditto, for informant with horizontal median score.

SCATTERPLOT A.15.2: MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION WITH ETHNICALLY  
ANGLO PEERS x USE OF WORD-INITIAL Z to TH AFTER  
DENTAL/ALVEOLAR CONSONANTS



SCATTERPLOT A.15.3: MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION WITH ETHNICALLY  
ANGLO PEERS x USE OF Zero TH (IN ALL WORD-INITIAL  
ENVIRONMENTS)



Key. △ informants of Indian parentage  
 ▲ : informants of Bahamian parentage  
 ○ informants of Afro-Caribbean parentage  
 ● informants of Anglo parentage  
 ◐ informant of Mixed parentage

3. What of the association between [ | ] and Punjabi bilinguals suggested in secondary texts?

Table A.15.8 presents data on the association of clear [ | ] usage with multiplex interactional association with Punjabi bilinguals, for the polyethnic peer-group as a whole.

TABLE A.15.8 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND MEDIAN FOR MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION WITH PUNJABI BILINGUAL PEERS AND FOR CLEAR [ | ] USE (ACROSS THE POLYETHNIC PEER-GROUP AS A WHOLE)

Multiplex interactional association with Punjabi bilingual peers			
MEDIAN (= 87)			
Use of [   ]	4  44%	5  62%	a b o v e
	5  56%	3  38%	MEDIAN (=9.5) b e l o w
	below	above	

The pattern is indeterminate, and remains so when this data is broken down into fixed ethnic subgroups, as in Table A.15.9.

In sum, the data here indicates that there is no association between [ | ] and multiplex ties with Punjabi bilingual peers. A glance at scatterplot A.15.4 confirms this.

TABLE A.15.9 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND MEDIAN FOR MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION  
WITH PUNJABI BILINGUAL PEERS AND FOR CLEAR [ ] USE (BY FIXED ETHNIC SUBGROUPS)

Multiplex Interactional Association with Punjabi Bilingual Peers

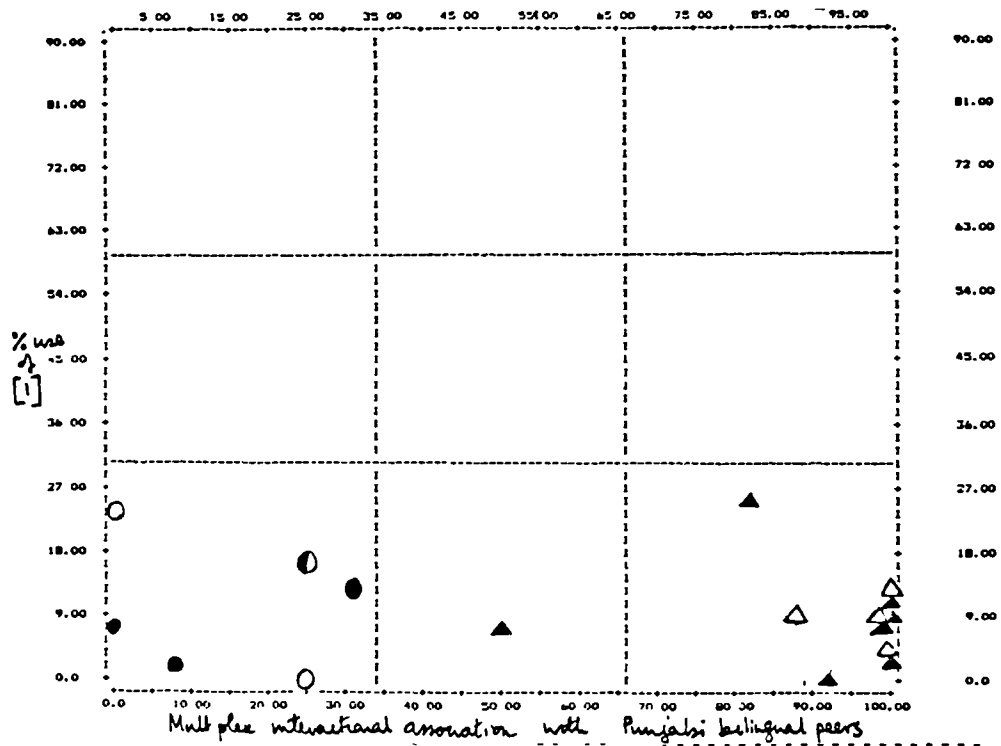
		MEDIAN (= 87)										a b o v e r b e l o w
		In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	
Use of [ ]			1 50	1 50	1 33	1 (100)	2 67	3 60**				
		1 100*	1 50	1 50	2 67		1 33	2 40				
lower						MEDIAN	higher					

\* Includes informant with vertical median scores, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin.

\*\* ditto, for informant with horizontal median score.



SCATTERPLOT A.15.4: MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION WITH  
PUNJABI BILINGUAL PEERS x USE OF CLEAR [1]



Key .  $\Delta$  : informant of Indian parentage  
 $\blacktriangle$  : informant of Pakistani parentage  
 $\circ$  : informant of Afro-Caribbean parentage  
 $\bullet$  : informant of Anglo parentage  
 $\circ$  : informant of Mixed parentage

4. In the analysis of group means, ethnically Indian informants emerged as the greatest users of [ʒ]: no great significance was attached to that finding, though it can be used as a pointer occasioning the question, is interactional association with ethnically Indian peers conducive to [ʒ] use? By studying four speakers of Indian parentage directly it was not possible to link [ʒ] and Indian ethnicity, but can we find such a connection reflected across the polyethnic peer-group as a whole? Table A.15.10 examines the association between [ʒ] and multiplex ethnically Indian peer ties.

The pattern is clearly highly diffuse and there is nothing to confirm any suggestion that [ʒ] and Indian ethnicity might be linked.

SCATTERPLOT A.15.5 : MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION WITH ETHNICALLY INDIAN PEERS x USE OF [ʒ]

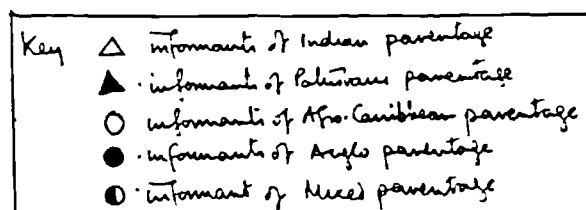
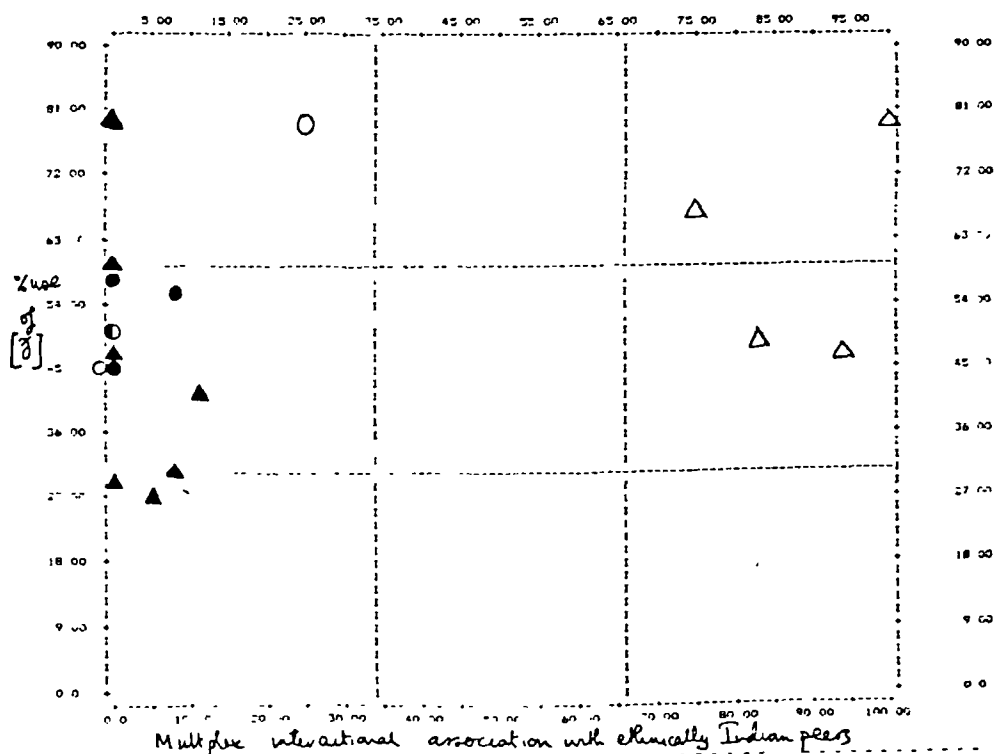


TABLE A.15.10 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS AROUND MEDIAN FOR MULTIPLEX INTERACTIONAL ASSOCIATION  
WITH ETHNICALLY INDIAN PEERS AND FOR [%] USE (BY ETHNIC SUBGROUP)

Multiplex Interactional Association with Ethnically Indian Peers											
MEDIAN (= 4.5)											
Use of [ % ]	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	a b o v e  b e l o w
		2		1	1	3		1	1		
	50		50	(100)	75**		100	100			
MEDIAN (=48.8)											
	2	1	1		1	3					
	50	100	50		25	100*					
	lower					higher					
	MEDIAN										

\* Includes informant with score on the vertical median, whose classification was decided on the toss of a coin

\*\* Includes informant with score on the horizontal median, whose classification was decided on the toss of a coin

# APPENDIX 16

## ANALYSES OF THE ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN PATTERNS OF PSYCHO-SOCIAL IDENTIFICATION AND Vocalic L, [ɹ], [ʁ], [d] AND Zero TH

Chapter 13.3 describes the most substantive findings to emerge from an examination of the association between group identifications and (ɹ) and (ʁ). It also draws out the key methodological and conceptual issues. In this appendix a variety of guiding hypotheses (generated both before and during the analysis) are investigated. The findings here are inconsequential, but completeness and systematicity require their inclusion.

1. With that clarified, we can turn to the first variant, Vocalic L and see how it relates to patterns of identification with the 'English kids' hypothetically linked with it. Table A.16.1 sets out the data on Vocalic L and current identification with 'English kids'.

The picture here is very diffuse, as a summary table ignoring fixed ethnicity demonstrates.

TABLE A.16.2 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND MEDIANS FOR CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH 'ENGLISH KIDS' AND FOR Vocalic L USE (IGNORING FIXED ETHNICITY)

Current Identification with 'English kids'

		MEDIAN					
Use of Vocalic L		3 43%	5 62%	a b o v e	MEDIAN (=36%)		
		4 57%	3 38%	b e l o w			
		below	above				
		MEDIAN (=.797)					

TABLE A.16.1 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND MEDIANS FOR CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH  
'ENGLISH KIDS' AND FOR Vocalic L USE (BY FIXED ETHNICITY)

Current Identification with 'English kids'											
MEDIAN											
Use of Vocalic L	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	a b o v e r M E D I A N (=36%) b e l o w
		2		1		2	1		1	1	
		50		100		67	33**		100	(100)*	
	1	2	1			1	2				
	100	50	100			33	67				
	lower					higher					
	MEDIAN (=.797)										

\* Includes informant with vertical median scores, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

\*\* Ditto, for informant with horizontal median score

In the same way, there is no systematic association between Vocalic L use and idealistic identification with 'English kids', and Table A.16.3 indicates this.

Ethnically Indian informants are distributed diagonally, but there is nothing in the scatterplot for this data (A.16.2) to suggest a systematic relationship and anyway there are so few. With contra-identification with 'English kids' however, there seems generally to be more of an association. This is shown in Table A.16.4.

Ignoring fixed ethnicity this produces the following table:

TABLE A.16.5 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND THE MEDIANS FOR  
CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION WITH 'ENGLISH KIDS' AND  
FOR Vocalic L USE (IGNORING FIXED ETHNICITY)

Contra-identification with 'English kids'

Use of Vocalic L	5 71%	2 25%	a b o v e
	2 29%	6 75%	b e l o w
	below	above	

MEDIAN  
(=.258)

MEDIAN  
(=36%)

Can we therefore say that amongst these informants, the less they want to be dissimilar to 'English kids', the more they use Vocalic L? Can we hypothesise that aversive identification with 'English kids' acts as some kind of brake on the acquisition/use of Vocalic L and when this is reduced, these Anglo variants are used more freely? In fact, there are three reasons for avoiding such speculation, and for concluding that we have no evidence of any such association. Firstly, the range of scores on contra-identification with 'English kids' is really too narrow for us

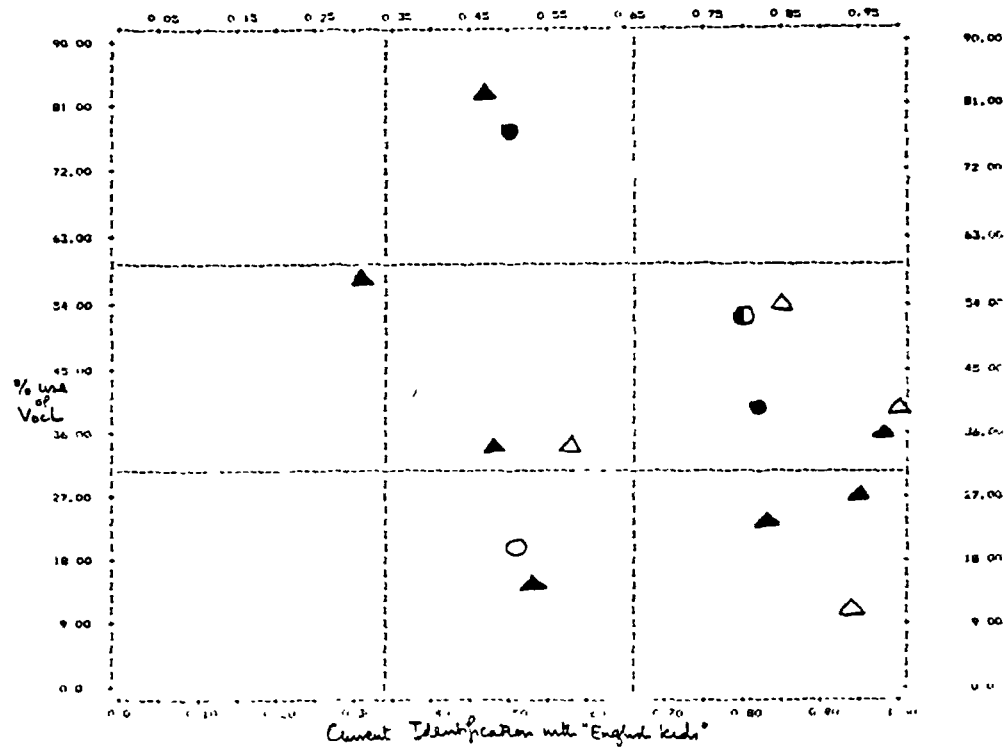
TABLE A.16.3 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND MEDIANS FOR IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION  
WITH 'ENGLISH KIDS', AND FOR Vocalic L USE (BY FIXED ETHNICITY)

Idealistic Identification with 'English kids'											
Use of Vocalic L	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	a b o v e  b e l o w
		1		1	1	2	1		1		
		25		100	100*	100	33		100		
		2	3				2	1			
	100	75					67**	100			
	lower					higher					
	MEDIAN (=.471)										
											MEDIAN (=36%)

\* Includes informant with score on the vertical median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

\*\* Ditto, for informant with horizontal median score

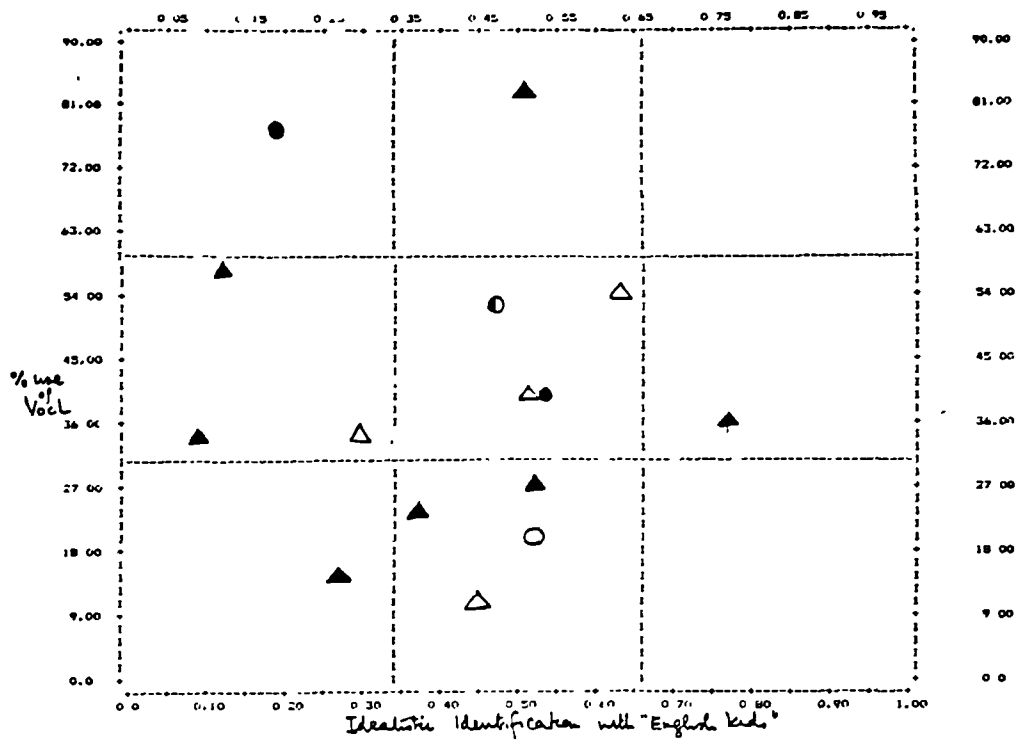
SCATTERPLOT A.16.1: Vocalic L x CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH  
"ENGLISH KIDS"



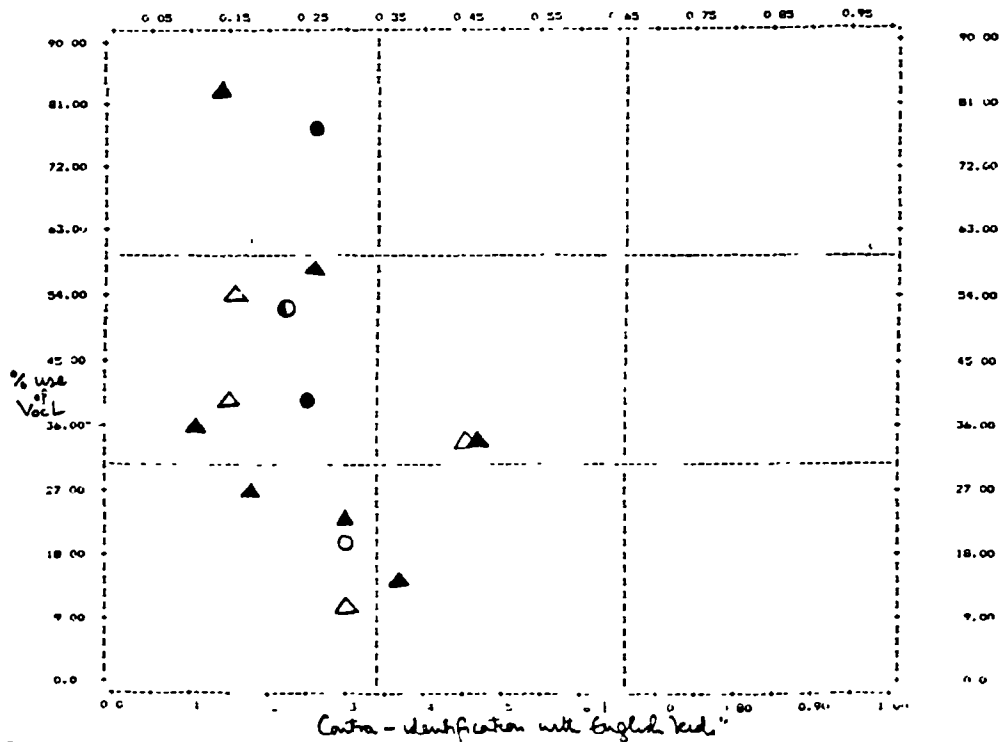
Key . △ : informant of Indian parentage  
 ▲ : informant of Latin American parentage  
 ○ : informant of Afro-Caribbean parentage  
 ● : informant of Anglo parentage  
 ◐ : informant of Mixed parentage



SCATTERPLOT A.16.2: Vocalic L x IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH  
"ENGLISH KIDS"



SCATTERPLOT A.16.3: Vocalic L x CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION WITH  
"ENGLISH KIDS"



Key.  $\triangle$  - informants of Indian parentage  
 $\blacktriangle$  - informants of Patiwans parentage  
 $\bigcirc$  - informants of Afro-Caribbean parentage  
 $\bullet$  - informants of Anglo parentage  
 $\oplus$  - informant of Mixed parentage

TABLE A.16.4 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND MEDIAN FOR CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION WITH  
'ENGLISH KIDS' AND FOR Vocalic L USE (BY FIXED ETHNICITY)

Contra-identification with 'English kids'											
Use of Vocalic L	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	a b o v e  b e l o w
	2	1		1	1		1 *		1		
	100%	33%		100%	100%				100%		
	MEDIAN (=36%)										
		2 **				1	3	1			
		67%				100%	75%	100%			
	lower					higher					
	MEDIAN (=258)										

\* Includes informant with score on the vertical median, whose classification was decided on the toss of a coin

\*\* Ditto, for informant with horizontal median score

to put much confidence in the association displayed in Tables A.16.4 and A.16.5. Secondly, the theoretical reasoning is too sophisticated too soon: it implies a complex negative psycholinguistic process before there is any evidence of a connection between positive Anglo identification and language use (such that current and idealistic identification would be actively conducive to Vocalic L use). Finally, the same kind of relationship between the use of this variant and contra-identification virtually exists with regard to the entity 'Indian kids' for example, so the ISA data here provides no evidence that Vocalic L is specifically marked as an Anglo variant.

Table A.16.6 shows the association with contra-identification with 'Indian kids'.

TABLE A.16.6 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND THE MEDIANS FOR CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION WITH 'INDIAN KIDS' AND FOR Vocalic L USE (IRRESPECTIVE OF FIXED ETHNICITY)

		Contra-identification with 'Indian kids'			
Use of Vocalic L		5	2	a	
		63% *	29%	b	
				o	
				v	
				e	MEDIAN
					(=36)
		3	5	b	
		37% **	71%	e	
				l	
				o	
				w	
	below		above		
					MEDIAN
					(=.294)

\* Includes informant with score on vertical median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

\*\* Ditto, for informant with horizontal median score

Admittedly the association here is slightly weaker, but a comparison of the scatterplots for Contra-identification with

'English kids' and 'Indian kids' and Vocalic L Use (Scatterplots A.16.3 and A.16.4) reveals that neither are they sufficiently different to enable one to speak of a special link between Vocalic L and the Anglo entity. We must conclude therefore that we have nothing of consequence to say about Vocalic L use and (cross-sectional) patterns of identification with 'English kids'.

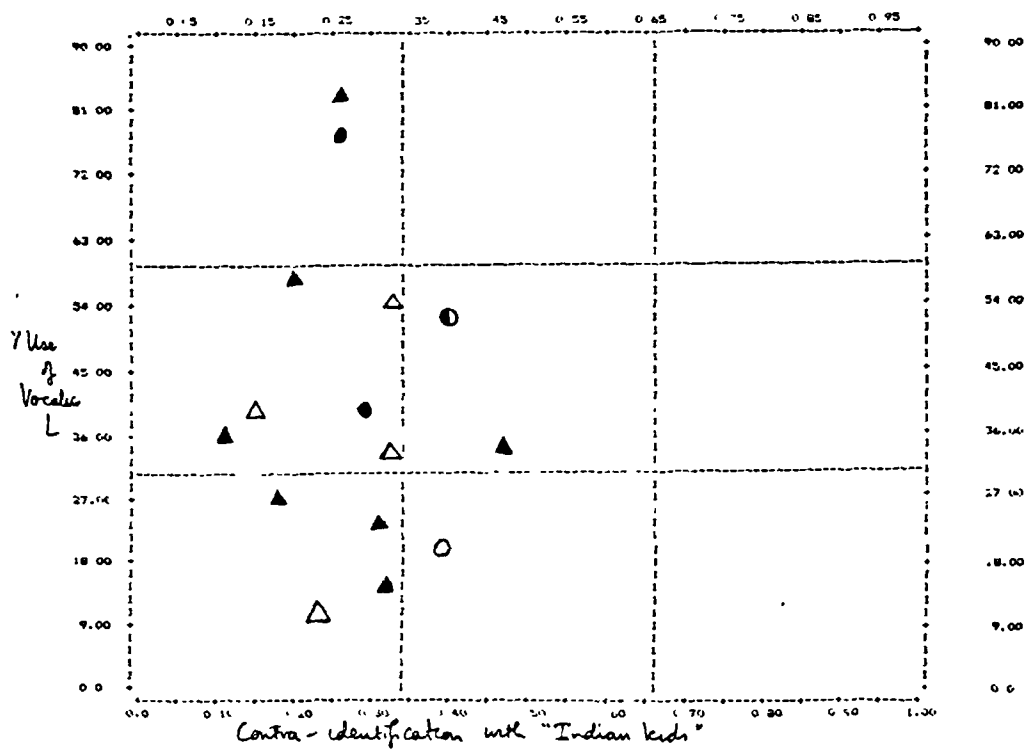
2. In the section on group means (Chapter 13.1), it was noticed that the ethnically Afro-Caribbean informants on average used a dark [ɾ] most, but it wasn't possible to explore this further in relation to interactional association with ethnically Afro-Caribbean peers, since there were generally too few in my informants' multiplex networks, and the data on merely frequent (rather than multiplex) associations were too unreliable. Here however, a possible connection between Afro-Caribbean ethnicity can be explored in terms of psycho-social identification. Do the people who use velarised [ɫ] most have the strongest current and idealistic identifications with 'West Indian' kids? Table A.16.7 sets out the data on current identification.

Ignoring informant's fixed ethnicity, overall this results in a pattern,

5	3
55%	38%
4	5
45%	62%

which indicates no systematic association. Similarly, there appears to be no relationship between [ɾ] and idealistic identification with 'West Indian kids', see Table A.16.8 (and also Scatterplots A.16.5 and A.16.6).

SCATTERPLOT A.16.4: CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION WITH "INDIAN KIDS"  
x Vocalic L USE



Key.  $\Delta$  : informants of Indian parentage  
 $\blacktriangle$  : informants of Latin American parentage  
 $\circ$  : informants of Afro-Caribbean parentage  
 $\bullet$  : informants of Anglo parentage  
 $\odot$  : informant of Mixed parentage

TABLE A.16.7 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS AROUND THE MEDIANS FOR CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH  
'WEST INDIAN KIDS' AND FOR dark [4] USE (BY FIXED ETHNICITY)

Current Identification with 'West Indian kids'									
In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.
	2 67%	2 100%*	1 50%			2 50%		1 100%	
2 100%	1 33%		1		2 100%**	2 50%			1 100%

lower                      higher

MEDIAN (= .564)

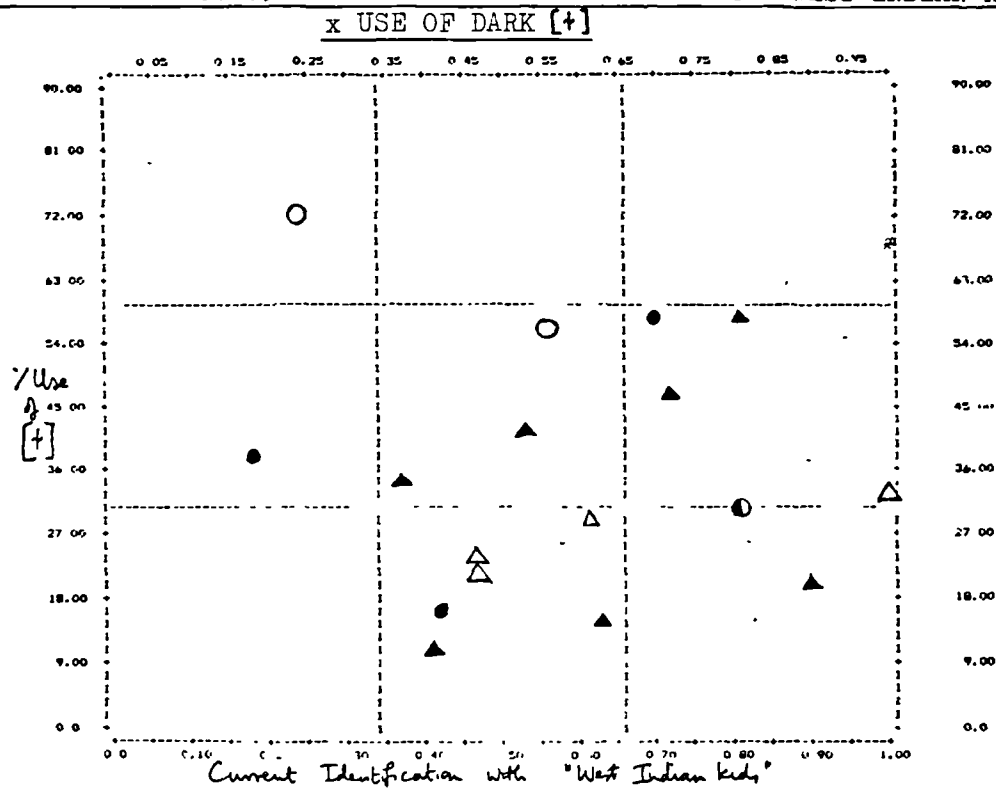
Use of [↑]

above  
 MEDIAN (= 32)  
 below

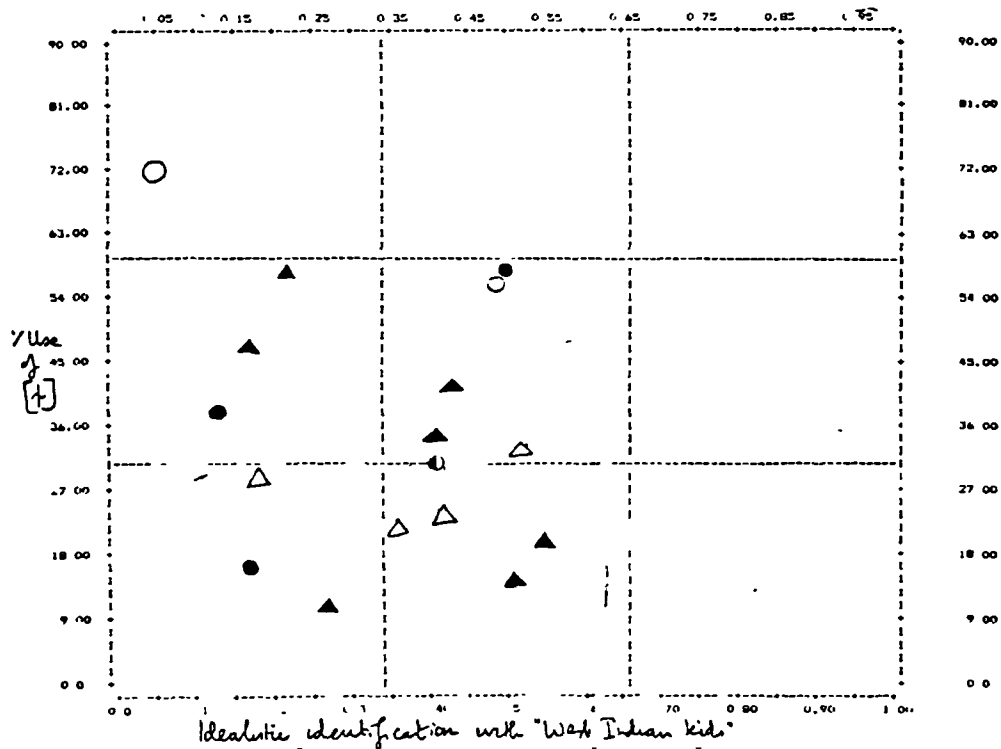
\* Includes informant with score on the vertical median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

\*\* Includes informant with score on the horizontal median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

SCATTERPLOT A.16.5: CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH "WEST INDIAN KIDS"



SCATTERPLOT A.16.6: IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH "WEST INDIAN KIDS" x USE OF DARK [ + ]



Key.  $\Delta$  : informants of Indian parentage  
 $\blacktriangle$  : informants of Bahamian parentage  
 $\circ$  : informants of Afro-Caribbean parentage  
 $\bullet$  : informants of Anglo parentage  
 $\bullet$  : informant of Mixed parentage

TABLE A.16.8 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS AROUND THE MEDIANS FOR IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION  
WITH 'WEST INDIAN KIDS', AND FOR dark [ + ] (BY FIXED ETHNICITY)

Idealistic Identification with 'West Indian kids'											
	MEDIAN										
	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	
		2	1	1		1	2	1	1		a
		67%	100%	50%		50% **	50%	100%	100%		b
Use of [+]											o
											v
	2	1		1	1	1	2				e
	100%	33%		50%	(100%) *	50%	50%				MEDIAN
											(= 32)
											b
											e
											l
											o
											w



There is nothing here to support the suggestion that [ʔ] might be connected with Afro-Caribbean ethnicity.

3. When it comes to cross-sectional connections between psychosocial orientation and the variable (ʔ), we can start with the fricative variant which was initially proposed as a standard variant and then briefly considered as possibly being locally linked most closely with Indian kids. Using the entity 'Teachers' as representing those speakers most likely to use RP variants (and intuitively the use of [ʔ] by teachers is greater than their use of [ʔ]), Tables A.16.9 and A.16.10 show the association between [ʔ] use and current and idealistic identification.

These yield the respective overall patterns

3	6	4	5
37%	67%	44%	62%
5	3	5	3
63%	33%	56%	38%

neither of which indicate a systematic association (with regard to the first (or current identification), this needs perhaps to be confirmed by a glance at Scatterplot A.16.7).

The data on contra-identification with 'Teachers' is shown in Table A.16.11.

There could be an association here between contra-identification with teachers and [ʔ] for ethnically Pakistani informants, but once again the particular difficulties associated with exclusive dependence on contra-identification with regard to this type of finding deter one from attaching importance to it.

TABLE A.16.9 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND THE MEDIAN FOR CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH  
'TEACHERS' AND FOR [ % ] USE (BY FIXED ETHNICITY)

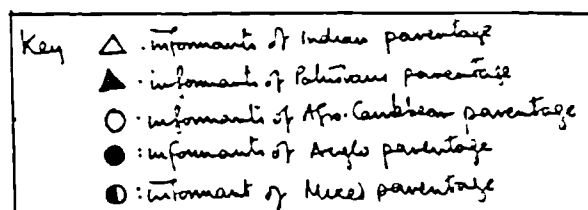
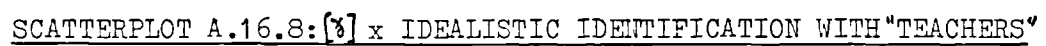
Current Identification with 'Teachers'											
MEDIAN											
Use of [%]	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	a b o v e  b e l o w
		1	1	1		3	1		1	1	
		33%	50%	50%		100%**	25%		100%	(100%)	
	1	2	1	1			3				
	100%	67%*	50%	50%			75%				
	lower					higher					
	MEDIAN (=48.8)										
	MEDIAN (=549)										

\* Includes informant with score on the vertical median, whose classification was decided on the toss of a coin

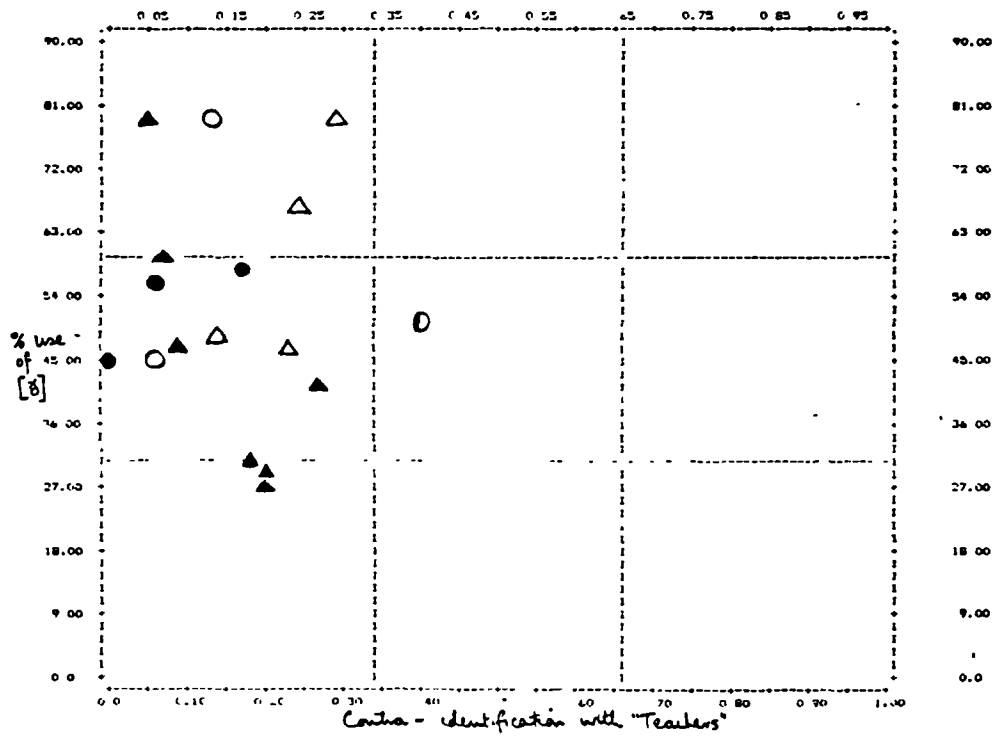
\*\* Includes informant with score on the horizontal median, whose classification was decided on the toss of a coin

TABLE A.16.10 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS AROUND THE MEDIAN FOR IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION  
WITH 'TEACHERS' AND FOR [X] USE (BY FIXED ETHNICITY)

Idealistic Identification with 'Teachers'											
MEDIAN											
Use of {X}	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	a b o v e  b e l o w
	1	1	1	1		2	1		1	1	
	50%*	33%	50%	50%		100%**	25%		100%	(100%)	
	1	2	1	1			3				
	50%	67%	50%	50%			75%				
	lower					higher					
	MEDIAN (=.383)										
	MEDIAN (=48.8)										



SCATTERPLOT A.16.9: [8] x CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION WITH "TEACHERS"



Key.  $\Delta$  : informants of Indian parentage  
 $\blacktriangle$  : informants of Polynesian parentage  
 $\circ$  : informants of Afro-Caribbean parentage  
 $\bullet$  : informants of Anglo parentage  
 $\bullet$  : informant of Mixed parentage

TABLE A.16.11 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS AROUND THE MEDIANS FOR CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION  
WITH 'TEACHERS' AND FOR [X] USE (BY FIXED ETHNICITY)

Contra-identification with 'Teachers'											
Use of [ % ]	MEDIAN										a b o v e r b e l o w
	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	
	1	2	1	1		2		1		1	
	100% **	67%	50%	50%		67%		100% *		(100%)	
		1	1	1		1	4				
		33%	50%	50%		33%	100%				
	lower					higher					
	MEDIAN (=.167)										
											MEDIAN (=48.8)

- 882 -

\* Includes informant with score on vertical median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

\*\* Includes informant with score on horizontal median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

4. There is no systematic association between [ʒ] use and current and idealistic identification with 'Indian kids'. That is shown in Tables A.16.12 and A.16.13.

Respectively, these result in the overall patterns:

3	4	4	4
43%	50%	50%	57%
4	4	4	3
57%	50%	50%	43%

(see also Scatterplots A.16.10 and A.16.11).

5. For [d], the stopped variant of word initial (ʒ), measures of multiplex interactional association indicated a connection with the extent to which informants had contact with ethnically Pakistani peers. This connection was particularly clear for those not of Pakistani parentage. Table A.16.14 and Table A.16.15 take the medians for all seventeen informants on current and idealistic identification with 'Pakistani kids' and on [d] use, and set out their distribution around them.

These yield the overall patterns:

2	5	2	5
29	62	25	71
5	3	6	2
71	38	75	29

In both cases (though more so in the second, for idealistic identification) it looks as though there might be an association. However, when one turns to the Scatterplots A.16.12 and A.16.13, it emerges that scores are very broadly and irregularly spread about the lines rising from left to right that Tables A.16.14 and A.16.15 might suggest, and it is necessary to conclude that there is really no demonstrable association.

TABLE A.16.12 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND MEDIAN FOR CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH  
'INDIAN KIDS' AND FOR [ʔ] USE (BY FIXED ETHNICITY)

Current Identification with 'Indian kids'

		MEDIAN										a b o v e r b e l o w
		In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Ml.	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Ml.	
Use of [ʔ]			1 33%		2 100%		2 67%	1 25%*			1 (100)	
		1 100%	2 67%	1 100%			1 33%**	3 75%				
		lower					higher					
		MEDIAN (=.704)										
												MEDIAN (=48.8)

\* Includes informant with score on vertical median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

\*\* Includes informant with score on horizontal median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin



TABLE A.16.13 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND THE MEDIANS FOR IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION  
WITH 'INDIAN KIDS' AND FOR [ɣ] USE (BY FIXED ETHNICITY)

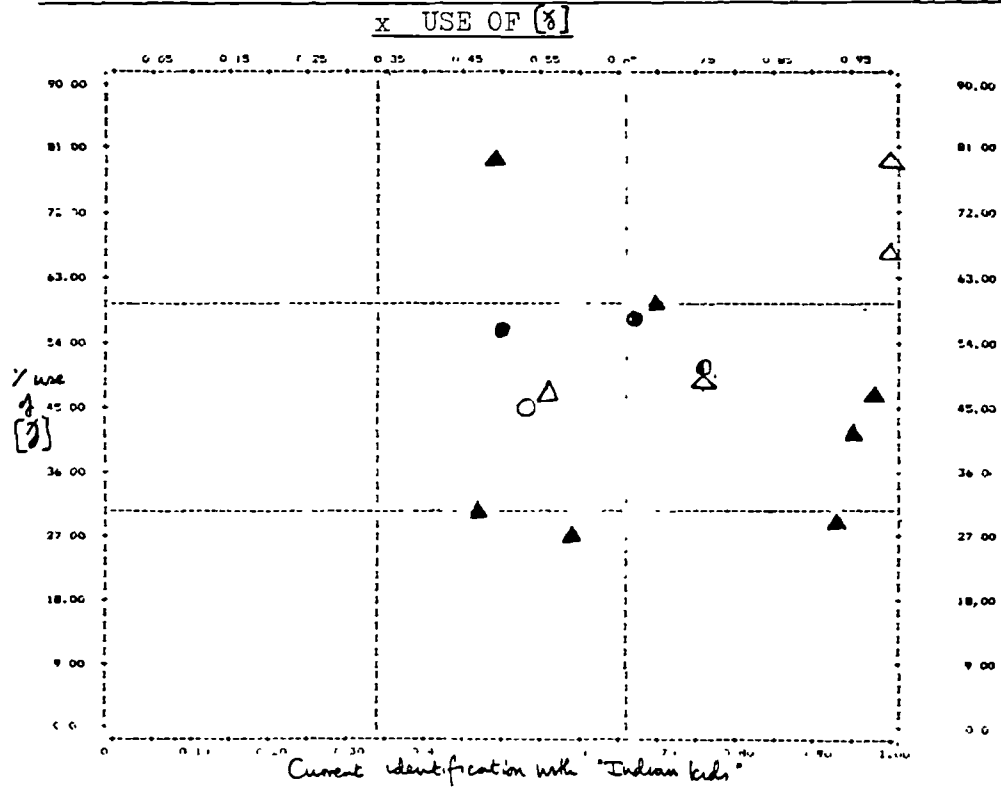
Idealistic Identification with 'Indian kids'

		MEDIAN										a b o v e r M E D I A N (=48.8)
		In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	
Use of [ɣ]			1 33%		2 100%	1 (100)	3 100**	1 25%				
	1	2 100%	1 67%	1 100%*			3 75%					
					lower		higher					
						MEDIAN (=.388)						

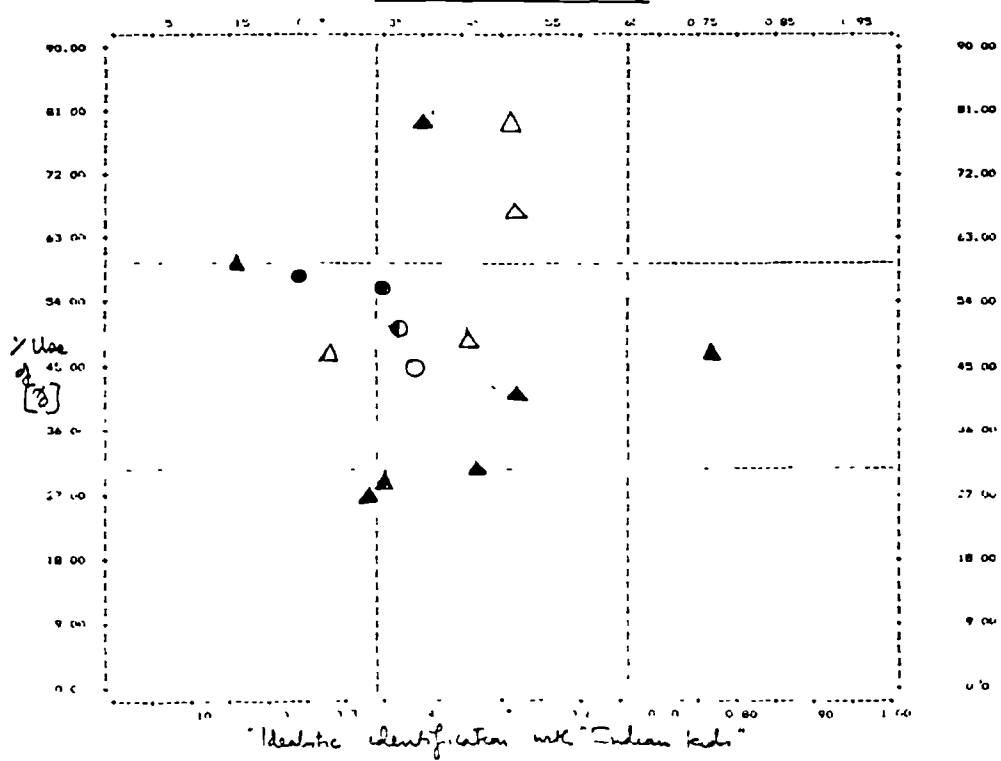
\* Includes informant with score on vertical median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

\*\* Includes informant with score on horizontal median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

SCATTERPLOT A.16.10: CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH "INDIAN KIDS"



SCATTERPLOT A.16.11: IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH "INDIAN KIDS" x USE OF [8]



Key.  $\Delta$  : informant of Indian parentage  
 $\blacktriangle$  : informant of Latin American parentage  
 $\circ$  : informant of Afro-Caribbean parentage  
 $\bullet$  : informant of Anglo parentage  
 $\ominus$  : informant of Mixed parentage

TABLE A.16.14 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND MEDIAN FOR CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH  
'PAKISTANI KIDS' AND FOR [ d ] USE (BY FIXED ETHNICITY)

Current Identification with 'Pakistani kids'

		MEDIAN										a b o v e r M E D I A N (= 25)
		In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	
Use of [ d ]			2 67%				1 33	3 75			1 (100)	
		1 100%	1 33	1 100**	2 100		2 67	1 25*				
lower						higher						
						MEDIAN (=.704)						

\* Includes informant with score on vertical median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

\*\* Includes informant with score on horizontal median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

TABLE A.16.15 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND MEDIAN FOR IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH  
'PAKISTANI KIDS' AND FOR [ d ] USE (BY FIXED ETHNICITY)

Idealistic Identification with 'Pakistani kids'											
MEDIAN											
Use of [ d ]	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	a b o v e  b e l o w
		2				1	3			1	
		50*				33	100			(100)	
	1	2	1	2		2					
	100	50	100**	100		67					
	lower					higher					
	MEDIAN (=.412)										
											MEDIAN (= 25)

\* Includes informant with score on vertical median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

\*\* Includes informant with score on horizontal median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

What if ethnically Pakistani informants are excluded from the analysis (as they were when we looked at [d] and interactional association) and the medians are reset, taking into account only non-Pakistani informants? This is done in Tables A.16.16 and A.16.17:

TABLE A.16.16 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS AROUND MEDIAN FOR CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH 'PAKISTANI KIDS' AND FOR [d] USE (OVERALL BUT EXCLUDING INFORMANTS OF PAKISTANI EXTRACTION)

Current Identification with 'Pakistani kids'

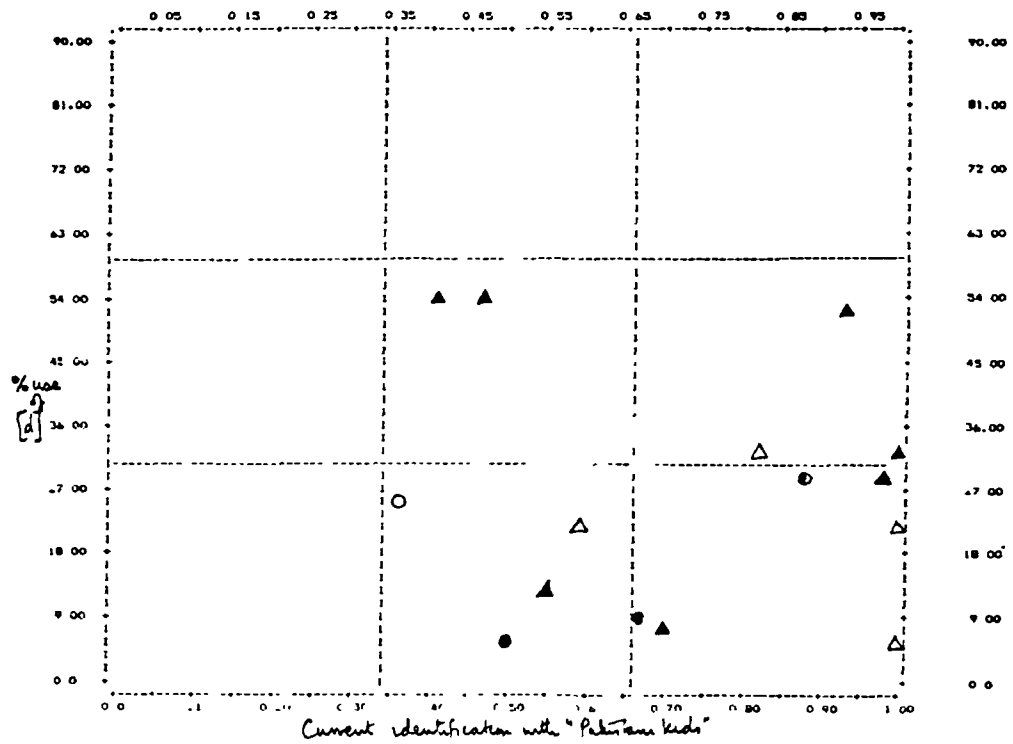
Use of [d]	2 50	3 75	a b o v e	MEDIAN (=15.4)
			b e l o w	
	below	above		
	MEDIAN (=.745)			

TABLE A.16.17 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND MEDIAN FOR IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH 'PAKISTANI KIDS' AND FOR USE OF [d] (OVERALL, BUT EXCLUDING INFORMANTS OF PAKISTANI PARENTAGE)

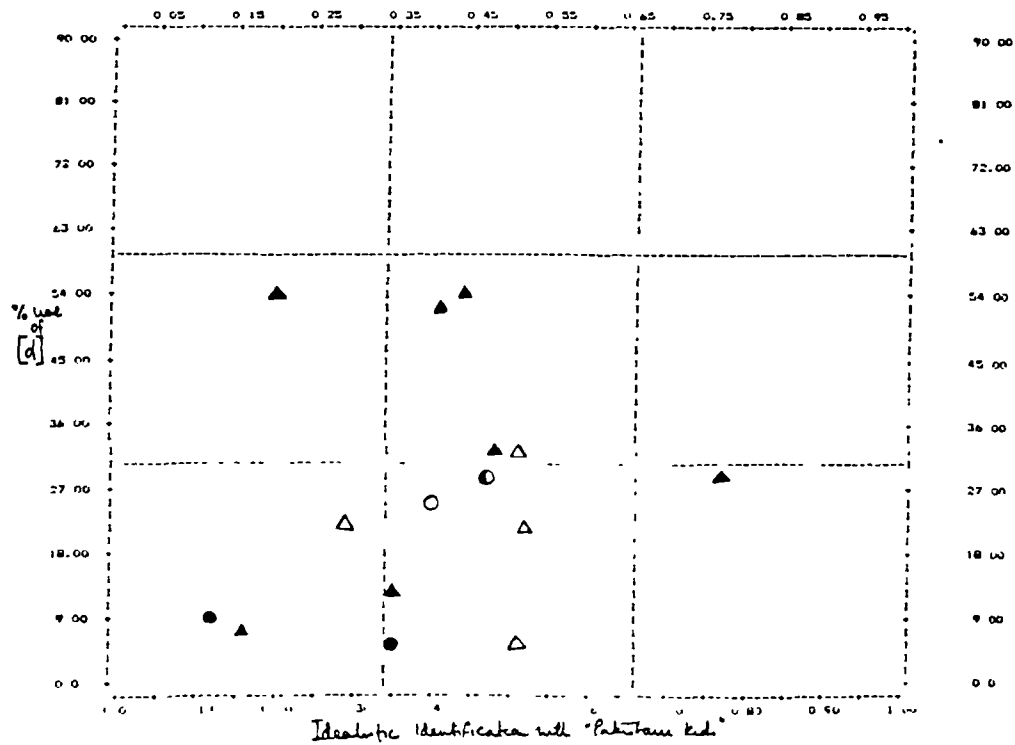
Idealistic Identification with 'Pakistani kids'

Use of [d]	2 50%	2 50%	a b o v e	MEDIAN (=15.4)
			b e l o w	
	2 50%	2 50%		
	below	above		
	MEDIAN (=.437)			

SCATTERPLOT A.16.12: [d] x CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH "PAKISTANI KIDS"



SCATTERPLOT A.16.13: [d] x IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH "PAKISTANI KIDS"



Key.  $\Delta$  : informants of Indian parentage  
 $\blacktriangle$  : informants of Pakistani parentage  
 $\circ$  : informants of Afro-Caribbean parentage  
 $\bullet$  : informants of Anglo parentage  
 $\bullet$  : informant of Mixed parentage

As do indeed the scatterplots, Tables A.16.16 and A.16.17 indicate no association between current and idealistic identification with 'Pakistani kids' and [d] use amongst ethnically Indian, Anglo, Afro-Caribbean and Mixed informants. Patterns of psycho-social identification do not replicate the network data in this regard.

6. The last linguistic variants requiring this kind of attention are word-initial Zero TH overall, and after dental and alveolar consonants. Does use of these variants relate to identification with Anglo kids? Tables A.16.18 and A.16.19 set out the associations for Zero TH after dental and alveolar consonants.

Merging fixed ethnicities, this results in

4	3	5	2
50	43	71	25
4	4	2	6
50	57	29	75

Is there genuine association in the second of these, concerning idealistic identification? When we look at the scatterplot for this, Scatterplot A.16.15, we are forced to conclude as we were with [d] and idealistic identification with 'Pakistani kids' across all informants (Table A.16.15 and Scatterplot A.16.13), that the association in Table A.16.19 is not supported by the visual display, which again shows a diffuse and irregular scatter of scores.

7. Turning to word-initial Zero TH in all environments, we get the following patterns:

TABLE A.16.18 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND THE MEDIAN FOR CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH  
'ENGLISH KIDS' AND FOR WORD-INITIAL Zero TH AFTER DENTAL AND ALVEOLAR  
CONSONANTS (BY FIXED ETHNICITY)

Current Identification with 'English kids'												
Use of Zero TH after dental and alveolar consonants	MEDIAN										a b o v e r M E D I A N (= 34) b e l o w	
	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.		
	1	1		1	1	1		1	1			
	50	25		100	(100)*	33		100	100			
	1	3				2	2					
	50	75				67	100**					
	lower					higher						
	MEDIAN (=.471)											

\* Includes informant with score on the vertical median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

\*\* Includes informant with score on the horizontal median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin



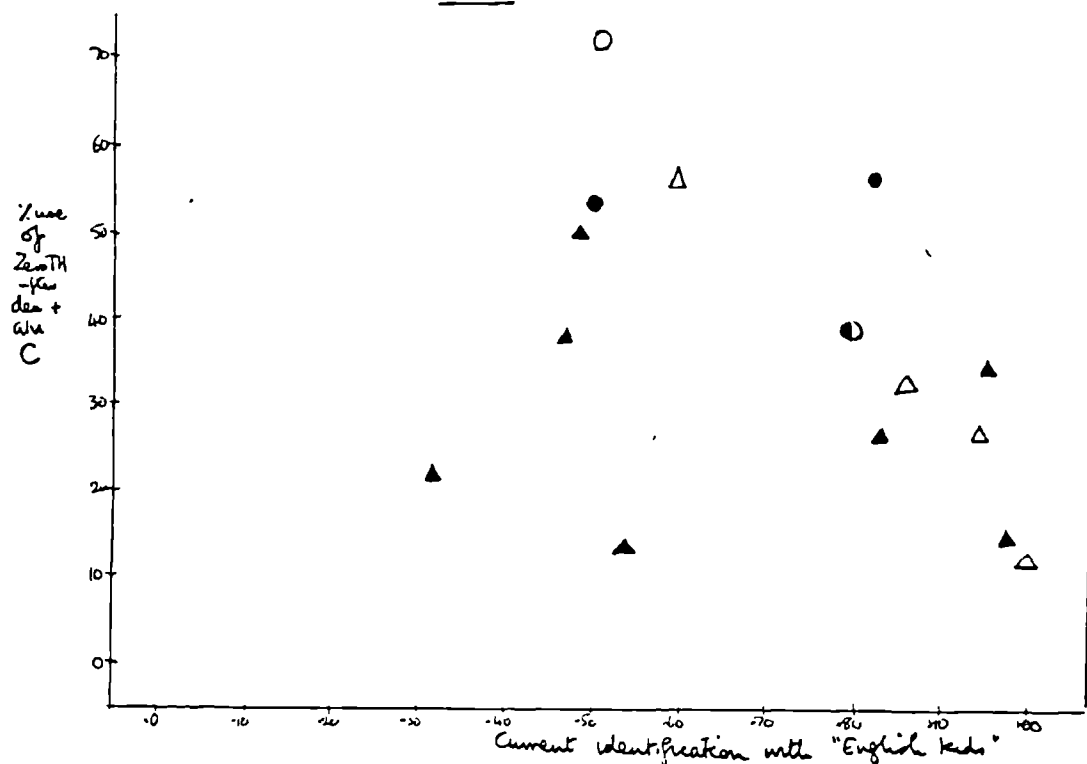
TABLE A.16.19 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS AROUND THE MEDIAN FOR IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION  
WITH 'ENGLISH KIDS' AND FOR WORD-INITIAL Zero TH AFTER DENTAL AND ALVEOLAR  
CONSONANTS (BY FIXED ETHNICITY)

Idealistic Identification with 'English kids'											
	MEDIAN										
	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	
Use of Zero TH after dental and alveolar consonants	1	2	1	1					1	1	a
	100	50	100	100					100	(100)*	b
		2				3	3				e
		50				100	100**				
	lower					higher					
	MEDIAN										MEDIAN (= 34)
	(=.797)										

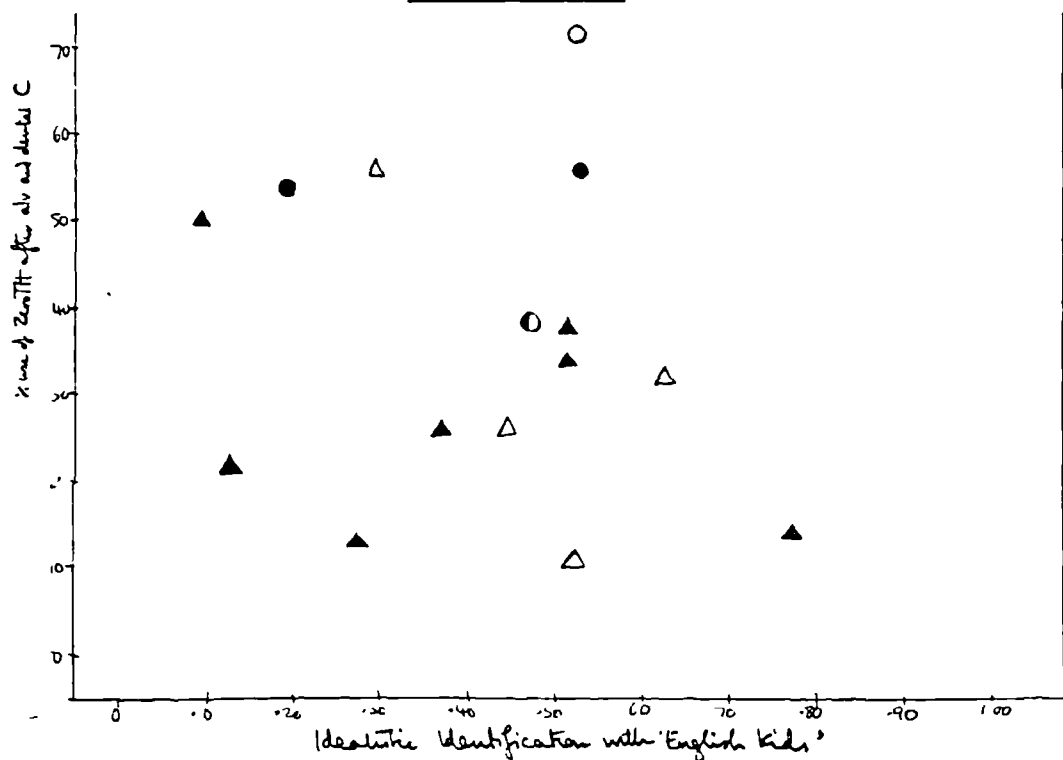
\* Includes informant with score on the vertical median, whose classification was decided on the toss of a coin

\*\* Includes informant with score on the horizontal median, whose classification was decided on the toss of a coin

SCATTERPLOT A.16.14: Zero TH AFTER DENTAL/ALVEOLAR CONSONANTS  
x CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH "ENGLISH KIDS"



SCATTERPLOT A.16.15: Zero TH AFTER DENTAL/ALVEOLAR CONSONANTS  
x IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH "ENGLISH KIDS"



Key

- △ informants of Indian parentage
- ▲ informants of Polynesian parentage
- informants of Afro-Caribbean parentage
- informants of Anglo parentage
- ◐ informant of Mixed parentage

TABLE A.16.20 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS AROUND MEDIAN FOR CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH  
'ENGLISH KIDS' AND WORD-INITIAL Zero TH IN ALL ENVIRONMENTS (BY FIXED  
ETHNICITY)

Current Identification with 'English kids'										
MEDIAN										
In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	a b o v e
1	1	1	1			2		1		
100	25	100	100			67		100		
										MEDIAN (=20.7)
	3			1	3	1				b e l o w
	75			(100) **	100	33				
Lower					Higher					
MEDIAN (= .797)										

\* Includes informant with score on the vertical median, whose classification was decided on the toss of a coin

\*\* Includes informant with score on the horizontal median, whose classification was decided on the toss of a coin

TABLE A.16.21 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS AROUND MEDIAN FOR IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH  
'ENGLISH KIDS' AND WORD-INITIAL Zero TH IN ALL ENVIRONMENTS (BY FIXED  
ETHNICITY)

Idealistic Identification with 'English kids'										
Use of Zero TH	MEDIAN									
	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.	In.	Pa.	AC	En.	Mi.
	1	1		1	1		2	1	1	
	50	25		100	(100) **		67	100	100	
	1	3				2	1			
	50	75				100	33			
	lower					higher				
	MEDIAN									
	(.471)									

\* Includes informant with score on the vertical median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

\*\* Includes informant with score on the horizontal median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

These produce the following patterns when fixed ethnicities are merged:

4	3
50	43
4	4
50	57

4	4
50	57
4	3
50	43

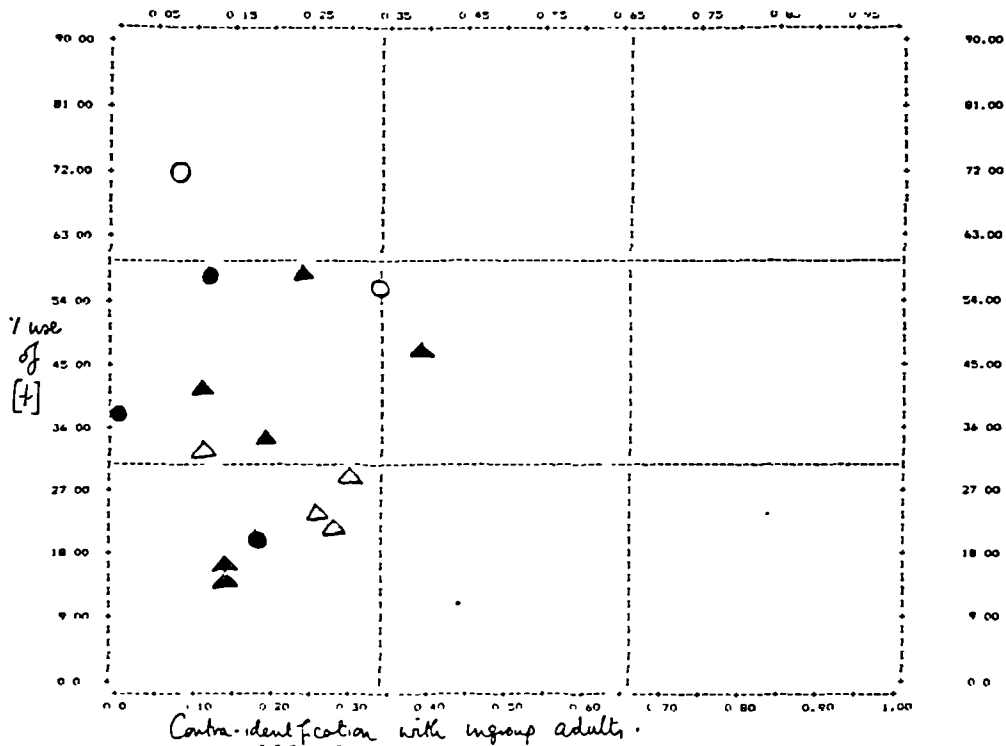
There is evidently nothing here either (see also Scatter-plots A.16.16 and A.16.17).



APPENDIX 17

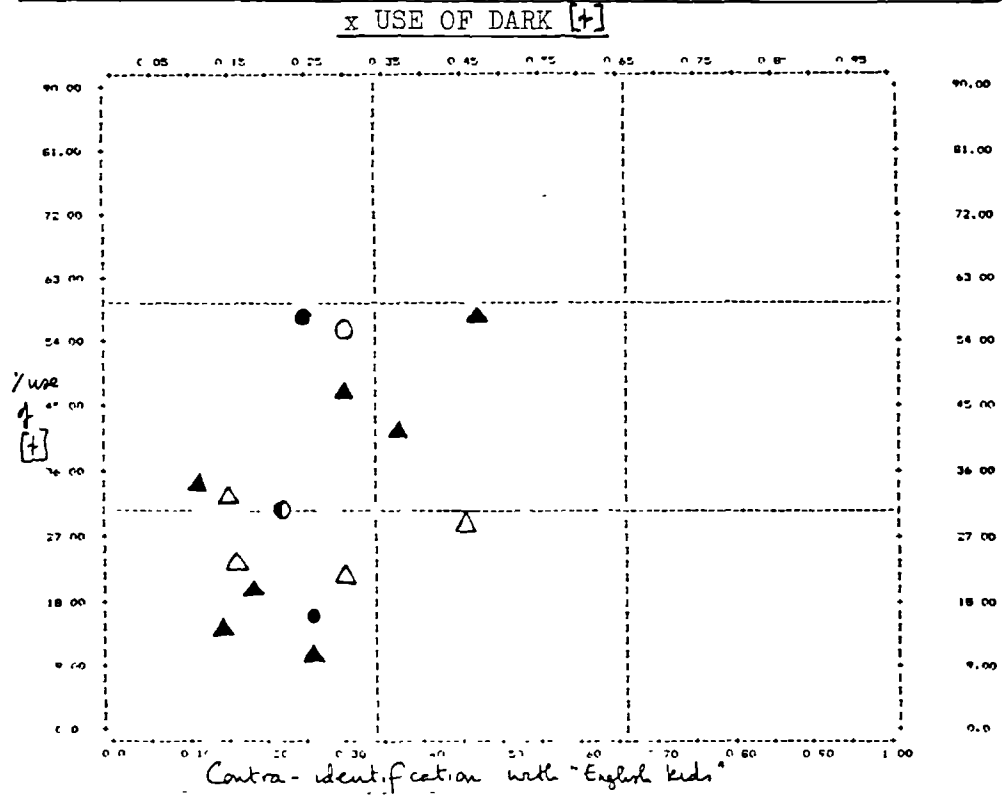
SCATTERPLOTS DISPLAYING THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN  
dark [↑] AND CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION WITH INGROUP  
ADULTS, 'ENGLISH KIDS', 'INDIAN KIDS', 'PAKISTANI  
KIDS' AND 'WEST INDIAN KIDS'

SCATTERPLOT A.17.1: CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION WITH INGROUP ADULTS  
x USE OF DARK [↑]

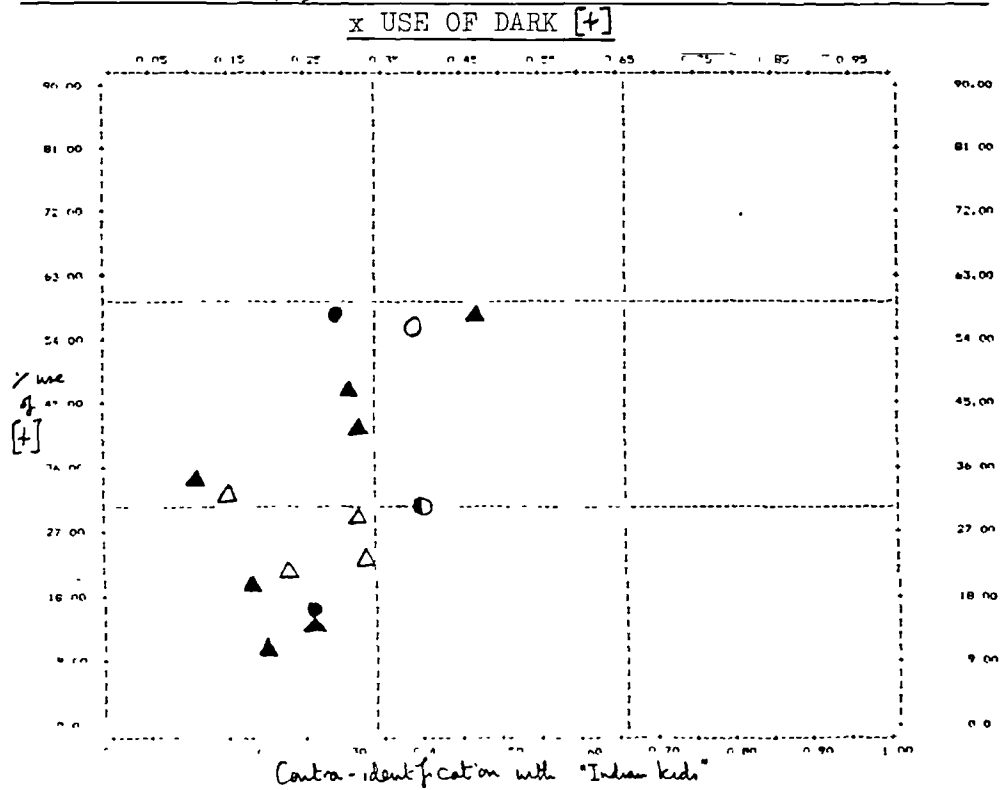


Key. △ informants of Indian parentage  
 ▲ : informants of Pakistani parentage  
 ○ : informants of Afro-Caribbean parentage  
 ● : informants of Anglo parentage  
 ◐ : informant of Mixed parentage

SCATTERPLOT A.17.2: CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION WITH "ENGLISH KIDS"



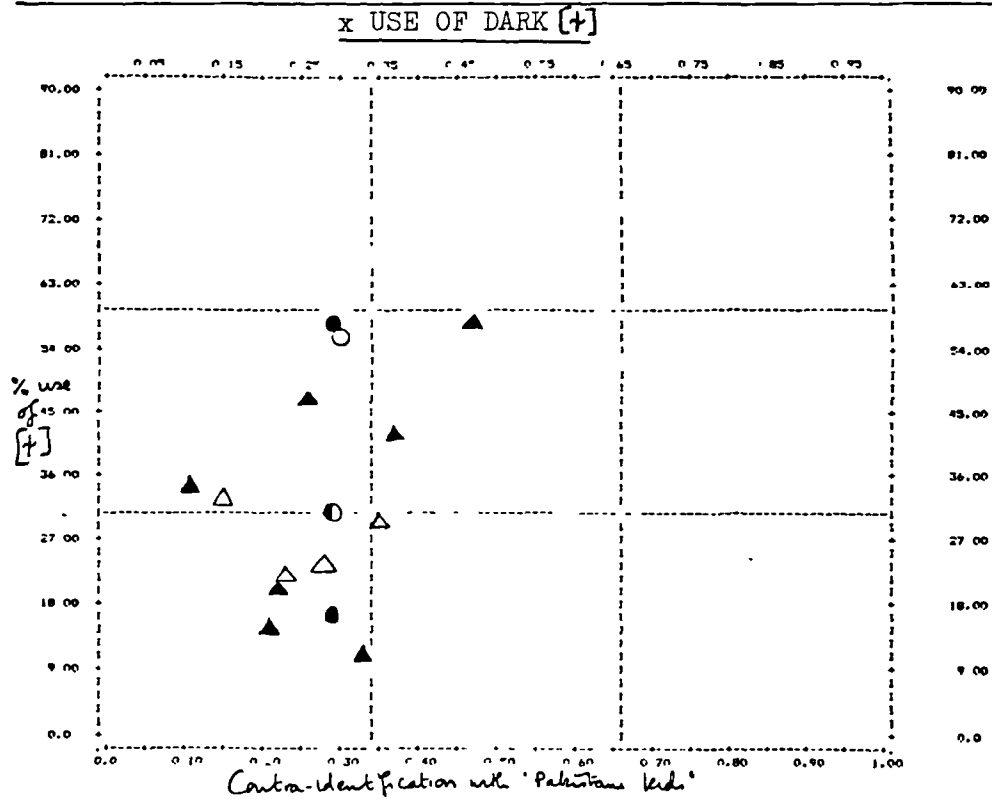
SCATTERPLOT A.17.3: CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION WITH "INDIAN KIDS"



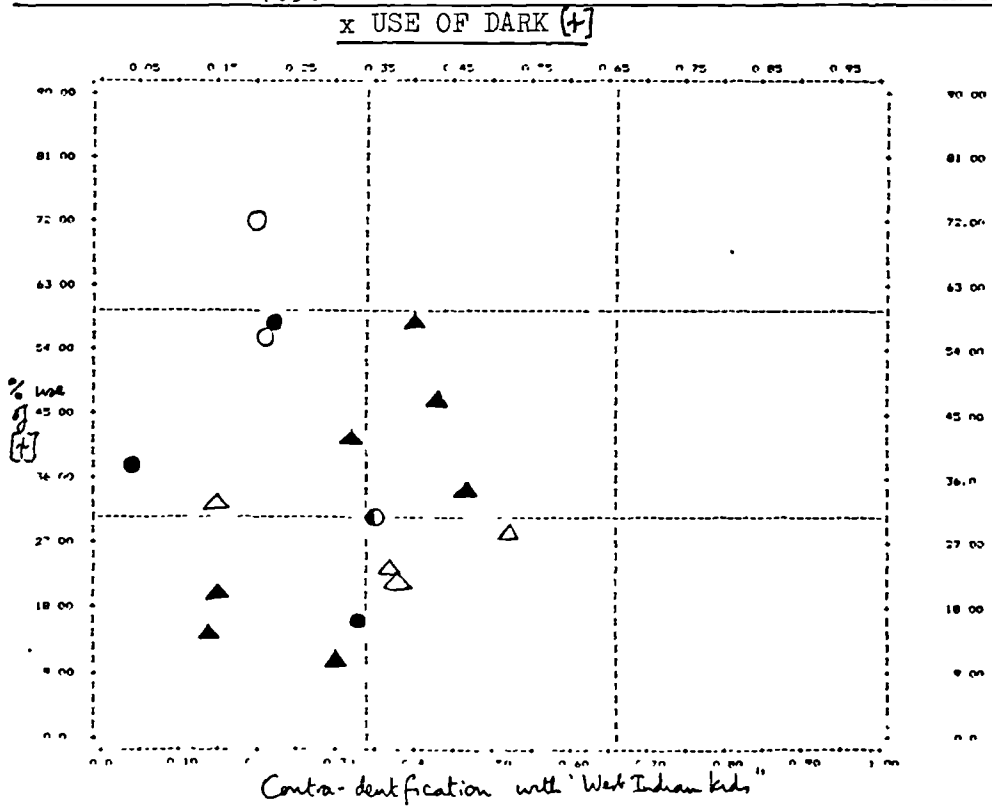
Key.  $\Delta$  : informants of Indian parentage  
 $\blacktriangle$  : informants of Pakistani parentage  
 $\circ$  : informants of Afro-Caribbean parentage  
 $\bullet$  : informants of Anglo parentage  
 $\odot$  : informant of Mixed parentage



SCATTERPLOT A.17.4: CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION WITH "PAKISTANI KIDS"



SCATTERPLOT A.17.5: CONTRA-IDENTIFICATION WITH "WEST INDIAN KIDS"



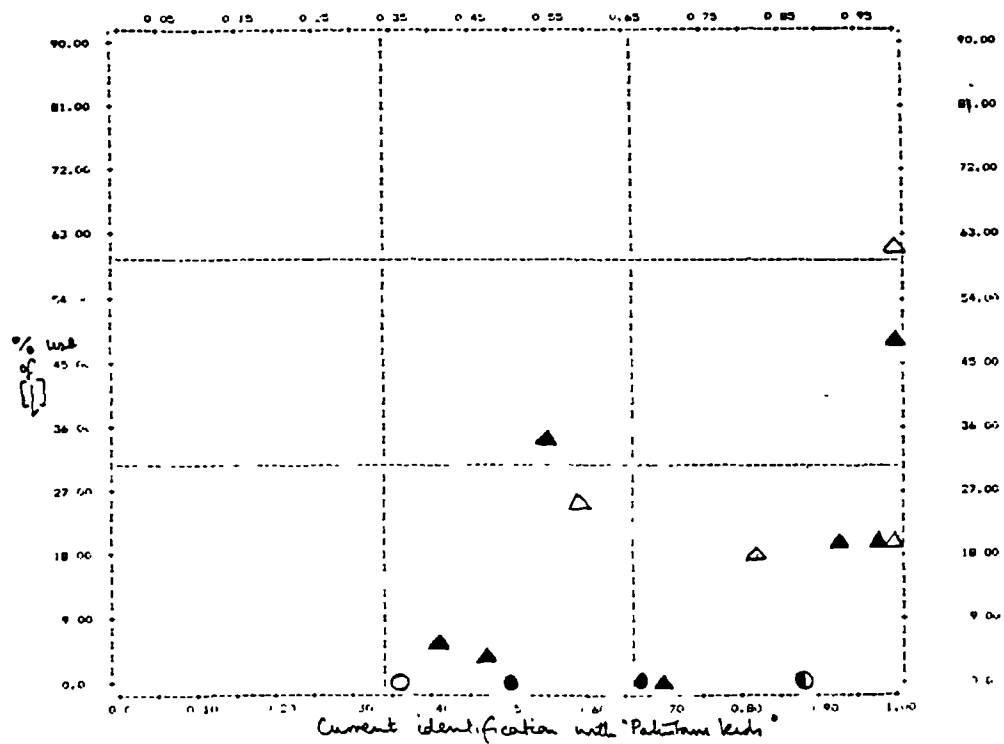
Key.

- △: informant of Indian parentage
- ▲: informant of Pakistani parentage
- : informant of Afro-Caribbean parentage
- : informant of Anglo parentage
- ◐: informant of Mixed parentage

## APPENDIX 18

SCATTERPLOTS DISPLAYING THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN  
RETROFLEX [ɹ] AND CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH  
'INDIAN KIDS' AND 'PAKISTANI KIDS'

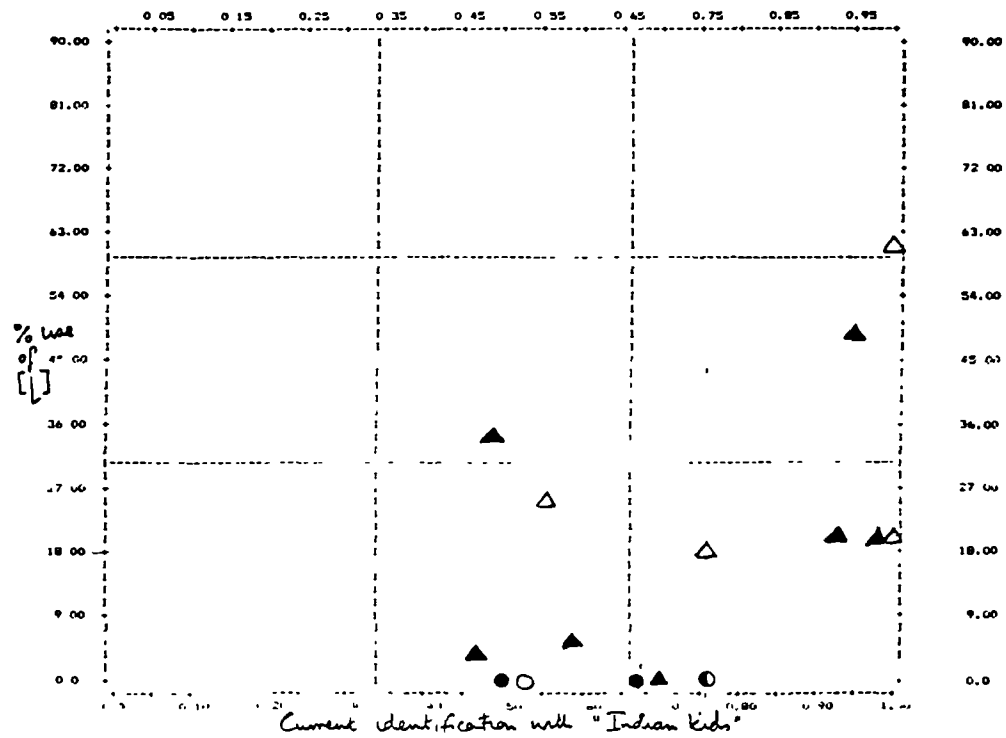
SCATTERPLOT A.18.1 : [U] x CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH  
"PAKISTANI KIDS"



Key.

- $\triangle$  : informant of Indian parentage
- $\blacktriangle$  : informant of Pakistani parentage
- $\bigcirc$  : informant of Afro-Caribbean parentage
- $\bullet$  : informant of Anglo parentage
- $\odot$  : informant of Mixed parentage

SCATTERPLOT A.18.2: [1] x CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH "INDIAN KIDS"



Key.  $\triangle$  informants of Indian parentage  
 $\blacktriangle$  : informants of Latin American parentage  
 $\bigcirc$  : informants of Afro-Caribbean parentage  
 $\bullet$  : informants of Anglo parentage  
 $\odot$  : informant of Mixed parentage

APPENDIX 19

CLEAR [ ] AND PATTERNS OF IDENTIFICATION WITH  
'PAKISTANI KIDS', PAKISTANI ADULTS AND 'INDIAN  
KIDS' (see Chapter 13.3)

In the main text, it looks as though amongst ethnically Pakistani kids, the use of clear [ ] is negatively associated with psycho-social identification with West Indian kids. The suggestion is that maybe clear [ ] has lost its connotation as an Afro-Caribbean variant for these kids, that it has been retagged as Punjabi and has developed in some kind of opposition to ethnically Afro-Caribbean peers.

For this interpretation to be given credence, evidence would be needed of a positive association between Pakistani (or Indian) ethnicity and [ ]. Table A.19.1 takes the medians on both current identification with 'Pakistani kids' and [ ] use for ethnically Pakistani informants and shows how they are distributed around them. Table A.19.2 does the same for idealistic identification.

TABLE A.19.1 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND THE MEDIANS  
FOR CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH 'PAKISTANI  
KIDS' AND FOR CLEAR [ ] USE, FOR  
INFORMANTS OF PAKISTANI PARENTAGE ONLY

Current Identification with 'Pakistani kids'

Use of clear [ ]	2  67%	2  50%**	a b o v e
	1  33%	2  50%*	b e l o w
	below	above	
	MEDIAN (=.704)		

\* Informant placed on toss of a coin

\*\* Informant placed on toss of a coin

TABLE A.19.2 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND THE MEDIANS FOR  
IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH 'PAKISTANI KIDS'  
AND FOR CLEAR [ | ] USE, FOR INFORMANTS OF  
PAKISTANI PARENTAGE ONLY

Idealistic Identification with 'Pakistani kids'

Use of [   ]		2	1	a b o v e
		50%	33%	
		2	2	b e l o w
		50% **	67%	
		below	above	
		MEDIAN (=.407)		

MEDIAN  
(=9.5)

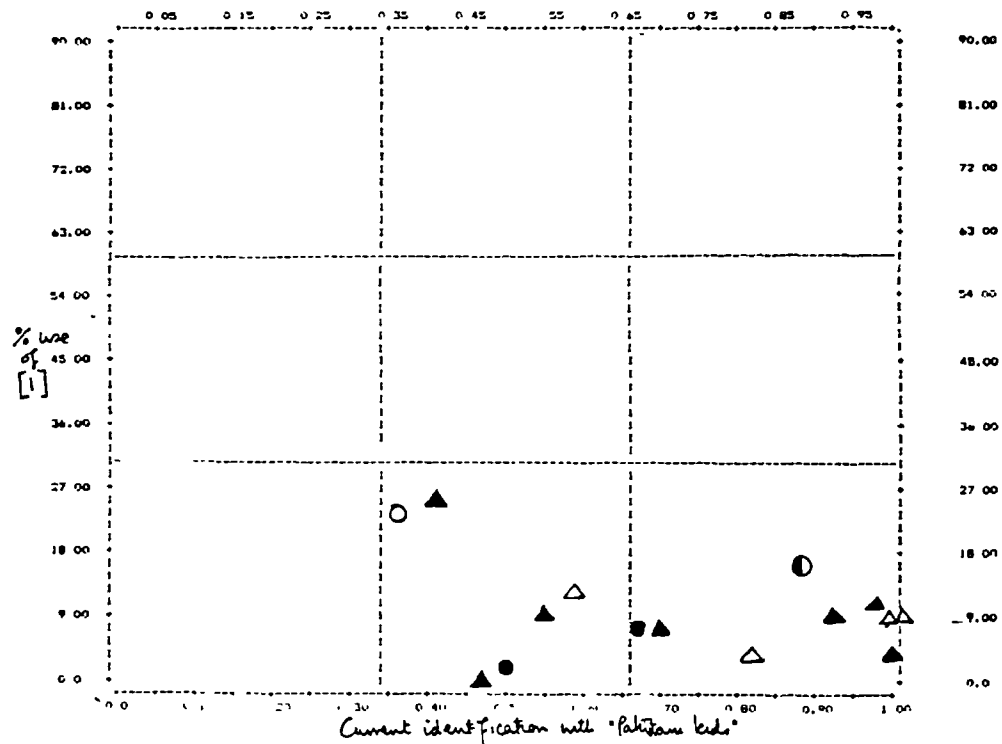
\* Informant placed on toss of a coin

\*\* Informant placed on toss of a coin

There is no association between [ | ] and current and idealistic identifications with 'Pakistani kids', as Scatterplots A.19.1 and A.19.2 confirm (these scatterplots also show the associations for informants from the other ethnic backgrounds).

How about identification with ingroup (i.e. ethnically Pakistani) adults? The data on the associations of [ | ] with current and idealistic identifications with 'Pakistani adults' are shown in Tables A.19.3 and A.19.4.

SCATTERPLOT A.19.1: [1] x CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH "PAKISTANI KIDS"



SCATTERPLOT A.19.2: [1] x IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH "PAKISTANI KIDS"

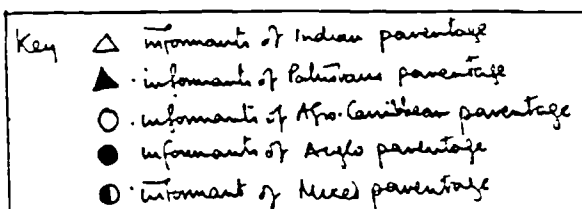
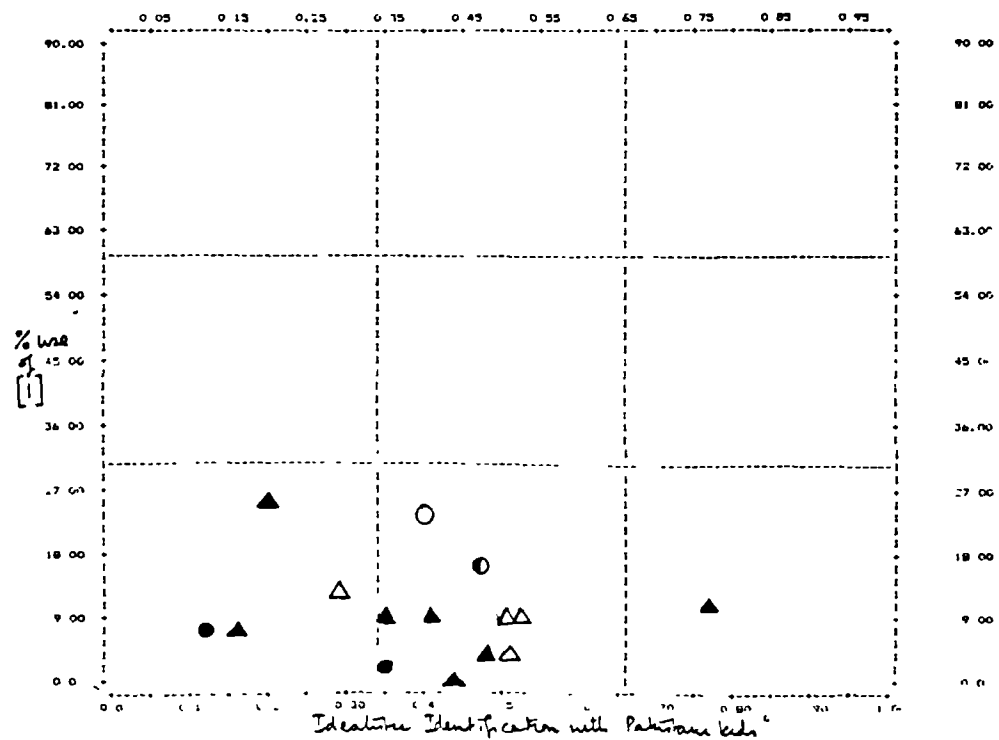


TABLE A.19.3 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND THE MEDIANS FOR  
CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH 'PAKISTANI ADULTS'  
AND FOR CLEAR [ | ] USE, FOR INFORMANTS OF  
PAKISTANI EXTRACTION

Current Identification with 'Pakistani adults'

Use of [   ]	2 50% **	2 67% *	a b o v e
	2 50%	1 33%	MEDIAN (9.5) b e l o w
	below	above	
	MEDIAN (=.723)		

\* Includes informant with score on vertical median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

\*\* Includes informant with score on horizontal median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

TABLE A.19.4 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND THE MEDIANS FOR  
IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH 'PAKISTANI ADULTS'  
AND FOR CLEAR [ | ] USE, FOR ETHNICALLY PAKISTANI  
INFORMANTS ONLY

Idealistic Identification with 'Pakistani adults'

Use of [   ]	2 67%	2 50% **	a b o v e
	1 33%	2 50% *	MEDIAN (9.5) b e l o w
	below	above	
	MEDIAN		

\* Includes informant with score on vertical median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

\*\* Includes informant with score on horizontal median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

There is nothing here either (see also Scatterplots A.19.3 and A.19.4).

Finally, has [ | ] in some way become linked with ethnically Indian kids in the minds of these Pakistani informants, so that the negative association between [ | ] use and strength of identification with 'West Indian kids' represents their option for psycho-social affiliation with ethnically Indian peers in contra-distinction? Tables A.19.5 and A.19.6 set out the data on the use of [ | ] by ethnically Pakistani informants and their current and idealistic identifications with 'Indian kids':

TABLE A.19.5 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AROUND THE MEDIANS FOR CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH 'INDIAN KIDS' AND FOR CLEAR [ | ] USE, FOR ETHNICALLY PAKISTANI INFORMANTS

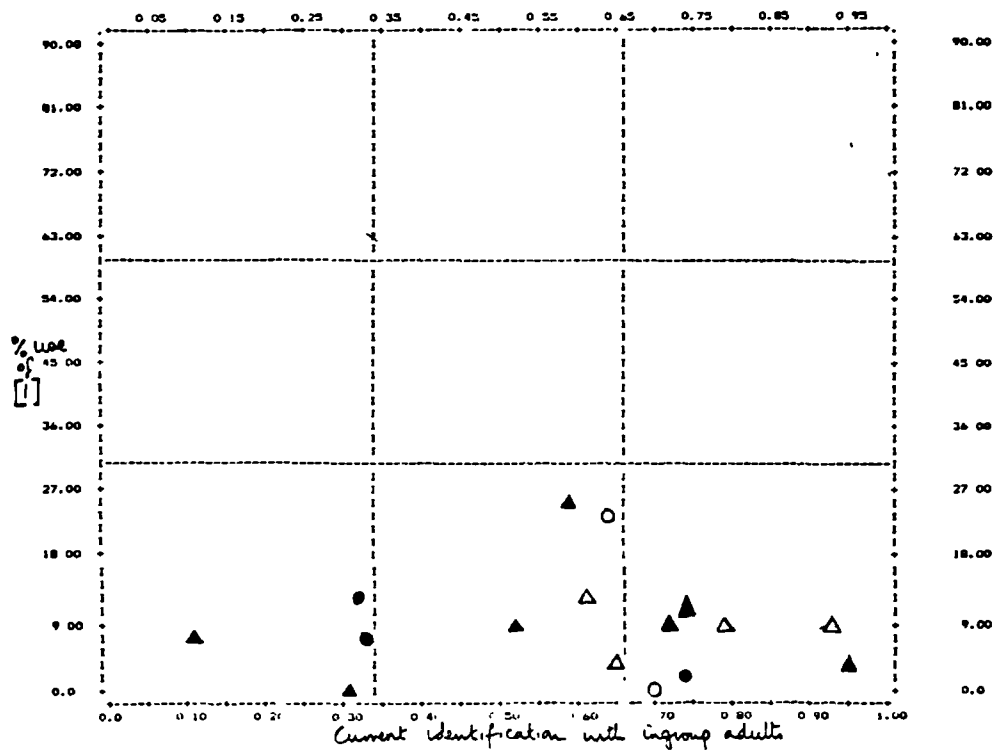
		Current Identification with 'Indian kids'		
Use of [   ]		2 67%	2 50%**	a b o v e
		1 33%	2 50%*	b e l o w
		below	above	
		MEDIAN (=.704)		
		MEDIAN (9.5)		

\* Includes informant with score on vertical median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

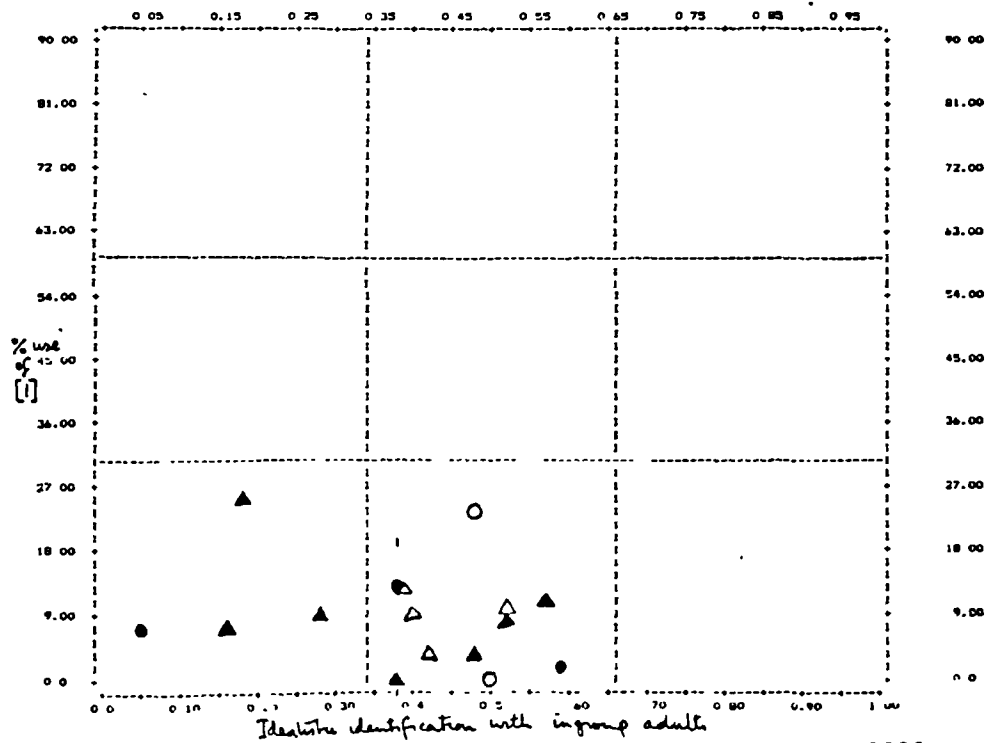
\*\* Includes informant with score on horizontal median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin



SCATTERPLOT A.19.3: [1] x CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH INGROUP  
ADULTS



SCATTERPLOT A.19.4: [1] x IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH  
INGROUP ADULTS



Key.  $\Delta$  : informant of Indian parentage  
 $\blacktriangle$  : informant of Polynesian parentage  
 $\circ$  : informant of Afro-Caribbean parentage  
 $\bullet$  : informant of Anglo parentage  
 $\odot$  : informant of Mixed parentage

TABLE A.19.6 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS AROUND THE MEDIANS FOR  
IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH 'INDIAN KIDS'  
AND FOR CLEAR [ | ] USE, FOR ETHNICALLY  
PAKISTANI INFORMANTS

Idealistic Identification with 'Indian kids'

Use of [   ]	2  67% **	2  50% *	a b o v e
	1  33%	2  50%	b e l o w
	below	above	
	MEDIAN (=.403)		

MEDIAN  
(=9.5)

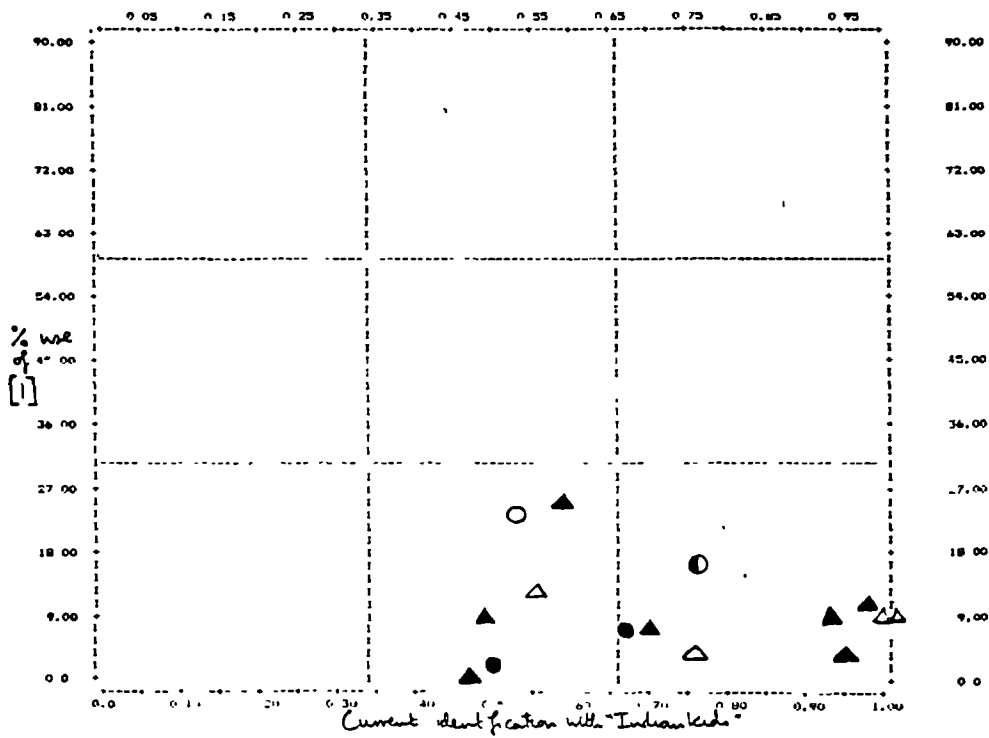
\* Includes informant with score on vertical median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

\*\* Includes informant with score on horizontal median, whose placing was decided on the toss of a coin

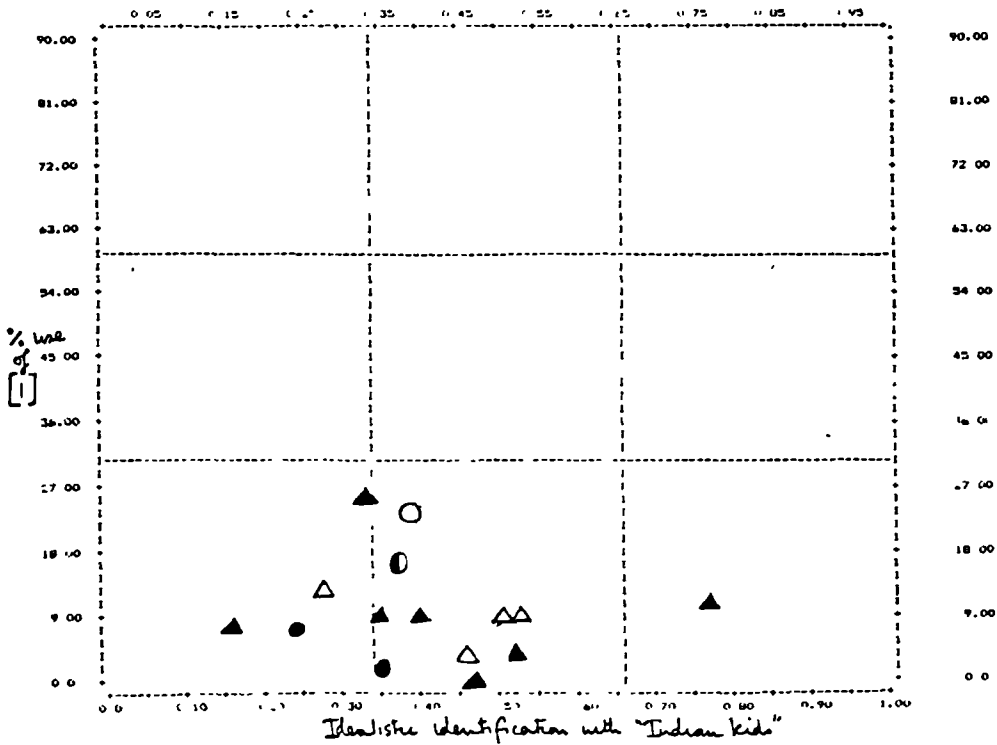
Nothing here either (see also Scatterplots A.19.5 and A.19.6).

In sum none of the ISA data provides any hint that clear [ | ] use is particularly associated with Punjabi bilinguals. The explanation proposed for this negative association between [ | ] and identification with ethnically Afro-Caribbean clearly lacks support.

SCATTERPLOT A.19.5: [1] x CURRENT IDENTIFICATION WITH "INDIAN KIDS"



SCATTERPLOT A.19.6: [1] x IDEALISTIC IDENTIFICATION WITH "INDIAN KIDS"



Key.  $\Delta$  : informants of Indian parentage  
 $\blacktriangle$  : informants of Latin American parentage  
 $\circ$  : informants of Afro-Caribbean parentage  
 $\bullet$  : informants of Anglo parentage  
 $\odot$  : informant of Mixed parentage

APPENDIX 20: (NP) (VA)E TEXTS

- A INTERVIEW REPORTS OF RHETORICAL (NP) (VA)E  
(see especially Chapter 18)
- B TRANSCRIPTIONS OF RHETORICAL (NP) (VA)E IN USE  
(see especially Chapter 19)
  - i. Interactions clearly focused on the microphone
  - ii. Other radio-microphone data
  - iii. Rhetorical (NP) (VA)E occurring in interviews
  - iv. Observational data
- C INTERVIEW REPORTS OF STRAIGHT (NP) (VA)E  
(see especially Chapter 21)

(For notational conventions, see p.33-35 at the front of thesis.

Phonetic Transcriptions in this appendix have been corroborated by Ms G. Ball of the UCL Phonetics Department (see also 9.3).)

A INTERVIEW REPORTS OF RHETORICAL (NP) (VA)E

1.

Lp in an interview with Ben  
Ref: MS35:185:5

Ben: and what about the fact that people often you know  
put on a kind of ... very Punjabi accent when they're  
saying things, have you noticed that, or not.

Lp: yeah, people like ... um ... 01p

Ben: yes yes

Lp: he's erm um when yesterday um when (my) teacher ... he

Lp: ( ) calling me names and then I called him names

Lp: back and teacher told him to go ( ) out and he goes

Lp: .. he he .. he spoke a ... a Punjabi accent and a

Lp: English accent and

Lp: he >said um .. 'you 'tell 'this 'stupid 'fool .. (you know)  
[<sup>f</sup>ju thev<sup>t</sup> ðis stʰupɪd fu:<sup>ɹ</sup>]

Lp: to get out and all that

[<sup>dec.</sup>tə get<sup>ɪ</sup> ævɪ | æn ɔ: ðæt<sup>ɪ</sup>]

Ben: he said that to who

Lp: me

Ben: uhuh

Lp: he goes. >first he (started going). you 'tell

[<sup>f</sup>ju t<sup>ɛ</sup>o

Lp: this 'stupid 'fool to get out then he >goes

ʒɪs stʰupɪd<sup>ɪ</sup> fu:(l) tu get<sup>h</sup> æʊ<sup>h</sup> | den i: gəvz |

Lp: miss 'what about 'him 'he 'ain't getting 'out

mɪs wɒt əbævɪ ɪm | i: eɪn getɪŋ ævɪ]

Ben: uhuh

Lp: and he and he and he was 'calling 'me names

Ben: why did he switch like that

Lp: He wanted, he wanted he ... um ... when he saw that  
 Lp: Miss was um telling him to get out, he changed the  
 Lp: accent, I don't know why, so she could understand  
 Lp: it more clearly and said  
 Ben: to her  
 Lp: Yeah, and to tell the teacher to throw me out as well.  
 Ben: But why did he use the Punjabi acc... I mean normally  
 Ben: when he speaks to you, he doesn't use that more  
 Ben: Punjabi accent  
 Lp: He was trying to be funny  
 Ben: He was trying to be funny was he?  
 Lp: He was trying to make the class crack up.  
 Ben: Oh was was he was he  
 Lp: Yeah and they use, they use a different accent ...

2.

Lp in an interview with Ben (same as in 1). They are  
 discussing a 4th yr boy 02p who had been to the ESL  
 Centre.  
 Ref: MS35:380:6

Lp: And 'we 'make 'fun of him we >go, \_he 'sweeps ((shop  
 [i:]

Lp: name)) ,floors

Ben: he what

Lp: he 'sweeps the ,floors at \_\_\_\_\_ and we make fun  
 [i: swi:ps ə flɔ:z æ? \_\_\_\_\_]

Lp: of him

Ben: Oh he doesn't really, he doesn't really

Lp: And 01p calls him

Ben: he doesn't really

Lp: he does

Ben: oh he does

Lp: and '0,1p ,goes . er 'you ,got he he 'sweeps  
 [ju goth | hi ? hi: swi:ps<sup>2</sup>

→ Ip: the 'floors at \_\_\_\_\_ he 'stupid ,boy  
 [ə flɔ:z at \_\_\_\_\_ | hi: stu:pɪd bɔɪ]

Ben: Olp does that

Ip: Yeah he teases him

Ben: and does he put on that Punjabi accent to tease him or

Ben: what

Ip: yeah he don't use the West Indian, you know, he only

Ip: uses the Punjabi there.

3. Ip and Hp in interview with Ben  
 Ref: MS41:252:2

Ip: Olp, he went to Mrs \_\_\_\_\_

Hp: ( ) shouts

Ben: yes

I : Mrs \_\_\_\_\_ was strict too

Ben: yes

I : and noone messes about with her ...

Ben: yeh

I : but Olp, she's scared of him ... and he was going like

I : this to her [rude gesture] like that in front of her

I : face and she never done nothing

Ben: blimey

H : ( )

I : and >she goes . er ... 'Olp 'sit ,down \_he

→ I : >go. 'what 'did 'you 'say 'I 'did 'not 'hear  
 [wɒt dɪd ju seɪ | aɪ dɪd nɒt heə]  
 I : ,you 'I 'am 'in'de'pendent ,and ,all this  
 [ju | aɪ æm ɪndɪpɛndənt ænd ɔ:l ɪz]

H : [laughing]

Ben: he said he said what he's

I : yeah he's saying all these Indian words

Ben: I'm ind inde

I : Indi a er inde\_pendent ,Indian  
[Indəpendənt Indijən]

Ben: he said what

I : I don't know something like that

H : Indian

I : my sister knows

Ben: No I just didn't hear, what did she

I : inde\_pendent ,Indian  
[Indipendən Indijən]

H : Indian you know

Ben: Oh I see did he I see .. and your sister what does

Ben: she say

I : she's always laughing at him and she tells me when

I : she gets home

Ben: oh he does that, so Olp does that when he's being

Ben: naughty

H : mm

I : yes

4.

Ip and Hp in an interview with Ben (same as in  
extract 3)  
Ref: MS:41:252ff.

H : (well) in the 'first ,year .. ,Ip ,and . a ,nother

H : ,person

H : were ,getting ,chased [laughs]

Ben: yeh

H : and I was >(scaring) then I >go 'what 'is 'the  
dec.  
[wəθ ɪz ðə  
H : 'matter [laughs]  
mædʰə]

I : It was 05i he start looking in this girl's pencil case

I : .. he goes come on guys let's nick something



Ben: yes yes

I : and it was ( ) lost property box and

Ben: uhuh

I : he start looking in it and a girl comes and she

I : goes 'what are you lot 'doing ... it was a big

[wɒl ə jü lɒt dju:ɪŋ]

I : fourth year girl right ... it was a white one ...

I : and she said 'what are you lot 'doing ... and

[wɒl ə jü lɒt dju:ɪŋ]

I : ... and then Hp comes over from his ... class

H : [laughs]

I : and and and and we were 'shouting at her an

[ʃæʊtɪŋ æt]

I : ,everything . and he . goes 'what 'are 'you ,talking  
[wɒt ɪ ju tɔ:kiŋ]  
I : a'bout . ,what 'what ,what 'what  
[əbɔ:t | wɒt wɒt wɒt wɒt]

Ben: yes yes yes yes

I : and she did(n't) beat him up after that

Ben: Uhuh did she yeh

I : Cos he didn't know what was going on he just come and

I : he start talking like this.

Ben: Is it .. now which is .. I mean is it is it tough

Ben: using that kind of Indian Indian voice or

H : ( )

H : I practise at night to my brother

Ben: Oh do you

H : I make him really curse

Ben: You make him what?

H : Wild

Ben: yes yes curse oh sorry.

5.

Ip and Hp in an interview with Ben (same as in extracts 3 and 4).  
Ref: MS41:252ff:1

Ben: Yes I see yeh yeh is there now ... so people do kind

Ben: of jokey Indian voices quite a lot do they?

Ip: Yeh like yesterday our next door neighbours ... my

Ip: sisters was banging on ... they were fighting .. it

Ip: was 12i she starts ... they're \_\_\_\_\_ next

Ip: ( )

Ben: They're what

I : they're \_\_\_\_\_ .. they're Indian race ... but they're

I : Christians ...

Ben: oh yes

Hp: yeh Christians

I : and they had had a girl called 12i and she starts

I : screaming at night ... and so we .... heard what we

I : were saying I think it ( ) my sisters and then they

I : start banging on the walls so we listen ( ) what

I : they saying ... and ... and

I : \_we >go .`shut up you `idiots and  
f [ʃədəp]

H : [laughs]

I : my `sisters were `swearing at them  
[wə] [æʃəɪm]

Ben: uhuh

I : and he and he >goes . 'I 'don't know 'what you  
[æn i: æn i: gəʊz | ˈaɪ dɒnə nəʊ wɒt juː]  
I : are ˚talking a\_bout . it was ˚04i  
ə [ˈtɔ:kɪŋ əbəʊt | I wəz]

Ben: yes

I : he ( ) he knows what we're talking about  
[tɔ:kɪŋ əbəʊt]

I : really but he just tried to be an Indian

H : I use it sometimes

Ben: This was the guy next door

I : Yeah

Ben: Yeh

I : yeh ... they keep on banging on our wall so my brother  
got up and start swearing at them.

6.

Np and Bi in an interview.  
Ref: MS49:264:9

Ben: like um people ... I have heard people saying, you

Ben: know,

Ben: playing a game and saying good shot  
[gʊd ʃɒtʰə]

Bi: .. `yea `sometimes they 'do `init good `shot.  
[dʒü] [gʊd ʃɒtʰə]

Bi: good `shot . good `shot  
[gʊd ʃɒt | gʊd ʃɒtʰə]

Np: 'very 'good `shot 'very 'good `shot  
[vɛɾi gʊd ʃɒtʰ | vɛɾi gʊd ʃɒtʰ]

B : `very ,good  
[vɛɾi gʊd]

Ben: yes

B : ,that's what they ,say

Ben: have you heard any other examples of that

N : no

B : when, you 'know this 'bloke 'called `01it, ,when he

B : ,say ,what he >said `what ,do ,you ,mean ,what  
[wɒ?] [bä dʊ jü mi:ŋ | vɛ]

B : do you mean . 'and `13i . `what ,do ,you ,mean  
[dʌ ( )] [bä dʊ jü mi:ŋ]

N : [laughs]

B : they 'kind of ... you 'know like er 'if a °Indian

B : °person didn't °know °English 'right he would > speak

B : . 'what °do °you °mean 'init (its people) like  
<sub>dec</sub> <sub>acc</sub>  
 [və dʊ ju mi:n]

B : 'that init . thats ,how ,other ,people ,try and

B : ,make 'pretend right that, they didn't 'know 'English

B : right and they go

B : 'what do you °mean all that  
<sub>ll</sub>  
 [və: ( )]

N : they >go . 'what do you °mean  
 [wət dʊ ju mi:n]

Bi: 'what do you ,mean 'what do you ,mean  
 [və dʊ ( mi: )]

N : and they go . 'go a ,way 'go a ,way 'go a ,way  
 æn ðeɪ gəʊ gɔ: we gɔ: we gɔ: we

Bi: 'go a ,way  
 [gɔ: we]

7. Bi, Pp, Qp in an interview  
 Ref: MS5:300:18

Ben: ... somebody said to me in Luton that if they were

Ben: talking to a ... an old Punjabi person, they they

Ben: they're .. I mean not .. instead of just changing to

Ben: Punjabi completely, sometimes, while speaking English,

Ben: they'd just talk with a more Punjabi accent. Do you

Ben: think that's right, or , you aware of that or not.

Ben: Have you heard it

Pp: Yea some people do yea

Bi: Some people do

Ben: Ya ... Like where or who

P : well, well near you know .. heard some people what's

P : the name talking like that you know ... talking English

P : right and then they ... they

P : what's its name, if they were saying, road, they you  
[ʃö:dʰ]

P : know they start to say road in you know as if they were  
[ʃəʊdʰ]

P : saying it in the Punjabi

Ben: yes

P : it would be like if they said road, like ... their  
[ʃəʊdʰ]

P : what's its name it looked if their tongue got twist ...

[[P : right and they said . road something like that  
[ʃö:dʰɛ]

Ben: yea yea

P : ... just peo you know people just start changing what

P : ... what they say like ... you know .. you can hear

P : some people say like instead of saying

[[P : 'ho<sup>v</sup>tel they say 'ho,tel and things like that  
[həʊt'et] [höt'et]

[laughter]

Ben: like scottish hotel .. [to the others] are you ...

Ben: have you heard that as well

Q : yea quite a few

B : yea quite a few

Ben: like where ... I mean is it

B : (London) well ( ) that old man that you know

B : and was asking you ... where's your dad and all that ...

B : and if you want to say he gone to work ... you say in

B : a different way. So that they ... you know start ...

B : kind of understanding

Q : Yea in Pakistani usually .. er ... when somebody comes

Q : and asks ... you know ... for where my dad is, cos I  
 Q : don't always talk that much Pakistani right ... so I  
 Q : talk a little bit Pakistani and I just say where the  
 Q : place is in English or something like that ... and  
 Q : they don't ... it doesn't sound that much like English  
 Q : a bit different though ... so they could understand  
 Q : it ...  
 Ben: yeh yeh

8. Rw and Sw in an interview  
 Ref: MS42:448ff

Ben: do you ev, do you ev, do you ever do an Indian voice  
 Ben: to be funny  
 Sw: yeh ( ' ) 'done  
 Ben: like what

S : ( >go) <sup>very °very °good</sup> (very good)  
[vɛɾi vɛɾi ɡʊd]

R : [laughs]  
 Ben: who, where, who do you do that with  
 S : I (only) 'do 'that with the 'teacher  
 Ben: Oh yes yes and what does the teacher, teacher do  
 S : just 'tells me 'off.

9. Tm, We and O1e in an interview. They are discussing  
 imitations of Punjabi  
 Ref: MS38:556:38

Ben: so tell me ... so .. give me another example of what  
 Ben: you were saying ... you were saying We there  
 We: what  
 Ben: about about about  
 Tm: [ˌbɑd ˈbäd]  
 O1e: [ˈbʊd ˌbädh]  
 Ben: about some people doing it as a joke and some people  
 Ben: doing it as swearing

W : well 'some 'people 'could 'be 'racialist ,doing it  
[ʊ] [pʰi:pʌ] [ʌ] [i:ɪst]

W : like , that

T : yea

Ben: yes yes

W : 'if they 'don't want it here  
[əv]

T : [overlapping] black man, nigger

W : in this country .. but 'some 'people

T : nigger arseholes

Ben [ ]: hang on hang on one second

W : but 'some of the 'Pakistan 'boys , 'they 'call  
W : themselves 'Pakis [k'ɔ:

W : themselves pakis  
x]

--- [later] ---

Ben: what about other accents that you can imitate what

W : hey man, take it to me Mr T

01e: that's black though

T : that's black though

01e: that's black

Ben: what other ones can you do what what

01e: we've already done that

W : I am a jo' lly bu' ggy .. 'bud 'bud 'curry  
[aɪ əm ə ʃə'li bə'gi: | bʌd bʌd kʊ'ri]

T : we call him

01e: ['bəd 'bəd]

W : (please try)

T : I call my brother fat goat 'cos he's so fat and

T : horrible

W : ,please tr . ,taste 'some of 'my 'cu,rry . and,I  
 [pʰbi:z tɾ | theɪs sām ə məi kʰäɾi | æn əɪ  
 W : ,will guarantuee ,when ,you ,finished my ,curry ,you  
 wil <sup>æ</sup>gæwəntʰi: | wɪn jü fɪnɪʃ məi kʰäɾi | jü  
 W : ,will ,need ,to ,go ,to ,the ,toilet  
 wil nid tū go tʰü ʔə tʰɔɪ[ɛʰ]

[laughter]

Ben: and do you say that to, I mean you say that to

Ben: everybody and people say it to you or or or

W : well 'they call me .. ,dumpling and ,peas and ,that  
 [wɛ: ʔ] [kʰɜ:t] [plɪ]

10.

Ue and Ve in an interview  
 Ref: MS56:319:47

Ben: ... anyway, just coming back to this business of ..

Ben: what I said about Oip, do people ever use, speak

Ben: English with an Indian, accent, you know as an

Ben: impersonation or ...

Ue: (( nonsense imitation of Punjabi))

Ve: yeh [laughter]

Ue: yes [laughter]

Ben: what's that, what's that [referring to imitation]

Ue: It sounds like an English accent but I don't know what

Ue: it means, it's just .. what the Indian speaks which I

Ue: can't make head or tail, if someone's ... speaking

Ue: Indian ... you know to their friends

Ben: yes yes

Ue: (I go > past) I >go ,mer<sup>o</sup>ry 'thank 'yous  
 [m̃ɛɾi tʰäŋk jus]

Ben: uhuh I see yes, yes ...



B TRANSCRIPTIONS OF RHETORICAL (NP) (VA)E IN USE

i INTERACTIONS CLEARLY FOCUSED ON THE MICROPHONE

For Extract 11, see between 15 and 16.

12. Participants: Np, Bi, Qp, Ben  
Setting: as in extract 11. B and N have interrupted Ben and Q in an interview.

Ben [to B and N]: Right go out you go gents, I want to finish this

N : Are you recording Ben ... he'llo  
[hɛlɔ:]

Q : No he ain't

13. Participants: Np, Qp, Ben  
Setting: as above. Bi has left. Q has been talking about N's excitement. N sees Q's ISM matrix, on which a number of friends and relations are listed.

N [looking at Q's matrix]: \_Ben, am 'I going to 'do 'that as 'well

Ben: yes you are

N : hello ,aunty ,very ,good ,aunty  
[həlo ɪəntiː vɛriː gud æntiː]

Ben: yea go on out you go

N : ((In Punjabi: N isn't there))

Q : You want a bet.

14. Participants: Tm, 06i, Anon 1, Anon 2  
Setting: The dinner queue. Tm is wearing a radio microphone. Ben is at the receiver end (a distant overhearer)  
Ref: RM25:311ff:24

Tm: speak some Pakistani language in there [into the radio-mike]

06i: what?

Tm: speak some Pakistani [shouting:] language

06i: ['ä ,phv'dhu: ,ē] Tm

((Trans: Tm's a vulgar ))

Anon 1: Wait a minute [starts to sing:] I want to do it,

Anon 1: I want to do it with you

06i: T'm [t'ü ,phv'dhi: ē:] . T'm [t'ü ,baɪstədʰ ,ē]

((trans: Tm you're a \_\_\_\_\_ , Tm you're a  
bastard))

06i: ['bɛ:n ,t'ü ,phu:dä ,mä ,lə'la ,lɛ]

((trans: Ben you're a vulgar vulgar ))

Tm: ( ) [laughs]

06i: (let me do something last word) One word

Tm: go on

06i: Ben I'm ↘sorry to °say ↙this

Tm: ( )

Anon 2: no I'm not you're friend

06i: you're ,a  
[jɔ: ɐ]

Anon 3: let me do it

06i: a ^what do you ↘call it °again 'do 'you 'go  
[ə wɒt' dʒʊ kʰɔ:l ɪz əɡɛn | də jü go]

06i: 'toi ,let ,of'ten 'do 'you 'eat ,of'ten ,no ,no  
[tʰɔ|ət äftʰɛn | də jü i:t' äftʰɛn | nɔ nɔ]

06i: ,no ,no 'booo  
[nɔ nɔ bü:hühü:]

Anon3: '06i 'let me `too .. your ,bum ^stinks 'boy  
[bwai]

Anon3: you >fuck it °here 'you 'donkey 'breath

06i: You ,fucker 'Ben 'is 'a 'bastard 'Ben 'is 'a  
[ba:stəd]

06i: [kʊ'hä]  
(( trans: dog ))

15.

Participants: 03p, Anon, Gi  
Setting: in the playground, at the end of break  
Gi is wearing the radio-microphone  
Ben is at the receiver  
Ref: RM28:120

03p: Ben you ff good man [school bell rings]

Anon: Why do, whenever people have the microphone on, why

Anon: do people always say silly things in it

Gi: they're so stupid, typical 03p , typical 03p ,

Gi: typical 03p

03p [singing out from a little way off] jingle bell  
[dʒɪŋɡl bɛl]

03p: jingle bell  
[dʒɪŋɡl bɛl]

Gi: [aɪ äthɪä] all day  
(( trans. ? ))

Participants: Np, Pp  
Setting: playground during Summer School. An  
interlude during a cricket game  
Ref:

Np: This microthing's quite good init

Pp: what

Np: this

Pp: yeah

Np: [(lægi:) mɛɪä na:m hɛ.]  
((trans: my name is .. ))

Pp: Pp

Np: I live >at  
 [a<sup>r</sup> lɪv æt<sup>h</sup>]  
 Pp: I live at . \_\_\_\_\_A\_\_\_\_\_Road  
 [v<sup>r</sup> lɪv æt] ((Contains  
 [ɛ] for/eɪ/)) [n] [ɹod]

Np: Did you hear that Ben he was as he was saying address  
 [ɛ<sup>r</sup>b]

Np: in Pakistan( ) .. he said his name is Pp right  
 ((Includes  
 [ɛɪ] for/eɪ/))

Np: and he lives at er .. \_\_\_\_\_Road  
 [n] [ɹod]  
 Np: [älyä ätyä] over and out .. (already )  
 (( trans: okay okay)) [ovər n äv<sup>h</sup>]

ii OTHER RADIO-MICROPHONE DATA

11. Participants: Np, Bi, Qp, Ben  
 Setting: Ben is interviewing Q, alone in a room during Summer School. N and B come along the corridor and then interrupt to ask about a trip to Lord's cricket ground.  
 Refs: MS23:392-420:10+11

Np: -Bèn ((calling from outside))  
 f.f.  
 [bɛnə:]

Bi: Ben, got the list .. can we have that thing  
 Ben: No not now, I'll give it to you later  
 Np: I told you not now  
 Qp: He's gone really excited and everything

16. Participants: Jp, Sw, 01b (ethnically Bangladeshi),  
 Lp, Kp  
 Setting: the playground at dinner time. Jp and Sw 01b, who is reported to have given Rw, S's relative, some trouble. Jp and Lp are wearing radio-microphones.  
 Ref: RM17:120-131:7

Jp [to 01b]: you fucking fat cunt, what did you hit Rw for

01b: what

Jp: what did you hit Rw for

01b: because I like to hit people, that's why

Jp: yeah and you wouldn't like it when I .. when I give  
you a punch in the face

01b: you?

Jp: yeah

01b: When?

Jp: Now

01b: Come on then

Jp: ... you just cause trouble init

01b: No I'm not

Jp: yes you are

Lp: 'you 'cause '(trouble) . 'you 'cause '(trouble)  
[f. ju kɔ:z (ä) | ju kɔz ( )]  
Lp: 'I 'cause '(trouble) . you 'cause 'trouble  
aɪ kɔ:z (äbɪ) | ju: kɔz tʃäbɪ  
Lp: 'we 'get ,trouble  
wi: ɡɪt tʃäbɪ ]

Kp: If he gets his cousin ( ), right, you are dead  
on the floor

01b: Listen I was running in the corridor right ( )

Kp: You not meant to run in the corridor

[nɒʔ]

Lp: You 'not 'meant 'to 'run in ( ) 'corridor  
ff. [tʰu] ((not clearly  
(NP) (VA)E here))

Lp: (you boy you )

Kp: 'school 'rules .. 'listen .. 'school 'rules . 'not ,to  
ff. [nʌθ t]  
Kp: ,fight against ,teacher . 'not to ,run in  
[tʰɪfə] [nʌθ]

Kp: the ,corridor  
 (( not clearly (NP) (VA)E here)).

Lp: 'not to ,beat ,teachers ,up  
 [nɒt tʰ] [ti:tʃəz]

Jp: Yeah and not to bump people

Kp: yeah not to bump people, in school

Lp: 'golden 'rule . 'do 'not 'bump 'teacher  
 ff. [tʰɪgä:]  
 [laughter]

Kp: ( ) you are not allowed to play on the  
 grass

Lp: I love peace and peace loves me.

Sw [indicating another boy] Look, look at him, look at him,  
 02b

Jp: Shall we get 02b.

17. Participants: Np, Bi, Tm, Mr 16i [20 year old class  
 teacher at Summer School]  
 Setting: a game of cricket in the playground during  
 Summer School. N and B are wearing radio-  
 microphones.  
 Ref: RM3:110ff:12,14,16

17a. Np: Oi , I got four runs  
 [2]

Bi: yeah we know

Tm: I'm batting third you know

Mr 16i: Okay lads

Np: O,kay ,lads . . ,bi the [gə,lʌ:f] is ,batting ,now ,for  
 ((trans. ? nonsense?)) [bæ?ɪn nəʊ fɔːr]  
 Np: . ,India . and ,Kapil ,Dev ,is ,batting ,now .  
 Indɪjə æn k'äpəɪ dev ɪz bæɪn nəʊ | ]

Np: ,and ,N\_p (.) is the ,wicket,kee,per ,for  
 [æn (includes) (ɛ:] for [eɪ]) ɪz ðə wɪk'ɪtk'ɪ:p'äɪ fɔɹ  
 Np: Pakis\_tan . 'oh 'what a ,save ,by ,the ,wicket  
 p'häki:stän | ( ) wɒθ ə sɛ:v baɪ ( ) ə ( )  
 Np: ,kee,per  
 ( ) ɹ ]

Bi: Oi yours went right up there yesterday

Np: Oi 16i thats it ... ( ) want batting  
 [æz ɪɹ] [ɹɪn]

Np: .... (Oi >what 'a ,shot >0i ) ...  
 [ɔɪ] [ʊt ɔɪ]

Bi: oh no, oh no

Np: you're bad 16i (what wrong with you) .. oi '16i  
 [ɔɪ]

Np: 'come ,on ,man , 'that's 'bad .... '16i you're  
 [bædə]

Np: 'rubbish ,man youre 'rub'bish (( ['ɹä'bɪʃ "ɔ̃ ɛ ] )  
 [ɹäbɪʃ] (( trans: he's  
 rubbish ))

----- [later] -----

17b. Np: Tm ['vɪ'kəθ (h ) 'ja:'tə ,hɔɪ] 'T'm >is  
 (( trans: ... going to lose a wicket )) [ɪz]

Np: °very °good °wicket°kee°per  
 vɛɹɪ ɡʊ vɪk'ət'k'ɪ:p'äɪ ]

Bi: Catch it

Np: .. 'T'm 'you're 'abso'lute'ly 'rubbish . 'you are  
 fɛɹ. [jü:ə æbsə'lütli: ɹä:bɪʃ | jü ə

Np: 'abso'lute'ly . you 'are 'abso'lute'ly 'rub'bish  
 æbsə'lütli: | i. "jü ä æbsə'lütli ɹäbɪʃ ]

Np: ['tʰu ˌgäŋdə hɛ | ˌbɔ:t ˌhäˌɬa:m]  
 (( trans: you're dirty, a real bastard ))

Np: ( [phɯdi:] )  
 (( trans: you're vulgar ))

----- [later] -----

17c. Np: <sup>B1</sup> 'I'm 'bowling 'next in' it <sup>B1</sup>  
 ((contains final syllable [ə])) [bəʊlɪn nekst] ((contains final syllable [ɛr]))

Np: ['ma 'bɔ:lɪn 'kʰäˈɬia ˈnekst əˈhɛɪ]  
 (( Trans: I'm bowling next right ))

----- [later] -----

17d. Np: What a 'rubbish ,shot by <sup>B1</sup> [ˌjɛ: >bʊɬi . ˌjɛ  
 [ʃɔ? bəʊ] ((contains [ɛ])) (approx. trans: that

Np: ˌhɛ 'bʊɬi 'ʃɔth 'bɔɪ] <sup>B1</sup> [ˌjɛ ˌbən ˌɛtʰɛ ɪn  
 was a bad shot by he was born

Np: ˌnɑːnˌtɪnˌsɪkstiˌsevən ˌjɪtʃ ˌɛː ˌhäˌɬä . ˌɛː 'o bɔ:n 'ɔː  
 here in 1967 he's lost ? he was

Np: ˌäːsɪːtɛ . 'ɪk 'kʰɛɬyü ˌbɔˌɬä äːsɪː]  
 born and grew up in Karachi ? ))

----- [later] -----

17e. Np [to Pp]: ʔlet me ˚borrow your ,gloves to,day ..

Np: [ɪˌgʌv ˌbɔrɔ 'kʰäs 'aj ˌə hɛ]  
 acc.  
 (( trans: can I borrow your gloves today ))

Pp: I'll ,think about it  
 ( [æʊ] )

→ Np: 'Think a'bout 'it ˈoː . 'watch 'this ˌlads . 'he  
 [ ( )ɪŋk əbäʊt' it ɔː ]





18.

Participants: Pp, Np, Ai, Di, Ci, Anon  
 Setting: outside lunch break during Summer School,  
 eating dinner on and around a bench in the  
 playground. Ci is wearing the radio-  
 microphone.  
 Pp is recalling an incident on a recent  
 school trip. Someone apparently picked up  
 some vomit, frightened a girl and then  
 chased D1, Pp and others.  
 Ref: RM4:426:15

Pp: I'll be alright .. alright .. let me just ....  
 Pp: something now  
 A1: Ah yeah  
 Pp: I'd quite like to digest it you know  
 Di: Shouldn't do that, fucking puke you out mate  
 [humorous vomiting noise]  
 A1: all over Di  
 Pp: has anyone done this to you .. [laughter] .. has anyone  
 Pp: got fucking puke and put it near your face  
 D1: er no  
 Pp: ( ) go and picked up ( )  
 Di: oh yea yea yea  
 [laughter]  
 Pp: She was fucking screaming, she go [screams]. ( )  
 Pp: 'down by your 'feet 'man .. I was ,there in the  
 [d]  
 Pp: \background

Anon: Who

Pp: the >guy goes . ,this is ,In,di,an for  
 [ʔə gəi gəʊz | ʔɪs ɪz ɪndiən fə  
 Pp: \me,di,cine . ,very ,good  
 [medɪsɪn | veri ɡʊd]

Np [laughter]: ( ) we were on the train to  
 Np: York right  
 Di: And afterwards he chased us init  
 Pp: Yeah man, he chased us  
 Di: ( )

Pp: (he >goes >he goes) . this is . Indian medicine  
 [ðəs əz ( ɛdɪ )]  
 Np: ,Indian ,me,di,cine  
 [ɪndiən medɪsən]

Di: were you there

Pp: ,very ,goo,d  
 [vɛrɪ ɡʊd̩:]

19.

Participants: Qp, 06p

Setting: playground during Summer School. Qp is fielding during an informal cricket game and either 06p, who is younger and smaller, comes near, or Qp approaches 06p.

Ref: RMS:619:19

Qp: You <sup>(dumb)</sup> <sup>(damn)</sup> tool . 'why 'you 'no 'catch [sings:] the  
 [jʊ dæːm tuːl | waɪ jʊ nɒ kætʃ] (s)ə

Qp: <sup>[h]</sup> fatter monkey came from India .. India .. they say  
 fa:tə mɑːŋkiː kɛɪm frɒm ɪndiːə ɪːdɪːəː]

Qp: [o 'jɛː ,twæd̩ə 'kʰiː ,nɑː 'ɛ] .. 'what  
 (( trans: oi you what's your name )) [wət]

Qp: do you 'think 'you "doing  
 də jʊ tɪŋ jʊ dʊˈɪŋ]

06p: [laughs]

Qp: ,what ,is ,your 'name  
 [wɒt ɪz jɔ ɪɪm]

06p: uh?

Qp: 'what 'is 'your 'name  
 [wɒt ɪz jɔ ɪɪm]

06p: 06p

Qp: 'you 'want 'to 'die  
 [jʊ wɒŋ tʊ daɪ]

06p: no

Qp: 'what 'is 'my 'name  
 [wɒt' iz maɪ ŋeɪm]

06p: Q

Qp: 'right I'm the 'king  
 [raɪt ɪm ðə kɪŋ]

06p: er

Qp: 'Man 'who 'see 'per'fection . 'per'sist 'on 'Walkers'  
 f. acc.  
 [mæn ði: si pə'fɛkʃən pə'sɪst ɒn wɔ:kəz]

Qp: 'crisps . 'so 'tas'ty 'so 'mon'key [laughs]  
 kɪrəps sɔ tʰeɪstɪ: sɔ mɔŋk'i: ff. dec.

Qp: 'Mon'keys al'ways °eat °wal°kers °for 'crisps ....  
 mɔŋk'i:z ɔ:weɪz i:t' wɔ:kəz fə kɪrɪps]

Qp: [sings:] they say he came from India

20.

Participants: 03i, 02e [female helper, 15 years old],  
 03e, Ben, Anon, B1

Setting: craftwork period during Summer School.  
 Participants are walking around, looking at  
 completed and ongoing work. B1 is wearing  
 the radio-microphone.

Ref: B557:134:20

02e: If you did it like this right you'd never get ( )  
 would you

03i: 'If you 'done it like 'this, it would be 'beauti,ful  
 [bi:ti:fəl]

Anon: 'mine's 'beautiful  
 [bɪnɪʃəfəl]

03e: you mean like this

----- [later] -----

Anon: Try and mix this

03i: ʔvery ( ° ° )  
[vɛɹɪ]

Ben: uh?

03i: 'very 'good ,very 'good . I ,like ʔthat one  
[vɛɹɪ: gʊd vɛɹɪ gʊdʰ | ɪ laɪ? ʔæʔ wæn]

21. Participants: 03i, Mr 17i (Summer School teacher),  
Bi, Ben, others.  
Setting: outside during a Summer School cricket  
game. 03i and Mr 17i are in the same  
cricket team. Bi is wearing the radio-  
microphone.  
Ref: 21

Mr 17i: 03i

03i: 'yes ,sir  
[jɛs sɔ]

Mr 17i: If you 'don't 'make ev at 'least 'twenty 'runs  
[ɪf ju dɒn mɛkʔ ɛv ətʔ lɪs twentɪ rʌnz]

03i: yes > Sir  
[jɛ sɑ:]

Mr 17i: I'll 'punch your ,nose . and ,flatten ( )

03i: (yes sir) 'very 'good ,very 'good .. [turns  
[vɛɹɪ gʊdʔ vɛɹɪ gʊdʔ] to Ben]

03i: Sir 'guess how much I 'made this ,mor'ning  
aɛ.  
[sɔ ges hɔ mʌʃ ə meɪd (ʔɪ) mɔ:nɪn]

22. Participants: Ai, Hp, 07i, Anon, 08e and others, Ip.  
Setting: school dinner time outside. An informal  
game of football is being organised.  
Ai is wearing the radio-microphone.  
Ref: RM14:82Sony:25

Ai: You ain't playing. No fouling lads I've got a

Ai: microphone. Ip tell em no fouling, I've got a micro-

Ai: phone on me ʔe right ....

Hp: ... hello Ai, [into mike:] hello Ben

Ai: you think I'm ( )

Anon: ( i: vã: ( ) i )

(( trans: ? ))

Hp or:  
071: 'me ,want 'to 'play  
[mi vãnt tə ple:ɛ:]

Ai: Come on

23. Participants: We, 02b [an ethnically Bangladeshi boy], Ben  
Setting: at the end of dinner time, We is handing back the radio-microphone to me. We and 02b (and others) have been in trouble with the Head of Year.  
Ref: RM9:430Sony:40

Ben: And they were up there and you weren't supposed to be

We: 'No I 'weren't sup'posed to be up 'there with ,that,

We: ,only when I'm ,outside.

Ben: oh well and what happened

We: 'nothing . it's just 'that 'he <sup>o</sup>got in ,troub'le  
[nãfɪŋ]

o2b: but 'I didn't 'do 'anything

[bä æ dɪn dū ɛŋɪθɪŋ]

We: 'He didn't 'do 'nothing .. ,see you ,Ben I have to  
[hi: dɪdɪn dū ɪtɪŋ] <sup>acc.</sup>

We: 'go to 'English 'now

Ben: okay. cheerio. right. bye bye.

24. Participants: Tm, Rw, 05e [male, 17 year old youth club helper]  
Setting: Junior youth club, after school. Tm is trying to get a team together. He is wearing the radio-microphone.  
Ref: RM24:420:55

Tm: Ain't it, ain't it Rw's supposed to be playing on our

Tm: side ... [to 05e?:] go and wank a sausage ... Rw, I

Tm: thought you said you was playing

Rw [shouting]: 'I 'said 'no, thing  
f. [nə:θɪŋ]

Tm: Yes you did

Rw: I 'did not 'say 'nothing  
f. acc. dec. [nə:θɪŋ]

Tm: yes you did

Rw: 'No 'thing ... (don't you) 'un 'der 'stand ,English  
f. dec. 'acc. [nə:θɪŋ ( ) əndəstæn ɪŋlɪʃ]

Tm: No

Rw: 'don't 'you 'un 'der 'stand ,English  
[dɒnt ju əndəstæn ɪŋlɪʃ]

Tm: No

Rw: V<sub>move</sub> 'then

Tm: don't push me right

Rw: I 'did

Tm: do you want me to push you again then

Rw: 'Go on 'then .... ,doesn't ,do 'much to 'me ..  
[gəv] [n] [n] [d]

Rw: just ,push me in the ,same ,direction

Tm [to someone else]: where's the ball for this.

25.

Participants: G1, 05e (17 yrs old), 06e (17 yrs),  
07e (17 yrs)

Setting: Youth Club at dinner time.

Gi has come through to the main section of  
the club to get some coffee from the  
counter for himself and F1. 07e is  
playing pool nearby, and 05e and 06e are  
close at hand.

Gi is wearing a radio-microphone.

Ref: RM27:204

Gi: Tottenham lose, Tottenham lose  
 05e: What do you support  
 Gi: Liverpool  
 05e: shithheads  
 Gi: pass the ( )  
 06e: Did you watch it  
 Gi: yea  
 06e: good game wasn't it  
 Gi: It was good, Hoddle went off he's a nutter  
 05e: they fucking kicked him in the kidneys, you ever had  
 05e: a kick in your kidneys?  
 Gi: [laughs]  
 06e: Lucky  
 05e: You ever had a kick in your kidneys 06e  
 06e: yea once  
 05e: fucking you're like that  
 06e: fucking nearly killed me  
 05e: you're like that, can't move  
 06e: I know it's like a fucking ( )  
 Gi: that other guy was good  
 06e: it's like getting winded, only when you're  
 06e: winded you can't breathe even  
 05e: yea  
 07e: on what  
 06e: oh 07e  
 ? : ( )  
 06e: kiss my arse I think you're over ( ) me. I  
 06e: think you're over doing the act a bit  
 07e: 'put the 'coffee 'on  
           [pʰʊɹl ()ə kʰɒfi ʊn]  
 Gi: ,put 'the ,coffee ,on  
       [pʰət dɪ kʰäfi ʔn]  
 06e: 'put the 'coffee 'on



26.

Participants: Gi, Fi, 01w and Anon  
 Setting: school breaktime. 01w is playing on a pocket electronic game. Gi and Fi both want to have a go. The bell has gone. Anon comes up close to them. Gi and Fi both have radio-microphones.  
 Ref: RM28:600

Gi [to 01w]: (you're) a ,jew .... ✓come off it, \don't  
 [it' dʒʌn]

Gi: be so /cruel .... 'go for the 'ice\cream ....

Gi [to Anon ]: <sup>(who)</sup> 'do you 'want 'what 'do you 'want  
<sup>(what)</sup> <sup>acc.</sup> [(hü) dʒə wənt wɒt dʒu wənt]

Anon: nothing I'm hiding from somebody

Gi: well 'don't \hide ,near ,us , ,we ,might  
 [d][nʒ] [n] [tʰ]

Gi: ,catch ,some diseases  
 [d]

Fi [to 01w]: when you've cleared alright, give it to us,  
 you're going to take 100 years.

Gi: Come on Fi, give us a sweet, don't mess about

27.

Participants: Fi, Anon, Jp, Sw and others  
 Setting: dinner queue at school. Anon and Jp have been playing 'self-incrimination traps' (Opie and Opie 1977:86). What other parts refer to is not clear.  
 Ref: RM26:556

Anon: I went doʊn stair

Jp: Just like me

Fi: Sw, you're here

Anon: Looking through the window

Jp: Just like me

Anon: I saw a great big gorilla

Jp: Just like er .. [laughs]

Fi: What's wrong with you

Anon: nothing

Fi: you (<sup>face then</sup>  
facety)

Anon: so did I

Fi: I do the shits, I do the shit in my pants ....

Fi: so did I

Anon: So did I

Jp: So did I .....

Jp: ..... ( )

Fi [sucks teeth]: blerd clart what you ( )

Fi: done bushy head

Anon: ras cla t

Anon 2: rasclart

Fi: gonna box her eyelid  
[bäks]

An: ( )

Fi: (like that) . under, stand . you 'know 'what 'I  
[laɪ æɪ] [æ] [jü nəv wãɪ] aɪ

Fi: "mean .. [sucks teeth] ( ,i: 'lǎgẽ )  
[mîn] (( trans: ? ))

Fi: ah she's 'melted it ....  
[mɛvɪdɪɪ]

Fi: could you 'move out the ,way ,na ,ras  
na ras

(iii) RHETORICAL (NP) (VA)E OCCURRING IN INTERVIEWS

28.

Participants: Jp,Kp,Ben  
Setting: interview about the neighbourhood (ISA groups). Ben has asked about shaming up. Kp is answering: Jp has been niggling him quite frequently in the course of this session, though they are best friends.  
Ref: MS62:619:8

Kp: .. you 'drop from your 'charac,ter  
[tʰ]

Ben: uhuh .. what you get a bad reputation you mean

Kp: \yeah

Jp: yeah

Ben: how do you mean, drop from your character

Kp: Like if ... 'say if you've 'been \good \right, , people

Kp: ,know you as \good

Ben: and then after .... [to Jp:] shut up, shut up

Ben: [laughter] .. and afterwards um yes, and then you

Ben: drop from your your reputation, yes I see yes yes ...

Ben: ya

Kp [referring to Jp]: 'he's 'kind of \dumb

Jp: shut up nigger

Ben: anyway

Kp: >Char<sup>o</sup>lie  
~~~~~

Ben: I think that's actually about ... also somebody told me

Jp: [ɛ phɜdi:] [laughter]  
(( trans: he's a (vulgar) ))

Ben: what about

Kp [to Jp]: it's recorded

Jp: big [ʔɔ:r] big [ʔɔ:r]  
(( trans: big thief , big thief ))

Ben: oi, oi, psst what about

Kp: 'Jp ['bɪg 'θɪv]

(( trans: J's a big thief ))

Jp: ( ) [mɛɛi kɛmə hɛ̃]

(( trans: ? My ? is ))

Kp: 'Jp ['bɪg ( ) 'θɪv]

(( trans: J's a big thief ))

Ben: what about

Jp: do you know what he said

Ben: no, say it again

Kp: Jp ['bɪg 'θɪv]

(( J's a big thief ))

Ben: no I don't know

Jp: he said I'm a big thief [laughs]

Kp: >big °time °thief  
[bɪg' 'aɪm θi:f]

Jp: ,big 'time 'thief 'what 'di 'blerd 'clert 'na 'ras  
-----  
[bɪg t'āɪm t'it']

Jp: ,you do  
-----

Ben: okay yes, now listen what about ..

Kp: [bi ,baɪ]

(( = nonsense creole? ))

29.

Participants: Bi, Ben

Setting: interview. Ben is asking Bi what languages  
he speaks to various people in his social  
network (L.U.I)

Ref: MS49:264:17

Bi: five

Ben: five .. he speaks some Punjabi does he

Bi: four to five

Ben: four to five  
 Bi: he speaks nothing  
 Ben: he's Indian is he  
 Bi: no he's English

[ĩŋɡlɪʃ]

Ben: he's English but you speak some Punjabi with him  
 Bi: swearing words, he don't understand them  
 Ben: Okay, we'll say that's five ...

Ben: 'auntɪ in 'Bradford and 'uncle in 'Bradford

[a:ntɪ in brædfəd n 'ʌŋkl̩ in brædfəd]

Bi: 'Auntɪ in 'Eng'land . 'Uncle in 'Brad'ford 'very  
 [a:ntɪ: n 'æŋɡlənd 'ʌŋkl̩ ɪn brædfəd veri]

Bi: 'all Punjabi

ɔ:l pənja:bi:]

Ben: all Punjabi, both

Bi: yup.

30.

Participants: Ue, Ve, Ben  
 Setting: interview. Ben is asking them about the  
 neighbourhood (ISA Groups).  
 Ref: MS80:299ff:46

Ben: what about what about the kind of way in which ..  
 people who speak kind of Indian languages act, would  
 you say

Ue: (( nonsense imitation of Punjabi ))

Ve [laughs]: (( nonsense Punjabi ))

Ue: (they) wear these ... (they) wear these 'white hats

Ben: yes yes

Ue: 'I 'going 'to 'church 'every 'day  
 [aɪ ɡoʊɪŋ tʊ tʃɜ:ʃ ɛvriːdeɪ:]

Ben: yes yes

Ve: I 'go 'to 'Mosque  
 ( )

Ue: (they) 'go to the 'mosque and ,everything like  
[gəu: tə ðə mɒsk n evriθɪŋk laɪ?

Ue: ,that  
ðæ?

Ben: like .. so they're quite, quite quite religious is

Ben: that or

Ve: mmm

Ue: all this rubb rubbish they eat

Ve: yea

Ue: ugh, stink

Ve: chapattis [laughs]

Ue: eugh

Ben: you don't like that

Ue: guess what, eugh, right ...

iv. OBSERVATIONAL DATA (NOT TAPE RECORDED)

31. Participants: Jp, children from rival Summer School, others? (Ben - observer).

Setting: Summer School, after a cricket match which Jp's Summer School team had won. The defeated opposition were assembling to go off by minibus, and from a distance, Jp shouted out at them

Jp: [səʔɪ: ju lu:z]

Ref: fn.5.8.85.51

32. Participants: Anon [i or p aged 15? or older], Mr 04e [adult, youth worker], and others (Ben - observer).

Setting: Friday evening Youth club: 04e and other youth workers were closing the club, and asking people to leave. Anon came back in, and said in a very Punjabi accent

Anon: I go toilet

04e heard this, and called out after him, as he went downstairs to the toilet, in a very Punjabi accent

04e: Oh you bloody loony you

There was a further response from the kid from downstairs but I didn't catch it.

Ref: fn:6.4.84.157

33. Participants: Mr 04e [adult youth worker], Mrs 09i [female youth worker], others Anon Anon (Ben - observer)  
Setting: Youth club on Friday evening, again at closing time when the youth workers were trying to empty the premises.  
04e called out to some kid  
  
04e: 'Come on you fool' in a very Punjabi accent. 09i was standing nearby and laughed at this: 04e explained that he was trying to 'sort out this Asian lingo'

Ref: fn.22.9.84.217

34. Participants: 05e [17 yrs old] with his friends (02i [male], 07e [m], 06e [m]) (Ben - observer)  
Setting: Youth club (evening).  
05e was playing pool; he played a bad shot and said in a Punjabi accent  
  
05e: I make fuck-up

Ref: fn.13.6.84.205

35. Participants: 01i [male, 15 yrs], 02i [male, 16<sup>+</sup>], others around (Ben - observer)  
Setting: Evening Youth club.  
01i was sitting on a table next to Anon, watching 02i play pool. 02i did a very bad shot and 01i said in very Punjabi accent  
  
01i: 02i, very good shot

Ref: fn.5.10.84.219

36. Participants: Kp, Ben, Np [at this stage, Kp had not become a regular informant]  
Setting: Corridor at school.  
Kp came up to me, keen to join his friend who was coming with me for an interview, and said, in a very Punjabi accent

Kp: Ben can I come

Ref: fn.4.10.84.222

37. Participants: Gi, Ben  
Setting: Junior Youth Club.  
Towards the end of the session, around the time that I was preparing to leave, Gi came up and asked

Gi: you could take me in your car

This was in a very Punjabi accent: the intonation contour was fairly straight, it was clearly syllable tuned and there was an unusual degree of consonantal aspiration.

Ref: fn.17.1.85.II3

38. Participants: Mr 08i [adult youth worker], Ben  
Setting: Youth club.  
I was standing behind the snack-bar counter. Mr 08i needed to come in past me. In a very Punjabi accent, he said

08i: excuse me please

Ref: fn.9.5.84.190

39. Participants: Mr 10i [Indian, adult youth worker],  
06e [16+]  
Setting: Friday evening club.  
06e came up to Mr 10i who was behind the counter serving, and asked for some crisps in (NP)(VA)E. Then, when he was given his change, he started counting out

06e: [ɪk dʊ]

Ref: fn.15.3.85.II14

40. Participants: Op, 03p, Ben  
Setting: Junior Club.  
I was talking to Op, and 03p came up to Op to say let's go home. In normal E, he said to Op 'my kabab will be getting cold'. Then he turned and addressed me and said, in (NP)(VA)E,

03p: 'I eating nan kabab', and the conversation progressed.

Ref: fn.4.10.84.220



41. Participants: 04p [19 yrs, male], Mr 11i [adult youth worker] (Ben - observer)  
Setting: Youth Club  
04p came up to 11i and, enquiring about games equipment etc. being put away, asked  
  
04p: you no pack yet  
  
Ref: fn.11.4.84.163
42. Participants: 05p [15 yrs, male], others  
Setting: Cricket match at Summer School.  
In reply to e.g. questions about what order someone had in the batting order, 05p said  
  
05p: [la:stə]  
  
Ref: fn.14.8.84.209
43. Participants: Ben and Punjabi informants  
Setting: non-specific, during Summer School.  
On two or three occasions, I have said 'oh blimey', in my usual accent, and this has been taken up and reproduced in (NP) (VA)E.  
  
Ref: fn.2.8.84.208
44. Participants: Lp and Ben  
Setting: outside school office, in the corridor.  
Looking at a mark made on a shelf by a damaged plant pot, Lp in (NP) (VA)E remarked  
  
Lp: 'Goodness 'gra'cious  
  
Ref: fn.10.12.84.231

C. INTERVIEW REPORTS OF STRAIGHT (NP) (VA)E

45. Lp in an interview, telling about how Jp and O1p make trouble with ethnically Bangladeshi kids.  
Ref: MS35:352:6

Lp: (( some Bengali swearwords ))

Ben: that's Bengali is it

L : yeh then that makes them angry .. and they say

L : 'shut 'up ,O'1p ..  
[ʃäth äp]

L : because they can't speak properly, and there's

Ben: uhuh uhuh

L : and there's this boy called O2p O2p

Ben: which kids can't speak properly, the ones at .. the

Ben: ones I mean ones in the school

L : Bengali kids

Ben: Bengali kids in the school or Bengali kids at the

Ben: ESL Centre or where

L : at both ... and Italians and

Ben: and Italians at the ESL Centre ... I mean at at

L : they 'speak it . you 'know like . I ,have , bread  
[<sup>dec.</sup> ɪaɪ æv breɪd]

L : ,morning ,to, day  
[mɔ:nɪŋ tuːdeɪ]

Ben: uhuhuh

L : >and er (butter but the) . Bengalis they 'they go . er  
[<sup>dec.</sup> ðeɪ ʒeɪ ɡəʊ | ə]

L : 'what 'is 'your 'name  
[<sup>dec. dec.</sup> wɒt ɪz jɔːr neɪm]

L : 'they say 'things like 'that

Ben: mmhmm

L: because 'they 'they 'always go. [x:] <sup>what 'is</sup>  
<sub>dec.dec.</sub>  
 [wɒtʰ ɪz]

L: <sup>o</sup>your Vname  
 [ɔ:x neɪm]

Ben: uhuh [laughs] I see yeh yeh

L: they can't say the words properly so they say slowly

L: what would take ... em .. us lot around five seconds

L: to say a sentence

46.

Lp in an interview (same as in extract 45).  
 Discussion concerns 02p, a fourth year boy who had  
 been to the ESL Centre  
 Ref: MS35:352:6

Ben: you said that sometimes he makes .... he makes ....

Ben: I don't know

Lp: \yeah. he go he go \_you 'cu'cum'ber 'head  
 [jɛə | ɪ gəʊ ɪ gəʊ | jü f'kjükämbä hedʰ]

Ben: does he do that as a joke or deliberately or what

Ben: or by mistake

L: he he Valways says that (he \_says) . 'shut up 'you .  
<sub>acc.</sub>  
 [ɪz | ʃä 'äp | ju:]

L: and 'all 'that  
 ən ɔ:t ʃæ]

Ben: do people tease him

L: yeh they call him (( )) .

47.

Lp in an interview  
 Ref: MS50:495:62

Ben: Your mum watches a lot of ... a lot of TV does she?

Lp: Only when she's got spare ( )

Ben: And what's what her what's her English like

L: Her English

Ben: Yes  
L : It's better than any er ..... (( interruption  
from outside and short discussion concerning it )) ..  
L : my mum's English is much better .. she's got a ..  
L : English ... she's got first class Pakistani English  
Ben: Has she yes ... like how  
L : She speaks English but she ... um um look ... when we  
L : say things to her she she sometimes don't understand  
L : em but yesterday ... erm ... erm the man from  
L : Bedfordshire Times came to give the newspaper and  
L : collect the money and er she spoke she spoke quite  
L : good English but you know in a Pakistani accent.

48.

|                                        |
|----------------------------------------|
| Op in an interview<br>Ref: MS63:338:68 |
|----------------------------------------|

Ben: Do you know people anybody who doesn't know ... well  
Ben: Some people here ... who don't speak much ... much  
Ben: English. How do they get on  
Op: English? People in the ESL Centre they don't know.  
Ben: What about people, are there people you know well ...  
Ben: Does your mum mind that .... I mean she speaks  
Ben: mainly Punjabi, is that because she does ... she  
Ben: likes to speak Punjabi  
O : Urdu  
Ben: or doesn't speak much English  
O : She speaks mainly Urdu  
Ben: Mainly Urdu sorry yes yes  
O : Cos she don't know English that's why  
Ben: Would she like to to I mean, is that is that a  
Ben: problem, is that a ..... would she like to to to  
Ben: learn English or not  
O : I don't know .... I would like to if I didn't know  
O : English  
Ben: Yes well you're lucky you've got ..  
O : [laughter] school.  
Ben: But do think it's ... I mean do you think it's a  
Ben: problem not for you know if you don't know English

O : yeah if my mum's (there on her own), if she don't  
 O : know .. what er what ... if someone comes round for  
 O : my brother or some of what he's on about, for she

O : would go no no no no she ain't in  
 [gəv nɔ nɔ nɔ nɔ ɪn eɪn? ɪn]

Ben: yeah yeah

49. Jp in an interview. Discussion concerns his little sister.  
 Ref: MS70:240?Sony:69

Jp: when we used to ... when she was really small and she  
 J : never knew English  
 Ben: uhuh  
 J : and we used to say and she used to copy us  
 Ben: uhuh uhuh in English  
 J : yeh  
 Ben: so when do kids, when did she start to learn English  
 J : When she went school  
 Ben: That was the first time was it. You didn't teach her  
 J : No, we did a bit  
 Ben: yah yah  
 J : Like to say Goodbye, because when we used ...say our  
 J : cousin came or something  
 Ben: Yes, yes  
 J : she knew some words yea ...

50. Hp and Kp in an interview. Discussion concerns language mixing.  
 Ref: MS76:434:65

Ben: .. (do) some people sometimes say good ... good shot

[ʃɒtə]

Ben: ... playing cricket

Hp: heh?

Ben: some people sometimes just say good shot

[ʃɒtʰ]

H: that's 13p init .... because ....

Kp: 'oh 'played 'played  
[o p'le:də p'leɪdʰ]

H: yeah

Ben: like when, like what, that's 13p is it K, or what

K: no loads of Pakistani men go like that

H: like on that match you know against Londoners .. at

H: the cricket ...

K: 'the 'Bedford 'Young 'Asians 'took the 'trophy  
[d] [eɪ]

K: ,man .. ,hard

51. Jp and Hp in an interview - same as extracts 3,4 and 5  
Ref: MS41:252:1

Ben: Which of the kind of accents or voices that you hear

Ben: on TV do people kind of ... or do you or people kind

Ben: of imitate most

Ip: Indian kind of ...

Hp: mmm

I : ,try and ,speak ,English ('black 'bir'die)  
[tʃaɪ n spi:k ɪŋɡlɪʃ b'æk bɪr'di:]

H : ( ['b'æ'di:] (you know) 'all 'that  
[jənə: ɔ:l æʔ]

Ben: who does that ... sorry where on the TV do you

Ben: see that

I : Asian Magazine

H : yes

Ben: oh

H : ( )

I : (You should) watch it, Asian Magazine it's on

I : 10 o'clock Sunday

H : On Sunday's, Sunday morning.

Ben: Ya what um ... so and so that people watch that and

Ben: what about other, any other programmes.

I : L driver, that lady, in the car  
H : dunno  
I : She goes ... she's ... she don't know ... er ...  
I : they say that people with language problems  
Ben: yeah  
I : and how to teach them ... people  
Ben: oh yea  
I : The Instructor says go .... less of the gas and ( )  
I : don't know what it means  
Ben: he says what  
I : less of the gas  
Ben: uhuh  
I : and she was going faster

52.

Fi and Gi in an interview  
Ref: MS55:370:78

Ben: what about mixing actually kind of mixing in a  
Ben: sentence English words and and Punjabi words  
Fi: That's what I do sometimes .. like my mum she makes  
F : a mistake ... like last time she said something ...  
F : she put first she said it in Indian and then she  
F : started saying it in English ...  
Ben: what did she say what did she say  
F : I can't think what it was ... forgotten what it was  
F : ..... yea that's it she goes first she > goes ..

F: <sup>dec.</sup>put the .. >hang on .. [dʌd] , bottles out,side .  
[pʊʔ də] [dʌd bʊʔtɪz æʊʔtsaɪd]

F : you know . ,put the ,milk ,bottles outside  
[put ʔə] [bʊʔtɪz æʊʔtsaɪd]

Ben: milk bottles yeh  
F : she said some of it in English  
Ben: so what did she .. just tell me .. tell me exactly  
Ben: what she said  
F : like I think it was when we were going to sleep she  
F : goes ... erm (just) she goes erm

F : put the [dʌd] bottles outside  
[pʌt də dʌd bɒtlz æɪsaɪd]

F : then we started laughing 'cos she's .. cos I .. last  
F : time ... I think it was my mum who said something ...  
F : start um all of us start laughing ... don't know what  
F : it was

53.

Fi in an interview  
Ref: MS75:370:80

Ben: do you know anybody who doesn't ... whose um you know  
Ben: .. got problems with English and that kind of thing  
Fi: No, not ..  
Ben: Anybody personally or .. anybody you know in your ...  
Ben: I mean your mum, your mum, how, is your mum's English  
Ben: quite good ...  
F : No, not very good  
Ben: Now is that a problem at all, or not  
F : Yea  
Ben: Like how how  
F : Really it's a problem to her that if .. like if she  
F : wants to go shopping by herself when we at school,  
F : and she has to ... and she wants looking for something  
F : she really don't know every single word for the food  
Ben: Yea yea yea  
F : Like grapes, she knows the grapes, and she knows ah  
F : ... all the .. mostly all the fruits ... but she don't  
F : know like she knows sugar, she knows ... erm ... she  
F : don't know Daz like that, she's just says Daz but she  
F : don't know

53a.

Fi in an interview. He is talking about his mum, as in  
extract 53.  
Ref: MS75:370:80

Ben: Do you actually kind of teach her any teach her any  
Ben: English or



F : Not real, don't teach her. Cos she used to have this  
 F : woman that used to teach her English.  
 Ben: Yea yeah  
 F : And she used to live down, I think, I don't know  
 F : where it was, that she used to teach her English, she  
 F : used to come round house, and she used to take in our  
 F : family out to zoos and all this  
 Ben: Oh really  
 F : She used to play play as their child, she used to  
 F : play, let us play with all the games all this, ride  
 F : the bike, to give us, used to stay there, eat food  
 F : everything. Used to be kind. Teach my mum. But  
 F : now she's sort of don't teach my mum no more. We've  
 F : forgotten her, but I ain't forgotten her, because I'm  
 F : really looking for her address and telephone number ..  
 F : but I can't really find in the books ...

54. Fi, Gi and Olw in an interview (as in 55 and 56)  
 Ref: MS79:314:81

Fi: like some people that came from India em ... right,  
 F : and ... they don't know lot of English right, they  
 F : just put some Indian and and English in mixed  
 F : together ... like my mum right, there's this .. em

Fi: potato man came right . and 'she just >goes 'can I  
[kæn aɪ]

Fi: 'have a 'bag of 'aloo .. and she said half of it in  
[hæv ə bæɡ əv ˈɑːluː]

F1: English and half in Indian

55. Fi, Gi and Olw in an interview - the same as extract 54  
 Ref: MS79:510:81

Fi: like if I go to my mum, buy me chocolate right, she  
 F : says what ki... she don't say what kind of chocolate,  
 F : she just buys any one ... if you tell her to buy a  
 F : Marathon, she go and buys Mars ...

Gi and Olw: [laugh]

Fi: she don't really know the difference you know, even

F: though she could ... she knows she's good at maths ...

56.

Fi, Gi and Olw in an interview - as in extract 54  
and 55

Ref: MS79:314:81

Fi: ... I don't know with my dad, he's ... think he's

F: been travelling round all the world 'cos he mixes up

F: his England, English Indian, Bengali he swears ..

F: knows all these words like

Ben: uhuh [Olw laughing]

Fi: and when he sort of ... in ... when after he seen a

Fi: film right ( ) he goes [fängulä] ( )

Fi: and when he 'starts \coughing ,right he > goes .

Fi: >fuck ,off [laughs]. 'when he 'starts \coughing he  
[fäk ɒf]

Fi: ,says \fuck ,off and all ,this  
[fäk ɒf]

[laughter]

Ben: when you start coughing

Fi: no him you know when he starts coughing init he

Fi: says >fuck ,off  
[fäk ɒf]

Ben: [laughs] what does he .. why does he say that

Fi: you know ... you know when he coughs right, he's

Fi: trying to get it away just goes >fuck ,off  
[fäk ɒf]

Fi: that's what happened yesterday

Fi: right, started coughing

Ben: he says that to himself

Fi: yeah ... to his cough

01w: no he says it to his cough

Ben: he says that to his cough does he, oh that's rather good, start a new fashion, rather good  
[laughter]

F : he's going .when he coughs he goes .>fuck off . right  
[fäk ɒf]

F : and then after he's seen, half-way in this film ( )

F : he goes, [fänggü:lä:] , saying all these words

57. G1 and Fi in an interview, as in extract 52  
Ref: MS55:377:78

Gi: My mum says things like his mum. Cos once I was in a

G : bad mood so she said you silly fool  
[jə sɪlɪ fʊl]

G : then I said what? and then she said .. oh I forgot.

Ben: she said what she said she said it in English

G : Yes in English cos she learns off me off my brother

G : and my sister ... cos me ... I have ... I mostly have

G : fits with my brother and my sister cos I used to ..

G : when I was a kid I used to swear really badly then ..

G : she picked it up from then when I first swore at my

G : brother ... right then ... I never swore at him but

G : I still do ... because if, cos he's my older brother,

G : he's a nutjob anyway ..

Ben: what .. what's he .....

58. Gi and Fi in an interview - as in 52 and 57  
Ref: MS55:390:78

Ben: and your mum picks up English from you.

G1: and my brother and my sister cos I

Ben: and and and does she some .. were you going to say  
that she sometimes picks up swearing words as well

G : yes, cos once I said

Ben: Does she know yea yea

G : Once I said to 14i to my brother 14i fuck off right,

G : and (she) said I'll tell you what ... this er

G: [mæ dənü däs di]      fuck off and that  
[fäk ɒf]

G : means I'll give you fuck off

Ben: she said that to you

G : yes she said half in half each

Ben: aha I see

G : and I was astonished

59. Sw and Rw in an interview  
Ref: MS42:448:33

Ben: Can you tell me about the ESL Centre

Rw : Yes

Sw : I don't know about the ESL Centre

R : I do

S : yea but they come to, they come into our school

R : to have dinner

Ben: yea yea, well what can you tell me about, about,

Ben: about that

S : they don't speak, and know English ... they speak in

S : their own languages

R : only when they're talking to the er

S : dinner ladies

R : dinner ladies

S : they > go . "yes" "yes"  
[jɛ:s jɛ:s]

R : they point and they say yes

Ben: uhuh, what language do they do they do they speak

60. Qp in an interview. Bilingual code selection with different interlocutors are being discussed.  
Ref: MS23:352:72

Ben: \_\_\_\_\_ ? (( Q's sister ))  
Qp: equal ((Punjabi and English usage)) yea because you  
Q : know at home right (we only) usually talk English,  
Q : we sometimes talk Pakist in Punjabi  
Ben: when do you decide to use Punjabi  
Q : .. hm .. we usually talk ... when we're together  
Q : right you know we usually just talk em ... English  
Q : right but you know when our mum's there you know  
Q : we don't really get told off talking English right  
Q : but  
Ben: it's  
Q : yea  
Ben: it's nicer if you  
Q : yea yea with them, supposing I was to her right  
Q : then my mum you know, sometimes when I'm saying  
Q : something, and I want my mum to know what I'm saying  
Q : ... so I just talk in Pakistani, but usually English  
Ben: yea yea

61. Bi in an interview, reporting bilingual code selection with different interlocutors  
Ref: MS26:620:76

Ben: when you're at the Gurdwara do you speak ... which of  
Ben: these do you speak mainly  
Bi : Well I speak ... to my friends right I speak English,  
B : but to whoever I know in the Church or Gurdwara, I  
B : speak in Punjabi  
Ben: I see okay. All Punjabi or  
B : It feels bit a bad speaking them in English cos ..  
B : well not bad right, but cos they don't understand it  
B : init and I feel a bit sad cos when they don't  
B : understand it and (you) just and they think that  
B : you're swearing at them init.

Ben: if you speak English  
B : yes, cos some people don't understand, understand it  
Ben: Uhuh, that's right they think it's rude if  
B : they think it's really  
Ben: yes yes  
B : That's why mum tells me to speak English .. I mean  
B : speak Punjabi at home and at school you can speak  
B : English ..

62. 

|                                                                                                            |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Ai in an interview, reporting on his bilingual code selection the day before (oral diary)<br>Ref: MS84:540 |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Ben: What language did you talk in the car, language  
Ben: languages did you talk  
Ai: English with my brother, and my dad said to me don't  
A : talk English and talk Punjabi so we know what you're  
A : saying.

63. 

|                                                                   |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Ei in an interview with Pp and B1 (oral diary)<br>Ref: MS3:460:73 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|

Ei: just got home you see and my dad was waiting for ..  
E : cement and that see we ordered some cement  
Ben: Oh yea  
E : And he said to me  
Ben: Are you doing some, you doing some building are you?  
E : My dad is, he's cementing our garden to make it all  
E : flat and that  
Ben: Oh right yeah  
E : And he said you know they said that they were going to  
E : bring it about one to two o'clock, and he said to me  
E : in Punjabi, telephone them and that, ask them why  
E : hasn't it come yet ... and they said that sorry about  
E : it we were just a bit late and that. So I tell you I  
E : told him him that in Punjabi about the cement  
Ben: And what about when you phoned .. did you speak  
Ben: English or Punjabi when you phoned

E : I spoke English ... (to him see)  
Ben: Was that was that could they speak English KJ: yes  
Ben: could they speak Punjabi  
E : No

----- (later) -----

Ben: do you often do a lot of phoning  
E : yea for my mum and dad and that ...

64. 

|                                               |
|-----------------------------------------------|
| Ai and Ip in an interview<br>Ref: MS34:246:57 |
|-----------------------------------------------|

Ai: sometime my mum asks me something that she wants to  
A : know to go to work like ... em just words so she can  
A : tell the ...  
Ben: Oh yes like what  
A : manager  
Ben: Oh yes yes and she what she asks you in Punjabi, yea

65. 

|                                       |
|---------------------------------------|
| Ai in an interview<br>Ref: MS37:71:74 |
|---------------------------------------|

Ben: do you know, do you know some people who don't who  
Ben: don't speak ... kind of ... er ... who don't know  
Ben: much English. Well I mean some people here  
Ai: My grandmother  
Ben: And is that is that difficult for her  
A : Difficult, she never learnt it. My mum help .. I  
A : learn my mum .. my mum learns me Punjabi, I learn  
A : her English  
Ben: What you sit down, how do you do that, what you just  
Ben: tell her words and that kind of thing or  
A : One hour she tells me Punjabi, one hour I tell her  
A : English  
Ben: Oh really you do you do you just you do talk I mean  
Ben: what do you mean you tell her

A : Tell her these words that she has to know in work ...  
A : and  
Ben: And what ... (that's yours, that's yours)  
A : Yea ... and I could tell her the things that you need  
A : in the shopping centre, what you say up there ...  
A : That's all yeah  
Ben: Oh I see  
A : And she learns me oora aira eerie sirsa haha  
Ben: Does she find it, does she find it, does she find it  
Ben: kind of she needs it does she at her work  
A : yea she does.

66.

|                                                                                     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Bi in an interview, reporting bilingual code<br>selection (LW).<br>Ref: MS26:356:76 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Ben: ... when you talk to your mum, what do you talk to  
Ben: her in  
Bi: All Punjabi  
Ben: All Punjabi  
Bi: Yea  
Ben: And what does she ... you talk to her all in Punjabi  
B : Yea  
Ben: What does she speak to you in  
B : Sometimes she can speak English but I laugh  
Ben: Do you .. why do you laugh, what do you er  
B : She can't say it properly man ...

-----

Ben: Why, why do you why do you take the mickey of her  
Ben: when she speaks English?  
B : I don't take the mickey out of her  
Ben: you laugh at her, you laugh at her  
B : She bloody laughs herself when I laugh cos she  
B : speaks it a bit like that Mr \_\_\_\_\_ was ((a local  
adult known to both of us ))



67. Op in an interview, reporting on bilingual code selection, as in extract 60  
Ref: MS23:343:72

Ben: (( brother aged 4 )) .. what do you speak to him in  
Q : Mainly  
Ben: Mainly  
Q : Punjabi right  
Ben: Mainly Punjabi right  
Q : Cos he don't know much, but he's learning you know  
Q : so I try sometimes try and learn him.

68. Np and Op in an interview  
Ref: MS12:339:67

Np: My mum she can't speak English at all, so I have to  
N : speak when I go down (( the road to the shops )), I  
N : have to speak mainly thing (( Pakistani )) and you  
N : feel sort of shameful  
Op: If someone hears you  
Ben: Do you, speaking Urdu  
N : Yea you feel sort of shameful in front of sort of  
N : your friends and that  
Ben: Do you  
N : yes but with my dad I speak English when I go down  
N : town.

69. Np and Op in an interview (the same as in extract 68)  
Ref: MS12:341:67

Ben: What how about do you agree with that Op, feel a  
Ben: bit shameful  
Op: Yeah, when I'm with my friends who can't speak  
O : English that much, I feel shameful, cos my friends  
O : go past all the time ... and girls go past sometimes  
O : and all that in our school.

70. Lp in an interview (same as in extract 45,46)  
Ref: MS35:595:60

Ben: ... what do you think is bad English apart from ...  
Lp: All this I eating bread today and all that ..  
Ben: yea yea yea  
L : Yea right we were going to town .. do you know Mp  
Ben: And what ... yes yes  
L : Um we were going town and we were on the bridge and  
L : he said a sentence like er ... he said something like  
L : I eating bread today and I corrected him  
Ben: Uhu  
L : and he got angry  
Ben: Did he  
L : He goes we ain't in school now  
Ben: Did he, did he yes yes and what do you think that  
Ben: do you think he's right or do you think do you think  
Ben: you were right to correct him or  
L : Yea I was right to correct him cos he's always  
L : boasting that he's in group 1 for English and Maths ..

71. Lp in an interview  
Ref: MS50:555:62

Ben: And do you know people anybody who who has ... who  
Ben: doesn't speak much English ... who doesn't speak  
Ben: English well ... you know and who has problems with  
Ben: English  
L : \_\_\_\_\_ the one in the 3rd year  
Ben: He's got problems actually with English  
L : Yes  
Ben: I mean he's go I mean he's good at Pakistani but  
L : Yes he's brilliant at Pakistani because he's goes to  
L : Mosque and if you ... if you ... hm er ... he he's  
L : been he reads Urdu which is the posh language ... and  
L : um he's you know ... he knows a lot of that because  
L : his parents ... you know ... they're very ... they're  
L : you know they're they're they're regarded as holy if  
L : you know what I mean

APPENDIX 21

PROBLEMS WITH THE ISA DATA ON 'don't know much  
English' vs 'speaks normal English' AS A BASIS  
FOR EXTRAPOLATION ABOUT WHO SPEAKS STRAIGHT  
(NP) (VA)E (see Chapter 21.2.1)

These problems are of two types, one concerning the meaning of the numbers offered on the rating scale, and the other being a matter of the wording.

The first problem involves two queries:

1. (a) I hope that the opposite pole 'don't know much English' prompted informants to give a proficiency rating when they used the 1,2,3,4 rating scale under the construct 'speaks normal English' (i.e. interpreting 1 as 'a bit'/'a few'; 2 as 'quite'/'some'; 3 as 'very'/'a lot'; 4 as 'very very'/'all'). It is possible however that informants construed the numbering in terms of frequency - 'a few times', 'sometimes', 'often', 'always' - and if this were the case, the results could not be read as proficiency ratings: informants might have been thinking in terms of how often various entities spoke normal English (as opposed to Punjabi, or West Indian etc.), not what type of English it was that they used. This seems unlikely, but it cannot be ruled out.
- (b) Comparably, because in the ISA rating scale the 1 to 4 numbering can be interpreted in terms of quantity ('a few', 'some', 'a lot', 'all'), we cannot be sure with collective entities that e.g. a score of 2 for 'my cousins' under 'speak normal English' means 'my cousins speak quite normal English' (the 1 to 4 scale being interpreted in terms of intensity). It could mean 'some cousins speak normal English and some cousins speak no English at all'.

Both of these are matters of ambiguity, and though it is perfectly possible that informants meant what I would prefer them to have meant, it is also possible that they didn't.

The second problem is a matter of wording:

2. Moving from an account of NP (non-proficient) English to an account of an ethnically marked English cannot be achieved at one go. NPE  $\neq$  (NP)(VA)E, because people who 'don't know much English' may be people who never use it. Indeed, maybe they can understand a little bit, but if they do not speak in English, they cannot be regarded as offering any VAE models.

In fact, this problem is comparatively tractable, though it involves the slightly laborious process of consulting other data in order to establish whether those regarded as 'not knowing much English' ever speak it, and two sources come to hand. The first data source is the interviews (some of the relevant data is cited in detail elsewhere), and the second is the Language Use by Interlocutor (LUI) procedure, in which informants were asked, among other things, what languages particular people spoke to them in (more specifically: 'all Punjabi' (=1), 'mainly Punjabi' (=2), 'equal Punjabi and English' (=3), 'mainly English' (=4), or 'all English' (=5)).

With these two sources, we can look at those informants who said their fathers, mothers, uncles and aunts and cousins didn't know much English, and see what evidence there is that entities are perceived never to speak English.

MATRIX SHOWING WHICH INFORMANTS SAID WHICH ENTITIES DIDN'T KNOW

MUCH ENGLISH

|                        | Jp | Op | Mp | Pp | Qp | Ip | Ei | G1 | F1 | Ai |
|------------------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| Father                 | ✓  | ✓  |    | ✓  |    | ✓  | ✓  | ✓  | ✓  |    |
| Mother                 | ✓  | ✓  | ✓  | ✓  |    |    | ✓  | ✓  | ✓  | ✓  |
| Uncles<br>and<br>aunts | ✓  | ✓  | ✓  |    | ✓  |    |    |    | ✓  | ✓  |
| Cousins                | ✓  | ✓  | ✓  |    | ✓  |    |    |    | ✓  |    |

Interview data shows that at least some of these entities are perceived to speak English at least sometimes by Op, Qp, Ei, Gi, Fi and Ai. Let us adapt the matrix accordingly, using brackets to show that English is sometimes spoken, and either giving the appropriate tape references, or referring to data extracts cited elsewhere in this section (p 970).

The LUI data is a little harder to use, and several things need to be said in advance.

- (i) Obviously, reports of bilingual L use given in LUI could be biased by my presence. In politeness to me, informants might conceivably exaggerate the extent to which they really perceived various people to speak English.
- (ii) I only asked what languages various individuals spoke in when talking to the informant: the results therefore do not mean that the informants necessarily think that the people involved never speak English to anyone: they might, to other people.

These two points balance each other out: caution in view of (i) would require one to assume that people actually spoke less E than LUI data suggested, while a cautious response to (ii) would be to allow for more.

- (iii) The scoring with regard to aunts and uncles, and then cousins, needs a little explanation. The scores present the mean for each group: I have gone through the list given me on e.g. all of a particular informant's cousins, summed the coding numerals and divided by the number of cousins involved. The range is from 1 to 5, with only 1 being exclusive use of Punjabi. Any number larger than 1 (e.g. 1.5) indicates that some English is used by cousins in interaction with the informant.

|                        | J | O                    | M | P | Q | I | E                     | G                        | F                                 | A                               |
|------------------------|---|----------------------|---|---|---|---|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Father                 | ✓ | ✓                    |   | ✓ |   | ✓ | (✓)<br>MS15:218<br>57 | ✓                        | (✓)<br>extract<br>56              |                                 |
| Mother                 | ✓ | (✓)<br>extract<br>48 | ✓ | ✓ |   |   | (✓)<br>MS3:460<br>73  | (✓)<br>extracts<br>57,58 | (✓)<br>extracts<br>52,53,54<br>55 | (✓)<br>MS34:246i(56)<br>MS37:71 |
| Uncles<br>and<br>aunts | ✓ | ✓                    | ✓ |   | ✓ |   |                       |                          | ✓                                 | ✓                               |
| Cousins                | ✓ | ✓                    | ✓ |   | ✓ |   |                       |                          | ✓                                 |                                 |

So let us present the matrix again, as before using brackets to indicate that some English is used, and this time using the LUI coding system to indicate how much -

- 1 = exclusive use of Punjabi
- 2 = use of Punjabi mainly, but some English
- 3 = equal of Punjabi and English
- 4 = English mainly used
- 5 = exclusive use of English (see overleaf)

If we put these three matrices together, showing the qualifications we have added from the interview and the LUI data, we can see that there are grounds for supposing that well over half (61.5%) of the individuals or groups classified as not knowing much English in the ISA rating procedure, are perceived as using English in speech production:

|                        | J   | O   | M | P | Q   | I | E   | G   | F   | A   |
|------------------------|-----|-----|---|---|-----|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Father                 | ✓   | ✓   |   | ✓ |     | ✓ | (✓) | ✓   | (✓) |     |
| Mother                 | ✓   | (✓) | ✓ | ✓ |     |   | (✓) | (✓) | (✓) | (✓) |
| Uncles<br>and<br>aunts | (✓) | (✓) | ✓ |   | (✓) |   |     |     | (✓) | (✓) |
| Cousins                | (✓) | (✓) | ✓ |   | (✓) |   |     |     | (✓) |     |

This percentage might in fact be larger, since we have only arrived at this figure inductively, and we did not actually set out to probe the possibility exhaustively. But even as it is, it stands as reasonable evidence that there are people within informant's kinship networks who are classed as not knowing much English but who are nevertheless seen as offering models of NPE.

With ethnically Bangladeshi kids classified as 'not knowing much English', it is not necessary to be so laborious in establishing that they too may provide speech models for metaphorical (NP) (VA)E. This is simply because they are kids and not adults:

|                        | J          | O           | M | P | Q          | I      | E | G      | F          | A          |
|------------------------|------------|-------------|---|---|------------|--------|---|--------|------------|------------|
| Father                 | ✓<br>1     | ✓<br>1      |   | ✓ |            | ✓<br>1 | ✓ | ✓<br>1 | (✓)<br>2   |            |
| Mother                 | ✓<br>1     | ✓           | ✓ | ✓ |            |        | ✓ | ✓<br>1 | (✓)<br>2   | (✓)<br>3   |
| Uncles<br>and<br>aunts | (✓)<br>1.9 | (✓)<br>1.25 | ✓ |   | (✓)<br>1.3 |        |   |        | (✓)<br>2.0 | (✓)<br>2.0 |
| Cousins                | (✓)<br>3.2 | (✓)<br>3.8  | ✓ |   | (✓)<br>3.0 |        |   |        | (✓)<br>3.5 |            |



(a) the likelihood of any child in the UK growing up without ever using English seems small; (b) I personally know of a number of English-speaking Bengali children at my informants' schools; (c) informants themselves refer to English-speaking Bangladeshi children.

APPENDIX 22

INDIVIDUAL RAW SCORES ON THE CONSTRUCT

'DON'T KNOW MUCH ENGLISH' vs 'SPEAKS

NORMAL ENGLISH'

TABLE A.22 INDIVIDUAL RESPONSES TO THE ISA BIPOLAR CONSTRUCT 'DON'T KNOW MUCH ENGLISH' ( 1 ) -  
v. 'SPEAKS NORMAL ENGLISH' ( 9 )

|    | 1 | 2 | 3 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20  | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 | 31 | 32 | 33 |  |   |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|--|---|
| A1 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 |   | 5  | 9  | 9  | 9  | 9  | 9  | 9  | 9  | 9  | 5  | 1   | 5  | 5  |    |    |    | 9  |    | 1  |    | 5  | 9  |    |    |  | A |
| B1 | 9 | 7 | 3 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 7  | 3  | 9  | 3  | 3  | 3  | 9  | 9  | 3  | 9  | 9   |    |    | 9  |    | 9  |    | 9  | 9  |    | 9  | 3  |    |    |  | B |
| C1 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 5  | 2  | 9  | 9  | 9  | 8  | 9  | 9  | 3  | 6  | 7   | 9  |    |    |    | 9  |    | 7  |    | 9  | 9  |    |    |    |  | C |
| L1 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 9  | 6  | 9  | 6  | 6  | 6  | 4  | 9  | 3  | 2  | 2   |    | 8  |    | 8  |    | 8  |    | 7  |    | 6  |    |    |    |  | E |
| F1 | 9 | 9 | 6 | 9 | 8 | 8 | 6  | 2  | 9  | 8  | 8  | 8  | 9  | 9  | 4  | 4  | 4   |    |    | 8  |    | 8  |    | 9  | 4  |    | 3  |    |    |    |  | F |
| G1 | 7 | 8 | 6 | 8 | 4 | 8 | 2  | 6  | 7  | 7  | 6  | 6  | 6  | 6  | 6  | 2  | 2   | 7  |    |    | 8  |    | 8  |    | 8  |    | 9  |    |    |    |  | G |
| Hp | 9 | 9 | 3 | 9 | 3 | 5 | 5  | 1  | 9  | 4  | 4  | 4  | 9  | 9  | 4  | 9  | 8   | 9  |    |    |    | 9  |    |    | 7  | 9  |    | 9  |    |    |  | H |
| Ip | 8 | 9 | 4 | 1 | 7 | 5 | 5  | 2  | 9  | 7  | 7  | 6  | 6  | 9  | 1  | 2  | 3   | 7  |    |    |    | 7  |    | 7  |    | 5  |    | 5  | 5  |    |  | I |
| Jf | 8 | 8 | 4 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 1  | 4  | 9  | 9  | 9  | 8  | 9  | 9  | 9  | 1  | 1   | 9  |    |    | 9  |    |    | 9  | 1  |    | 1  | 1  |    |    |  | J |
| Kp | 8 | 9 | 7 | 8 | 4 | 8 | 5  | 3  | 8  | 8  | 3  | 8  | 8  | 9  | 6  | 9  | 7.5 | 8  |    |    |    | 8  |    | 8  | 8  |    | 7  |    |    |    |  | K |
| Ip | 8 | 9 | 7 | 8 | 3 | 8 | 6  | 3  | 7  | 6  | 1  | 6  | 6  | 5  | 4  | 7  | 6   | 9  |    |    |    | 9  |    | 4  |    | 6  |    | 6  | 3  |    |  | L |
| Np | 9 | 9 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 5 | 5  | 3  | 9  | 9  | 9  | 9  | 9  | 9  | 9  | 3  | 9   | 2  |    | 9  | 9  |    | 9  |    | 2  |    | 2  |    |    |    |  | M |
| Op | 9 | 9 | 1 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9  | 1  | 9  | 8  | 9  | 8  | 9  | 9  | 1  | 1  | 1   | 9  |    |    |    | 9  |    | 9  |    | 1  |    | 3  | 1  |    |  | O |
| Pp | 8 | 8 | 4 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8  | 4  | 9  | 8  | 8  | 8  | 8  | 9  | 7  | 4  | 4   | 8  |    |    |    | 7  |    | 8  |    | 7  |    | 7  | 8  |    |  | P |
| Qp | 9 | 9 | 9 |   | 9 | 9 | 8  | 1  | 9  | 9  | 9  | 9  | 9  | 9  | 1  | 9  | 9   |    |    | 8  |    | 9  |    | 9  | 1  |    | 1  | 1  |    |    |  | Q |

(contd)

TABLE A.22 (contd)

|    | 1 | 2 | 3 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 | 31 | 32 | 33 |   |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| Rw | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 4 | 8  | 4  | 9  | 5  | 5  | 5  | 5  | 7  | 7  | 9  | 9  | 9  |    |    | 9  |    | 9  |    | 9  |    | 9  |    |    |    | R |
| Sw | 6 | 8 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 5  | 5  | 6  | 5  | 5  | 5  | 5  | 9  | 6  | 6  | 6  | 6  |    |    | 6  |    | 7  |    | 6  |    | 6  |    |    |    | S |
| Tm | 8 | 8 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 8 | 5  | 5  | 5  | 5  | 5  | 5  | 5  | 5  |    | 5  | 5  | 5  |    |    | 5  |    | 5  |    | 5  |    | 5  |    |    |    | T |
| Ue | 9 | 9 | 8 | 8 | 7 |   |    | 1  | 8  | 1  | 1  | 1  | 7  | 9  | 9  | 9  | 9  |    | 9  |    |    |    |    | 8  | 9  |    | 9  |    | 9  |    | U |
| Ve | 4 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 7 |   |    | 3  | 9  | 2  | 4  | 4  | 6  | 7  | 6  | 9  | 9  | 9  |    |    | 9  |    | 9  |    | 9  |    | 9  |    | 9  |    | V |
| We | 9 | 9 | 5 | 9 | 5 |   |    | 5  | 5  | 5  | 5  | 5  | 9  | 5  | 5  | 9  | 9  | 9  |    |    | 9  |    | 9  |    | 9  |    | 9  |    |    | 9  | W |

Key:

- |                        |                             |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Current Self        | 18. Ingroup Adults          |
| 2. Ideal Self          | 19. Dad                     |
| 3. Past Self           | 20. Mum                     |
| 7. Admired Person      | 21. Brother (favourite/big) |
| 8. Disliked Person     | 22. Sister (favourite/big)  |
| 9. Me speaking English | 23. Brother and sister(s)   |
| 10. Me speaking MT     | 24. Other siblings          |
| 11. Bangladeshi kids   | 25. Best friend             |
| 12. English kids       | 26. Main friends            |
| 13. Indian kids        | 27. Other main friends      |
| 14. Italian kids       | 28. Uncles and aunts        |
| 15. Pakistani kids     | 29. Uncles and aunts        |
| 16. West Indian kids   | 30. Real cousins            |
| 17. Teachers           | 31. Kind of cousins         |
|                        | 32. Nans                    |
|                        | 33. American kids           |

## APPENDIX 23

### DOMINANT SOCIOLINGUISTIC STEREOTYPING

#### OF INDIAN ENGLISH

(see Chapter 22.1)

References have been made in the main text to the babu stereotype within dominant British cultural frameworks. Although what follows is not a complete socio-historical account, it is worth elaborating on this in a little detail to indicate its origins, the ideological contest currently surrounding it and strands of it within the education system. The close connection in this context between questions of language and politics will also emerge.

#### Historical and National Context

The Oxford English Dictionary reports the first use of the term 'babu' in English at the end of the eighteenth century, and gives the following definition:

'... A native Hindoo gentleman; also (in Anglo-Indian use), a native clerk or official who writes English; sometimes applied disparagingly to a Hindoo or, more particularly, a Bengali with a superficial English education.'<sup>1</sup>

In this definition, its links are evident both with colonial service and with disparagement by the colonial class.<sup>2</sup> Around the same time, and in the same context, ESL teaching to Indians began which resulted in

'the production of "Babus" (clerks) ... to sustain and service the bureaucratic machinery of domination, control, subjugation and exploitation' (Mukherjee 1985:12; also Martin-Jones 1984:7; e.g. Spear 1965:162,223, 224).

During the period of post-war migration to Britain in which many people from the Indian subcontinent (and elsewhere) came to fill jobs in the lower end of the employment market left by the indigenous workforce (for whom more attractive work was then available), the babu myth could find new relevance within Britain itself (cf. Brah 1982:13). Supplemented with allegations about

illegal immigration and social security scrounging (Dummett 1973; Hartmann and Husband 1970), it doubtless accreted new context-specific elements,<sup>3</sup> and there may well have been other variants of it which a full analysis would need to record. However, the babu remains a well-formed category within the framework of white British culture, readily available as a means of rationalising (and enhancing) the subordinate structural position of many Asian Britons.

Dominant societies often classify minorities as either threats or clowns (Hebdige 1979:2,88; Dummett 1973:212; Carlin 1976; Walvin 1982; Verma 1985) and 'babu' represents a case of the latter (Carlin 1976; Verma 1985). Babu has often been the implicit frame for the way in which Asian people are discussed and presented. Commentators have variously remarked on the way in which first generation migrants and their children are characterised as half-educated (Salma Khan 1986; Woodford et al. 1984; Matthews 1986), stupid (Dummett 1973:218), dependent, deferential and passive (Dummett 1973:279; Goffe 1985; Heron 1984), and finally as a source of comedy and laughter (as practised by Jim Davidson, Peter Sellers etc.; cf. Dummett 1973; Blishen on Hanif Kureishi 1986; Lawrence 1982:73,74). Pronunciation and language have been closely involved in this (babu refers both to person and speech variety), and it has been through the stereotypes about non-proficiency in English that the denial of rights has sometimes been justified (e.g. the Verdict of the Swann report against bilingual teaching DES:1985:407; Taylor and Heagarty 1985:230,231; Ronald Butt 1985; cp. Saifullah Khan 1985:19; on not allowing visits to India and Pakistan, see Honeyford T.E.S. 30.12.1983; on lack of access to training programmes, see Herman 1986; Rees 1986; and on language inability as a pretext for job discrimination, Newnham 1986:24).<sup>4</sup> Not surprisingly, such stereotypes in the mass media are often seen as highly offensive by Asian Britons themselves (Asian Times 22.12.1983; Matthews 1986; Hartmann and Husband 1970:269).

In the last few years, the contest around this ideological image of Asian Britons has become particularly acute, with language again a focal topic. Increased news coverage of Asian industrial and youth activism (e.g. through the trial of the Newnham Seven and their slogan 'Self-defence is no offence'; industrial disputes such as at Grunwicks; and the confrontations in Southall with the police and National Front in 1981) have challenged the picture of Asian passivity (cf. Brah 1982:20), and the consensus about the necessity and value of ESL has been disrupted by charges of racism (Mukherjee 1983), which have concomitantly highlighted questions about the nature and reality of language non-proficiency. Finally, a forceful proponent of racist stereotypes was sacked from his post as Headteacher for expressing himself in this way and so losing the confidence of the parents of children at his school.

Reactions to this challenge have tried (a) to restore the babu image or to recast Asians as unruly and Asian youth as hooligan; (b) to reassert the natural decency and necessity of ESL teaching; and (c) to portray the Headteacher (Ray Honeyford) as the victim of totalitarian anti-racism.

With regard to the first strategy, Salma Khan (1986) writes:

'The British media, not satisfied with stereotyping the Asian community as "submissive", are now on the offensive against the younger generation of Asians.

The London Standard of 24 March carried a front-page story entitled "MENACE OF ASIAN GANGS - WARRING GANGS BRING TERROR TO THE STREETS". The article quoted at length from a "police co-ordinating committee" set up to deal with the "gangs". "Sikh people", readers were told, "by history and evolution, have an excitable, aggressive and spontaneous nature ... It is said that strong family ties coupled with these qualities impose a heavy burden on the often ill-educated sons of one-time village peasants now resident in the UK. Rejected by the host communities, the poor achiever of the Sikh community seeks solace in the security provided by the gang".

This coverage is an exact replica of the kind of treatment that Afro Caribbean youth have faced for a decade. The media had previously placed an emphasis on how passive and hard-working the youth were. Then the right wing press had a field day classing Afro-Caribbean youth as "muggers", "rapists" and "trouble-makers". Now the turn of Asian youth has come'.

(cf. also Lawrence 1982:79; Walvin 1982 on black caricature; Honeyford's remarks (Matthews 1986); the highly selective and extensive news coverage given to picketing during the Honeyford affair; and an 1850 citation in Yule and Burnell about hearing 'bombastic baboos enjoying under our Government the highest degree of personal liberty ... rave about patriotism, and the degradation of their present position' (1886:44)).

Replacing an image of submission with one of purposeless menace can be seen as an alternative route by means of which public attention remains distracted from questions of social justice: by this means, the terms of the debate remain confined to law and order, ultimately working towards the maintenance of dominant justifications of existing socio-economic structures (cf. e.g. Hartmann and Husband 1970:270,271 and Hebdige 1979:85 on the media's role in this). However, other commentators see a reassertion of the co-operative stereotype, which then undermines any suggestion that Afro-Caribbean and Asian youth could have a just cause in common. After riots in Handsworth in 1985, one local remarked on police talk about 'Afro-Caribbean jealousy towards Asians', and then:

'Look at who the media have gone to for representation. They have gone to (Conservative) Asian shopkeepers and made no attempt to talk to Asian youth. They have done this because they are responding to their own stereotype, which states that Asians are too passive to be involved in rebellion' (Goffe 1985).

Viewing Asians and Afro-Caribbeans as entirely different in their stances towards the dominant society undermines the case that there is widespread racism: for example, the Rampton Report's



assessment of racism in education (D.E.S. 1981) was consistently rejected in terms of its failure to explain their differential success at school. So while the increased public prominence of Asian political activism produces some uncertainty in the mass media's use of clown or menace images, there is still some investment in the stereotype closely linked to babu, which remains influential as a result.

The suggestion that ESL teaching was racist has met with vigorous rebuttal, with demands being made by 'quality' newspapers for Government action against the proponents of this view. Mukherjee (1983) argued in a small professional journal that ESL was assimilationist and carried out by an inherently racist and paternalist white middle class.<sup>5</sup> This article received a good deal of publicity within the educational press (e.g. T.E.S. 21.10.1983), and a subsequent talk by Mukherjee at an education conference was attacked by a Conservative commentator in The Times (Ronald Butt, The Times 1.5.1986). At the same time, it was linked to the case of an ESL teacher in Bristol who was facing disciplinary charges for writing in the ultra-right Salisbury Review (The Times 23.5.86; T.E.S. 30.5.1986). One of the striking features of this response from the press was its reassertion of the normalness and natural rightness of ESL teaching. For example:

[Savery's] 'real offence is that, as a teacher employed by the centre, he thinks it is his duty to do the job for which he was appointed, namely to teach English to ethnic minority children instead of propagating an angry and disruptive creed known as anti-racism' (Butt, in The Times 1.5.1986).

'Mr Savery ... holds that his job is to teach English to children disadvantaged by the lack of it' (The Times leader 24.5.1986).

'In ten days' time ... Jonathan Savery will walk back into Merrydown Boys' School in Bristol, sit down with a small group of 12-year-olds whose first language is Urdu and get on with teaching them English. Or so he hopes' (Michael McCarthy, The Times 23.5.1986).

In all of these, the plain commonsensicalness of ESL activity is strongly implied. If hegemony entails the dominant class in trying to achieve consensus about the 'naturalness' of the existing social order (Clarke, Hall, Jefferson and Roberts 1976; Hebdige 1979:16), clearly ESL has recently become a site of intense ideological contention, with the establishment struggling to reassert hegemony.

Finally, the contest became most intense around the case of a Bradford Headteacher, Ray Honeyford (who was subsequently invited by the Prime Minister to advise her on education and was voted Britain's fourth most popular man in a 1985 radio poll (BBC Radio 4's 'Today' programme, cf. T.E.S. 24.1.1986)). Honeyford wrote in mocking terms about Asian linguistic incompetence and described this as a threat to white children in multi-racial schools (cf. Ronald Butt's: 'Yet it is surely self-evident that in a school where the majority has language difficulties in varying degrees and is not helped to overcome them through daily immersion in British culture, the English-culture minority is bound to be disadvantaged. Anyone who thinks the contrary should consider whether they would be eager to send their own children to such a school.' (T.E.S. 24.5.1985); cp. extensive discussions in the 1960s about dispersal policies (D.E.S. 1985:192), and for research evidence which contradicts this view, see McEwen, Gipps and Sumner 1975). This received banner headlines and extensive feature articles in the tabloid press as well. Honeyford's subsequent dispute with his local authority then resulted in his being cast as the champion of the 'English tradition' of free speech, to which his opponents were presented as posing a threat, along with anti-racism generally (the dimension of politically inflected linguistic prejudice becomes clear when media images of noisy and unruly picketing are contrasted with journalistic accounts of the speech styles of Honeyford (described in the Sunday Times Colour Supplement 15.12.1985 as 'speaking (as always) quietly and carefully') and Savery ('undogmatic', 'Bristol born and bred with a soft West Country burr' - The Times 23.5.1986); see also the article 'The illusion

of British Gentleness' by Blishen in T.E.S. 18.4.1986). The essential connection of the dispute here about freedom of expression with linguistic stereotyping becomes clear when Matthews (1986) observes how the parent whom Honeyford ridiculed as sounding 'like Peter Sellers' Indian doctor on an off day', had in fact visited the school about a serious matter. Even when Asian speakers are not typed as 'hysterical', the cultural frame of the amusing babu disenfranchises anyone with an Indian accent (and maybe more) by focusing attention on the form not the content of what is said and by prepackaging any encounter in reductionist comicality (on language prejudice and disenfranchisement in educational encounters, see Rampton 1981,1983,1985; Edwards 1983:29). (NP)(VA)E has then been the site of considerable ideological contention recently, as white cultural stereotypes linked with babu have been challenged. At the same time ESL teaching, which can be viewed as the benign white response to its perception of babu, has been losing some of its confidence. The description that has been given here relates to the most public arenas of national debate: it is worth looking further into the influence of this stereotype within the marginally quieter waters of debate within the education system.

#### The Stereotype of Babu within the Education System

Some children of Asian parentage are not able to speak English well enough to succeed in the British Education system. This point is admitted clearly by Mukherjee in the earliest article to receive widespread attention:

'Neither am I arguing that we should cease to teach ESL, for I am perfectly aware that in the context of the dominant society, to succeed, command of the second language must be equal to that of the first' (1983).

However, precisely what type or level of proficiency in English is required is a much more uncertain issue. It is fairly well recognised that firstly, there is an absence of objective measures of language proficiency in English that can either adequately assess how much English is needed for success (or at

least participation), or alternatively diagnose where weaknesses actually lie (Rudd 1975; Derrick 1977; Rampton 1981,1983; Taylor and Hegarty 1985:192,194,195,201,180,559). Secondly, it is clear that the ESL sector in the Education system has been remarkably unaccountable and unscrutinised (Brumfit 1982, 1985: 52; Alladina 1985:22). Despite the technical expertise sometimes (though not uncontroversially) attributed to the ESL teaching profession, judgments of proficiency in English remain very subjective (see e.g. McEwen, Gipps and Sumner 1975:103; Rampton 1983:17; Taylor and Hegarty 1985) and there is considerable scope for diverse and not easily detected ideological factors to influence the classification and treatment of children with bilingual backgrounds. Some ethnically Asian youngsters may have doubtless been correctly classified as needing ESL assistance, but for others this categorisation has also undoubtedly been misapplied.

Resemblances to the colonial babu stereotype can be detected in various aspects of the discussion of Asian children, both outside and within questions of linguistic proficiency. But whereas in the mass-media the debate has been much more overtly polemical /political, within the education system these have often had the stamp of solid and received wisdom.

The image of babu deference finds an echo in the widespread stereotype of Asian pupils as industrious and keen to learn (DES 1985:23), though Anglo perceptions of the pretentiousness of babu (Dummett 1973:207,227) look rather similar to the widespread and more derogatory picture of Asian British children as having 'unrealistically high career aspirations' (DES 1985:15; Taylor and Hegarty 1985:316,317; cp. Bhachu 1985). This view of Asian compliance doubtless in part allowed ESL at least in the 1970s to continue unconcerned about its teacher-centred methodologies and the standard language norms it was promulgating: within English Mother Tongue teaching a much more radical reappraisal was in progress, probably partly due to the obverse stereotype of pupils of Afro-Caribbean parentage as 'difficult' (cf. Rampton 1983: 22-24).<sup>6</sup>

Within language teaching materials themselves, the image of Asian people has sometimes been demeaning (cf. Manji 1985:8; T.E.S. 19.10.1984; also extract 51 Appendix 20), and at the level of methodology, functional and situational approaches to language teaching have been criticised as perpetuating the subservient underclass that McCaulay's minacte of 1831 aimed at (Mukherjee 1983, 1985:12; Smith 1985:70; Bourne 1985:3,4; Shan Rees 1986; on an ELT textbook published for Bengal in 1797, see Howatt 1984:68). Strong critics of ESL teaching hold that,

'The process affects behaviour, stifles and cripples mental development and our people are anaesthetised to accept and internalise the coded message of powerlessness contained in the ESL package. When they begin to unpack the "cuddly and comfortable" pack, they realise that what they have learned has a direct relationship to their location within the structure' (Mukherjee 1985:13,14).

Finally, the extremely frequent use of the term 'superficial fluency' to describe Asian Britons' English (for references see Rampton 1983:15; also Taylor and Hegarty 1985) might itself be viewed as a contemporary transformation of the babu stereotype, which as indicated above, is defined in part in the OED as a person with a 'superficial English education'.

According to Taylor and Hegarty's comprehensive review of research,<sup>7</sup> English has always been the central issue in the education of children of Asian parentage (1985:146) and will apparently always be so, so that not only will Asian Britons need special ESL assistance throughout their school careers (1985: 201,105,209,280,554), but also beyond into second and third generations. In view of the insubstantiality and highly impressionistic nature of the language disability being referred to here, it is not difficult to see this as the continuation from the late eighteenth century onwards of the babu image, carrying the suggestion that however hard Asians try, they will never succeed in being proper Britons. The implication seems to be Asian Britons need to be given ESL teaching as long as they main-

tain any kind of distinct cultural identity: only once they seriously start eating 'prunes' and 'porridge' will they have the right vocabulary to be able to write 'imaginatively' (D.E.S. 1985:416), though maybe a large 'crusade' of educational home visitors might speed and successfully accomplish 'conversion' (Taylor and Hegarty 1985:281).

This account may seem to be unfairly caricatural, yet it is hard to deny that many Asian children are pathologised through linguistic judgments (for example, ILEA now has a third stage of ESL (Taylor and Hegarty 1985:206,274), the definition of which only appears on assessment instruments. When fourth, fifth and sixth stages will emerge is as yet unclear. On the woolliness of the second, see Rampton (1981,1983)). Asian British non-proficiency in English really seems to be a means of justifying the school system's insensitivity to cultural difference (cf. Eggleston 1985). Where with Afro-Caribbeans, parents are typed as responsible for their children's failure because of their values and family structures, the gist of the ESL debate is to blame Asian families for their languages.<sup>8</sup> A lack of English can be used as an excuse for the abrogation of responsibility for more serious curricular (and other) review,<sup>9</sup> and in general, this must lie at the heart of the critique of 'deceptive fluency' as an educational concept. 'Deceptive' and 'superficial fluency' turn questions of fairly systematic failure in certain educational spheres (Taylor and Hegarty 1985:253-277) into a technical matter of language proficiency, hiding the extent to which norms are relative and negotiable. If it was rephrased as cultural difference (as some teachers correctly see it - Taylor and Hegarty 1985:200), then whole areas of curricular re-examination would become relevant in a way which the current conceptualisation inhibits.

There is probably no unanimity within the teaching profession about 'deceptive fluency', the use of the concept is anyway hardly ever motivated by ill-will and generally there is quite a high level of anti-racism. Yet the notion of 'de-

ceptive fluency' does have the vagueness, multi-purpose flexibility and pervasiveness to allow us to class it as an interpretative sense-making device which maintains institutional realities in much the same way as Heritage's (1984) description of Wieder's analysis of the convict code. And it doubtless also inherits some of its efficacy in this respect from its historical roots in the ideology of Empire.

Such then is the general background against which some uses of rhetorical (NP)(VA)E can be set. In its own idiom, the peer-group can be seen as addressing key issues in educational and national dispute.

NOTES

1. Note the use of the term 'superficial' and its similarity with the dominant contemporary educational view of the English of children of Asian parentage as 'superficially fluent' (see below). Yule and Burnell (1886) used the phrase 'superficially cultivated'. As far as the idea of passivity is concerned, Yule and Burnell have a citation from 1873 in which the 'babu' is characterised as 'pliable, plastic, receptive'.
2. Currently, there is much comment on the way in which labels applied to ethnic minorities start out as a break from some earlier derogatory term but end up with exactly the same stigma (cf. e.g. the current discussion about 'ESL learner' vs 'bilingual'). Whether or not the term 'babu' followed exactly the same path (on which linguistic engineering tries but fails to compensate for/mask structural inequity) is not clear. However, babu did start out as a term of respect and end up as one of disparagement (Yule and Burnell 1886 (re-printed 1969:44)). On similar processes of denigration involved in another sector of Indian society's contact with colonial British Rule, see Spencer (1966:59-60) on Anglo-Indians, for whose English the derogatory term Chee-chee was evolved.
3. Though one of the OED entries dated 1866 clearly implies the deceitfulness and greed explicit in these later realisations. See also the quotation from Yule and Burnell on p. also Brah 1982:12.
4. Other aspects of the stereotype have also encouraged violent racist action: cf. e.g. Bery (1985).
5. See also e.g. Liz Heron's review of a retrospective book about Neighbourhood English classes:  

'It's a pity that with rare exceptions the contributors fall into the trap of self-congratulation and tend to lose sight of where a project like this fits into the scheme of things. It gives the impression, however unwittingly, that immigrant communities are simply passive recipients of philanthropic kindness and are not taking charge of their own needs' (1984);

also Bhanot, T.E.S. 19.10.1984.
6. Though see Mukherjee (1985:12), Alladina (1985:24), D.E.S. (1985:23) and in particular Wright (1984) on how such stereotypes of Afro-Caribbean children work to their disadvantage in education.



7. At times below, my criticisms cite Taylor and Hegarty (1985) as evidence. This is not because these two authors seem particularly culpable: rather, it is because they give such a good summary of research in this area. They have undoubtedly done an excellent job, which greatly facilitates academic dispute.
8. Quite what language they are ideally supposed to have is less certain - see the endless discussions about Anglo linguistic disadvantage. It sometimes seems as if only homes in which parents talk about the English heritage in the register of exam rubric will do:

'It would appear that in many cases communicative competence is considerable, but is this sufficient for an appreciation of, for example, the English linguistic and literary heritages?' (Taylor and Hegarty 1985:281);

'a lack of vocabulary to cope with, for example, external examination questions, is often the problem' (1985:201).
9. E.g. the NAS/UWT (the second largest teacher's union) stated that language not racism accounted for Asian underachievement (T.E.S. 11.1.1985).

APPENDIX 24

ISA RATINGS OF TOUGHNESS

(see Chapter 22.2)

On this, the ISA data relating to the construct 'tough' vs 'weak' provides a useful lever.<sup>1</sup> It does not correspond exactly to the terms in which I have delineated the rhetorical (NP)(VA)E persona, but comes close enough and also relates to an important peer-group value from which I hypothesised the persona to be remote (toughness). Table A.24.1 presents mean ratings on this construct by ethnic subgroup, and then by 'language groups' (again 'monolingual' vs bilingual). Graph A.24.1 represents the data on language group means in more accessible form (converting the 1 to 9 scale back into +4 to -4).

From this data it is clear that non-bilinguals on average rate 'Pakistani kids' as tougher than 'English kids' (this obtains also within the Anglo subgroup itself), and 'Indian kids' are rated by monolinguals as only marginally less tough. Besides their current and ideal selves, 'Pakistani kids' are rated by monolinguals as second only to 'West Indian kids' in toughness.

Amongst bilinguals there is also no evidence that ethnically Asian people are viewed as deferential or submissive (~~±~~ 'weak'). On average, bilinguals see both Pakistani and Indian kids as quite a lot tougher than Anglo kids, and not only is the gap between current and ideal selves small, but also current selves are rated on average as tougher than virtually every other (non-self) entity.

Finally, there seems to be little connection here between perceived non-proficiency in English and weakness: generally all of the entities seen by bilinguals as 'not knowing much English', are rated as tougher than 'English kids' (= the entity given the highest mean rating on 'speaks normal English'. The

TABLE A.24.1 MEAN SCORES (ON A 1 to 9 SCALE) ON THE BIPOLAR CONSTRUCT 'WEAK' (=1)  
vs 'TOUGH' (=9), BY ETHNIC AND LANGUAGE SUBGROUP

| ENTITIES                                         | OVERALL<br>n=17 | LANGUAGE GROUPINGS                |                                | ETHNICITY OF INFORMANTS |                  |                           |              |              |
|--------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|--------------|--------------|
|                                                  |                 | Punjabi<br>bilinguals<br>(n = 11) | 'mono-<br>linguals'<br>(n = 6) | Indian<br>n=7           | Pakistani<br>n=4 | Afro-<br>Caribbean<br>n=2 | Mixed<br>n=1 | Anglo<br>n=3 |
| Current self                                     | 7.3             | 7.2<br>( $\sigma=2.0$ )           | 7.7<br>( $\sigma=0.9$ )        | 6.7                     | 7.4              | 8.5                       | 8.0          | 7.0          |
| Ideal self                                       | 7.6             | 7.5<br>( $\sigma=2.2$ )           | 7.8<br>( $\sigma=1.5$ )        | 7.5                     | 7.6              | 8.0                       | 8.0          | 7.7          |
| Past self                                        | 4.9             | 5.2<br>( $\sigma=2.6$ )           | 4.5<br>( $\sigma=2.4$ )        | 5.7                     | 4.9              | 3.5                       | 4.0          | 5.3          |
| A person I admire                                | 5.9             | 6.2<br>( $\sigma=3.1$ ;<br>n =10) | 5.5<br>( $\sigma=1.5$ )        | 5.2                     | 6.8              | 4.5                       | 4.0          | 6.7          |
| A person I dislike                               | 5.6             | 6.1<br>( $\sigma=2.0$ )           | 4.7<br>( $\sigma=3.1$ )        | 7.0                     | 5.6              | 5.0                       | 4.0          | 4.7          |
| Me speaking<br>English                           | 6.1             | 6.4<br>( $\sigma=1.2$ )           | 4.7                            | 7.0                     | 6.1              | 5.0                       | 4.0          |              |
| Me speaking Punjabi<br>/Pakistani/West<br>Indian | 5.6             | 5.6<br>( $\sigma=2.0$ )           | 5.7                            | 4.7                     | 6.1              | 6.5                       | 4.0          |              |
| Bangladeshi kids                                 | 5.8             | 5.7<br>( $\sigma=1.6$ )           | 5.8<br>( $\sigma=2.2$ )        | 5.7                     | 5.7              | 7.0                       | 7.0          | 4.7          |

(contd)

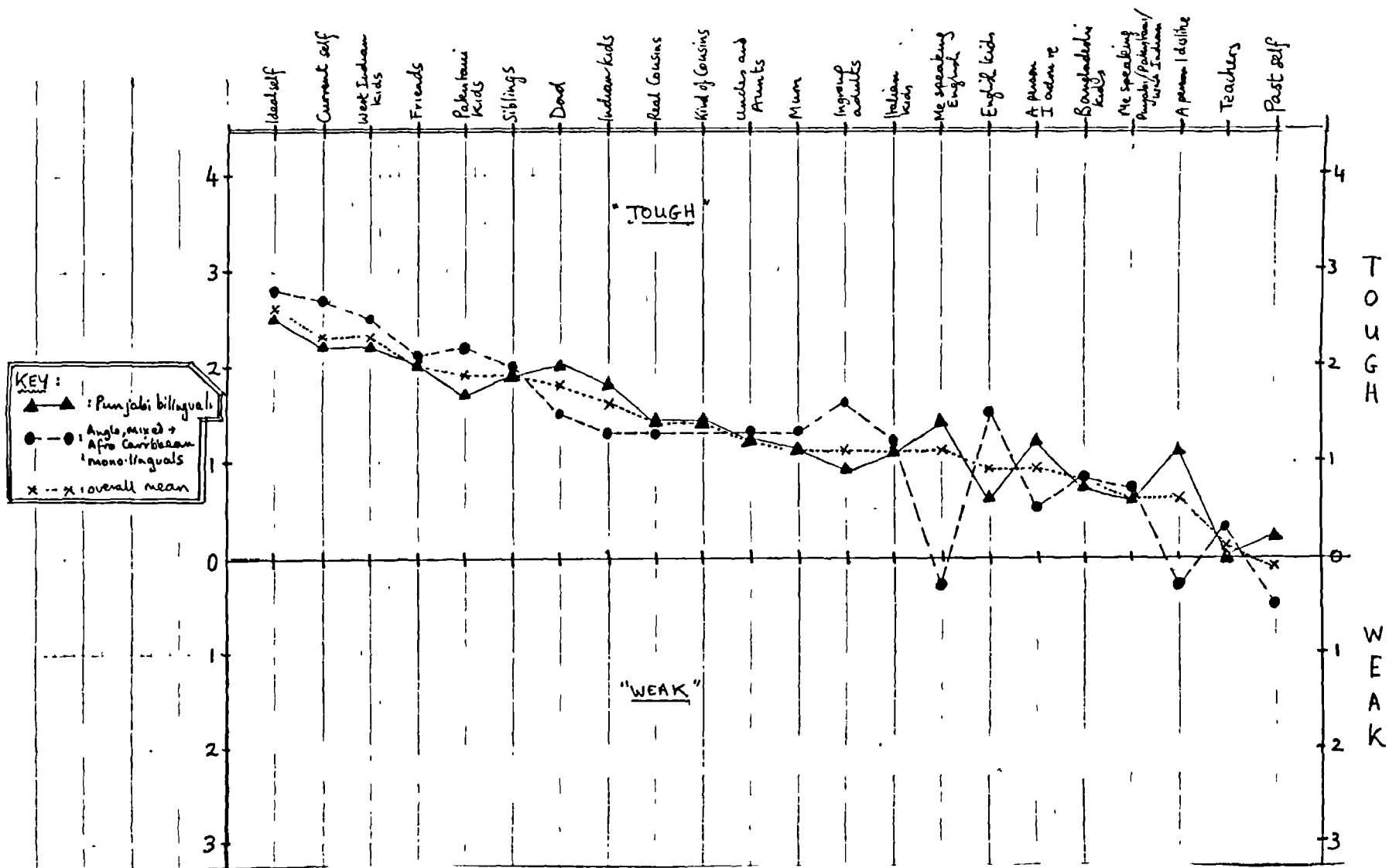
TABLE A.24.1 (contd)

| ENTITIES         | OVERALL<br>n=17 | LANGUAGE GROUPINGS                |                                   | ETHNICITY OF INFORMANTS |                  |                           |              |              |
|------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|--------------|--------------|
|                  |                 | Punjabi<br>bilinguals<br>(n = 11) | 'mono-<br>linguals'<br>(n = 6)    | Indian<br>n=7           | Pakistani<br>n=4 | Afro-<br>Caribbean<br>n=2 | Mixed<br>n=1 | Anglo<br>n=3 |
| English kids     | 5.9             | 5.6<br>( $\sigma=1.8$ )           | 6.5<br>( $\sigma=1.1$ )           | 5.2                     | 5.9              | 6.0                       | 7.0          | 6.7          |
| Indian kids      | 6.6             | 6.8<br>( $\sigma=1.6$ )           | 6.3<br>( $\sigma=1.2$ )           | 7.0                     | 6.7              | 5.5                       | 8.0          | 6.3          |
| Italian kids     | 6.1             | 6.1<br>( $\sigma=2.0$ )           | 6.2<br>( $\sigma=1.9$ )           | 6.7                     | 5.7              | 6.5                       | 8.0          | 5.3          |
| Pakistani kids   | 6.9             | 6.7<br>( $\sigma=2.1$ )           | 7.2<br>( $\sigma=1.7$ )           | 7.0                     | 6.6              | 7.0                       | 7.0          | 7.3          |
| West Indian kids | 7.3             | 7.2<br>( $\sigma=1.8$ )           | 7.5<br>( $\sigma=1.6$ )           | 7.2                     | 7.1              | 7.5                       | 7.0          | 7.7          |
| Teachers         | 5.1             | 5.0<br>( $\sigma=1.9$ )           | 5.3<br>( $\sigma=0.9$ )           | 5.2                     | 4.9              | 5.5                       | 4.0          | 5.7          |
| Ingroup adults   | 6.1             | 5.9<br>( $\sigma=1.5$ )           | 6.6<br>( $\sigma=1.6$ ;<br>n = 5) | 5.2                     | 6.3              | 7.5                       |              | 6.0          |
| Dad              | 6.8             | 7.0<br>( $\sigma=1.9$ )           | 6.5<br>( $\sigma=2.0$ )           | 7.0                     | 7.0              | 8.0                       | 4.0          | 6.3          |
| Mum              | 6.1             | 6.1<br>( $\sigma=1.6$ )           | 6.2<br>( $\sigma=1.7$ )           | 5.7                     | 6.3              | 8.0                       | 4.0          | 5.7          |

(contd)

TABLE A.24.1 (contd)

| ENTITIES         | OVERALL<br>n=17 | LANGUAGE GROUPINGS                |                                  | ETHNICITY OF INFORMANTS |                  |                           |                                 |              |
|------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------|
|                  |                 | Punjabi<br>bilinguals<br>(n = 11) | 'mono-<br>linguals'<br>(n = 6)   | Indian<br>n=7           | Pakistani<br>n=4 | Afro-<br>Caribbean<br>n=2 | Mixed<br>n=1                    | Anglo<br>n=3 |
| Siblings         | 6.9             | 6.9<br>( $\sigma$ =1.7;<br>n=19)  | 7.0<br>( $\sigma$ =1.9;<br>n=11) | 7.3                     | 6.7              | 9.0                       | 5.5<br>( $\sigma$ =1.5;<br>n=2) | 6.0          |
| Friends          | 7.0             | 7.0<br>( $\sigma$ =1.5;<br>n=14)  | 7.1<br>( $\sigma$ =1.5;<br>n=7)  | 7.0                     | 7.0              | 7.5                       | 7.0                             | 7.0          |
| Uncles and aunts | 6.2             | 6.2<br>( $\sigma$ =1.1;<br>n=12)  | 6.3<br>( $\sigma$ =1.8)          | 6.7                     | 5.9              | 8.0                       | 4.0                             | 6.0          |
| Real cousins     | 6.4             | 6.2<br>( $\sigma$ =1.4;<br>n=10)  | 6.3<br>( $\sigma$ =1.2)          | 6.7                     | 6.2              | 6.5                       | 4.0                             | 7.0          |
| Kind of cousins  | 6.4             | 6.4<br>( $\sigma$ =1.7;<br>n=7)   |                                  | 7.0                     | 6.3              |                           |                                 |              |



GRAPH A.24.1: MEAN ENTITY RATINGS ON THE CONSTRUCT "tough" vs "weak" (BY LANGUAGE SUBGROUP)

entities variously rated as not knowing much English by ethnically Indian and Pakistani informants were: ingroup adults, mum, dad, real cousins, kind of cousins, uncles and aunts and Bangladeshi kids). The dominant culture may cluster non-proficiency in English with weakness via its babu stereotype, but this is not regarded as an adequate reflection of reality by any of the subgroups within the peer-group. The rhetorical (NP)(VA)E persona in the peer-group is clearly alter-identified for bilingual informants - indeed, 'me speaking English' is rated tougher than 'me speaking Punjabi/Pakistani' - and on the toughness axis at least, monolinguals would evidently agree.

NOTES

1. Generally these were exactly the terms used on the rating sheets: however, occasionally 'hard' (Ai) or 'will fight their own battles' (Pp) were used instead of 'tough' (Ai); sometimes 'weak' was supplemented with 'shy' (Lp) or 'scared' (Op,Rw) (or replaced by 'scared' (Pp)). Once, 'tough' was also supplemented with 'likes to fight' (Rw). The construct 'really hard' vs 'thinks they're hard' was excluded from this analysis (B1).



APPENDIX 25

A REPERTOIRE OF VARIETIES IN THE  
MULTIRACIAL PEER-GROUP

There is much more to the peer-group's repertoire than rhetorical (NP)(VA)E alone. In comparison with Punjabi and Creole, (NP)(VA)E provides a source of material for subcultural exploitation which is relatively restricted and arguably more closely (though of course not exclusively) tied to derogation by the dominant culture.<sup>1</sup> In addition, while youngsters evidently do not accept the media's image, in the case of rhetorical (NP)(VA)E, it does look as though to quite an extent, the local peer-group is reacting to issues which have been originally framed by the dominant culture. In contrast, certainly with Punjabi, the terms and manner of the symbolic debate are primarily framed at local level. To a much lesser extent than with (NP)(VA)E, subcultural exploitation of Punjabi takes its cue from - can be seen as a response to - dominant societal images. The form and momentum for the peer-group's use of Punjabi is locally generated.

There is another reason for seeing (NP)(VA)E as only one part of the subcultural repertoire: to the extent that it is adequately explained as subverting the babu stereotype, the exclusive focus here on (NP)(VA)E exaggerates peer-group concern with images of Asian weakness. Asian and Afro-Caribbean power is much more overtly coded in the peer-group's uses of Creole and Punjabi, which are more frequent and also used partly irrespective of the ethnicity of peer-group members.

It is worth giving a sketch of what a preliminary scan of my data-base initially suggests as being the sociolinguistic dynamics of the use of these two varieties in the peer-group.

Broadly speaking, together with English, migration has exposed Punjabi to a reversal in its sociolinguistic status so that

from being an unmarked or prestigious language in the Indian sub-continent (Khubchandani 1979), in England it is marked and has low status outside the confines of the ethnic communities. Yet it looks as though young bilinguals do not simply switch one set of evaluations for another as they move from intragroup to intergroup domains, and the linguistically mixed peer-group appears to provide Punjabi with a relatively stable set of interethnically validated functions and with positive vernacular prestige. It seems to have entered the peer-group linguistic repertoire of youngsters of English and Afro-Caribbean parentage, who participate with Punjabi bilinguals in verbal activities such as non-sense rhymes and verbal traps (Opie and Opie 1959:Chs 2 and 4), and who have lexicons of Punjabi abuse that in some cases may be very extensive (Opies Ch.9). Perhaps more importantly, Punjabi is an excellent 'secret language' (Opies Ch.14) and bilinguals often report using it in the presence of teachers, who are widely felt to disapprove of its use at school. In this respect it appears that in the peer-group Punjabi may have a well recognised oppositional function. It would be hard to argue that this represented an extension due to migration in the functional range of the language, since in other spheres migration has resulted in large-scale shift to English and in some areas of South Asia, an ethnically reactive aspect in the use of Punjabi is already well documented (Pandit 1981; Khubchandani). Yet the peer-group clearly does not straightforwardly push bilingual children towards English (contrary to LMP 1985:365-366), and it may be making a distinctive contribution to the symbolic vitality of Punjabi.

The role of Punjabi as a 'secret language' in intergroup contexts may have further significance, particularly with regard to the issue of ethnolinguistic 'crossover' and its use by youngsters of non-Asian parentage. Secret languages are devices of exclusion, yet ethnolinguistic boundaries are by no means coterminous with social and affective ones. Thus the use of Punjabi to exclude e.g. teachers and children from rival schools could also exclude monolingual English and Afro-Caribbean class-

and team-mates with whom the bilingual is otherwise in alliance. The logical solution to this is for monolingual children to learn at least 'survival' Punjabi and there is evidence of this happening to some degree. But this is not a simple matter and the differing extents to which monolinguals do so is presumably not only mediated by these youngsters' independence of the powerful value systems which rate Punjabi negatively, but also by the willingness of Punjabi bilinguals to permit access to their language, which could devalue it as a private code and could be used against them should the bases of alliance shift. Yet certain individuals of non-Asian parentage are reported to have exceptional ability in Punjabi, and noticeably, these youngsters have a good deal of vernacular prestige.

Creole occupies a rather different position in the symbolic economy of the peer-group and seems to be used for rather different purposes. It clearly differs from Punjabi in being linguistically closer to English and thus it is probably not as readily exploited as a secret code. It also obviously has a much higher profile and status in mass youth culture and at first glance, imputed expertise in its use by children of Asian and English parentage does not appear to derive from close friendship to the same degree. Superior skills in Creole may similarly be associated with higher peer-group prestige, but rather than age-mates, its use by children not of Caribbean extraction is perhaps modelled also on the language of older adolescents and media figures. It may be that Creole has been incorporated into the verbal games characteristic of preadolescent schoolchildren to a lesser degree than Punjabi and it seems that both the persona and the functions which it typically enacts are the obverse of those served by rhetorical (NP) (VA)E. Whereas rhetorical (NP) (VA)E can entail the projection of polite verbal and other non-competence strategically deployed to extricate oneself from trouble and to ask favours, the Creole persona seems to encompass features such as verbal inventiveness, strength and self-assertiveness and appears to be used in e.g. boasting and in threats.

Evidently the account of (NP)(VA)E in the main text refers to only a relatively narrow aspect of subcultural multilingualism. Other additional, societal forces and social processes influence the selection and manipulation of linguistic codes within the peer-group. Issues of sociolinguistic privilege and cross-ethnic exchange are more sharply raised. And the range of peer activities implicated in these cross-ethnic uses is broadened (secret codes, swearing, overt self-assertion, verbal games). Yet despite the complexity and intricacy of this symbolic economy, certain of the analytic perspectives developed in the course of studying (NP)(VA)E are likely to retain their utility (see Chapter 22.4).

NOTES

1. For these reasons, it seems perhaps unlikely that (NP)(VA)E would form a sustained element in cross-ethnic relationships in the way that Creole or Punjabi might (cf. Hewitt 1982; and very parenthetically Verma and Bagley 1982:xi). In the idiom here, it is more likely to be used in figurative switches than situational initiatives (or in 'figurative situations' - see Hewitt's 'fictive social relationships').